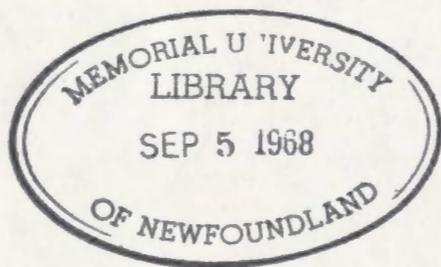


THE FOUNDATION AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE  
MORAVIAN MISSION IN LABRADOR, 1752-1805

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J. K. HILLER



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THE FOUNDATION AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE MORAVIAN  
MISSION IN LABRADOR, 1752-1805.



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This Thesis has been examined and approved by:

## ABSTRACT

The old protestant Church of the United Brethren, commonly known as the Moravian Church, was revived by Count Zinzendorf in the 1720's. Attention soon turned to foreign missions, and one of the earliest was in Greenland. It was decided to extend the work to the Labrador Eskimos, and after an abortive attempt to establish a mission on the coast in 1752, a more determined programme was undertaken in the 1760's under the leadership of Jens Haven. With the blessing of government, a mission station was established at Nain in 1771, administered jointly by the German and English branches of the Moravian Church. Other stations were established at Okkak (1776) and Hopedale (1782).

The policy of the mission was to contain the Eskimos in the north, and to gather them into regulated Christian communities established on traditional Moravian lines. The difficulties were many. The mission could not provide a complete economic substitute for the southern trader, and the policy of containment did not fully succeed. Also, the realisation of the settled community ideal involved far-reaching economic, social and religious changes for the Eskimos, which took far longer to occur than the missionaries originally anticipated. The mission had high standards and was not prepared to compromise. There were not many conversions in the early years, but as the mission became part of the established scene, so the Eskimos' reliance on economic and social services increased; the journeys south gradually ceased, and mission schools began to have an effect on the young people. The presence of the mission, and of convert groups following an alien pattern of life disrupted the uniformity of Eskimo society - a uniformity which was reestablished by the convulsive

"revival" of 1804-5. This established mission dominance from Okkak to Hopedale and brought into being the settled community, although in a modified form to suit the Labrador environment.

## PREFACE

The more analytic history becomes, the more difficult it is to observe the traditional historical duty of presenting the results of research in narrative form. Indeed, the linking of the twin perspectives of depth and time, the vertical and the horizontal, has been the main problem in the writing of this thesis. The early chapters, describing the European background and tracing the events leading up to the establishment of the Nain mission in 1771, lend themselves to the narrative approach. But the remaining chapters, being concerned with the impact of the mission on the Eskimo bands of north Labrador, are necessarily analytic, although an attempt has been made in Chapter VIII to return to the narrative, in order to place the changes described earlier in a time perspective.

The study takes as its terminal points the ill-fated Ehrhardt expedition of 1752 and the "revival" of 1804-5. The "revival" marks the overall success of Moravian evangelism along the coast from Okkak south to Hopedale, and the end of the first period of Moravian activity in Labrador. After 1805 the mission became the establishment, and ceased to be an active agent of social, religious, and economic change. While the impact of the mission on the northern Eskimos is clear, it is not yet possible to evaluate the Moravian contribution to Labrador as a whole. When research has been completed on the mission in the nineteenth century, and the development of settlement in south Labrador, it may be possible to arrive at some conclusions which are outside the scope of this thesis.

Certain parts of the story told here have appeared in print before in books and articles by missionaries, explorers, anthropologists and historians. Indeed, almost every book on coastal Labrador includes a potted history of the mission. Very few of these writers, though, made use of the original mission records now preserved in Moravian archives in London, England, and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Those who did know of the existence of these materials were often daunted by the sheer volume of manuscript involved, and the German written in spidery Gothic hands. In this respect, I was no exception. With a schoolboy knowledge of German, a limited amount of time, and eyes which do not take kindly to long hours at the microfilm reader, I was forced to make an arbitrary selection from the available evidence. Basically, I only used that material, published and unpublished, which was available in English. German documents were only translated when legible, and apparently vital to fill a gap. Luckily, there was enough documentary material in English to make a fairly detailed study of the early period possible, but this cavalier approach accounts for the gaps that remain, and for the cursory treatment of some points, particularly the internal organisation of the mission itself.

The station diaries used for this research are contemporary translations from the German originals, made in London for the information of English Moravian congregations and societies. They vary immensely in their usefulness, since the translators abridged the German diaries heavily. This practice died out after 1790, when the London Moravians began publishing the Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren.

Thus for the period after 1790, I have made extensive use of the letters and diary extracts published in this periodical.

My thanks are due to the Canadian Rhodes Scholars' Foundation, the Memorial University of Newfoundland, and the Institute of Social and Economic Research at that University for financial support; to Dr. L.G. Harris, my Supervisor; to the British Mission Board of the Moravian Church, for letting me loose in their archives; to the Reverend F.W. Peacock, present Superintendent of the Moravian Mission in Labrador, for hospitality and access to his library and his knowledge; and to Michael Staveley for drawing the maps and plans. In various ways, I am also grateful to the following: Miss Agnes O'Dea, Dr. F.A. Hagar, Mr. H.A. Williamson, Reverend S. Hettasch, Reverend S. Launder, Mr. J. Broomfield, Miss Jean Briggs, Mr. Garth Taylor, and the staff of Memorial University Library.

J.K. Hiller

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ABBREVIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

- BD - Documents collected In the Matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula (1927).
- CO - Colonial Office Records.
- LA - Documents microfilmed from the London Archive of the Moravian Church, 1966. The number following this reference refers to the appropriate reel.
- LA Mss. - Unmicrofilmed material in the London Archive of the Moravian Church.
- Mor. Mss. - Documents collected from the Labrador mission stations and now deposited at the Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Microfilm copy.
- PAC - Documents microfilmed from the London Archive of the Moravian Church by the Public Archives of Canada. The number following this reference refers to the appropriate reel.
- PA - Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen.
- S.F.G. - The Brethrens' Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.
- SCP - Ship's Company Papers.
- Tr. - Translation.
- U.E.C. - Unity's Elders' Conference.

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix V, p. 240 for Bibliography.

- DNB - Dictionary of National Biography
- HD - Hopedale Diary
- ND - Nain Diary
- OD - Okak Diary

In all references, Roman numerals refer to volumes, Arabic numerals to pages.

[The Moravian Church] sent out its missionaries in simplicity and lowliness, poorly supplied, indeed, with externals, but armed with a lively zeal, and an intense strength of faith. The seed which they were favoured to sow, grew mightily by the blessing of God, and prospered, till after the silent but most persevering labours of many years, its produce filled the wilderness with its fragrance, and gladdened the desert places of the earth with its beauty .... From very small beginnings, an assembly of about six hundred poor exiles, did this great work commence in hope, and the several flourishing settlements in various parts of the globe now testify, that the strength of the Lord has accompanied the weak endeavours of his servants, that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, and that the feeblest instruments are sometimes made use of to perform the most signal exploits in extending the kingdom of the Cross.

David Crantz, The History of Greenland (London: 1820), II:4.

In reading these very curious productions, we seemed to be in a new world, and to have got among a set of beings, of whose existence we had hardly before entertained the slightest conception.... To [our] confined habits, and to our want of proper introductions among the children of light and grace, any degree of surprise is to be attributed, which may be excited by the publications before us; which, under opposite circumstances, would (we doubt not) have proved as great a source of instruction and delight to [us], as they are to the most melodious votaries of the tabernacle.

Sydney Smith, "Methodism," Works (4th edition, London: 1848), I:183.

CHAPTER I  
THE MORAVIAN CHURCH

The only existing Protestant sects to claim pre-Reformation origins are the Waldensians and the Moravians. The latter church, deriving from the medieval heretical underworld, dates its existence from 1457.<sup>1</sup> The Brethren built on the ruins of the Taborite party, defeated in the Hussite wars at the Battle of Lipan (1434) by a coalition of the moderate Utraquist party<sup>2</sup> with the Roman Catholics. The Taborites originally had a strong antinomian wing, and represented extreme anti-clericalism; driven underground, they repudiated their unsavoury origins, and claimed to be a new movement. The group that settled with Gregory the Patriarch at Kunwald, near Lititz in Moravia, in 1457 showed no Taborite fanaticism, but the personnel was largely ex-Taborite, even if the name and attitude had changed. In a Confession of 1572, the Unity of the Brethren claimed that since all Taborites had been killed by 1457, their Church was no relation. So far as they were concerned, their history began at Kunwald.

The Kunwald settlers had at first no desire to be an independent body, wanting only to be allowed to continue their own quiet rural existence. Anti-Catholic agitation was still strong in Bohemia, however, and the Brethren found themselves its new point d'appui. Suffering spasmodic persecution from Catholics and Utraquists, they were forced in self-defence to set up an independent organisation. In 1464 three elders were elected

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<sup>1</sup>This section is based on R.A. Knox, Enthusiasm (Oxford: 1950), pp. 390-398; Edward Langton, History of the Moravian Church (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956); and J.E. Hutton, A History of the Moravian Church (2nd edition, London: 1909).

<sup>2</sup>The Utraquists or Calixtines demanded Communion for the laity in both kinds.

as a governing board, and three years later, the Brethren instituted their own ministry. The first bishop of the Church, Michael Bradacius, was consecrated by a Waldensian bishop, and the line is claimed to have continued unbroken to the present day.

By the start of the sixteenth century, the Brethren had about two hundred churches in Bohemia and Moravia, and the German reformers showed themselves reasonably anxious to join with them, and so give Protestantism a pedigree. The Brethren themselves welcomed the Reformation, and their leader, Luke of Prague, built up a strong connection with Luther, who printed their Confession of Faith, and paid them tribute in his introduction (1538). Mutual disenchantment developed however; the Brethren felt that the German reformers were paying too little attention to discipline, and sent several deputations to Luther on the subject. It is not surprising that he found them prigs; the Bohemian Protestants went their own way.

Catholic persecution in the 1540's led to an emigration into Poland and Prussia in 1548, but when the situation eased in the 1560's, many returned, and the old Church flourished as never before. After 1612, Counter-Reformation Catholicism staged its counter-attack in Bohemia, and with the defeat of the Protestants, including the Brethren, at Weissenberg in 1620, the old Brethrens' Church was effectively ended. Once again there was an exodus to Poland, and a general dispersion. No permanent centre was established, and only a few congregations hung on in Bohemia, Moravia, and some central European towns. The survivors were called the "Hidden Seed", and became chiliastic in their misfortune. The episcopacy was carried on; John Amos Comenius consecrated his son-in-law Peter Jablonski, who in turn consecrated his son Daniel. It was this last who consecrated David Nitschmann, the first bishop of the renewed Church.

The renewer of the Brethren's Church was Nicholas Lewis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf. He was raised under the influence of Pietism, that attempt led by Philip Spener to rally a genuinely pious devotional group within the Lutheran Church. The movement was an anticipation of the Evangelical Revival, with its chief centre of influence at Halle, where Zinzendorf was educated. From there he entered the more strictly orthodox Lutheran atmosphere of Wittenberg, but he remained loyal to his background of true godliness and personal piety in intimate fellowship. Zinzendorf was a precocious Christian; he apparently sought God at the age of four, and was worried by atheistic scruples at the age of eight.<sup>3</sup> At ten, he founded a religious club that was to expand into the Order of the Mustard Seed, whose object was the reunion of the Churches. This was to remain an obsessive idea, which affected all his dealings with the Moravian Church, and indeed, largely determined its future character.

So far as his theology is concerned, it is distinguished by his central devotion to the Person of Christ. "Johannine rather than Pauline, it was a faith and a love rooted in the Incarnation as interpreted in a mind in which was fused the mystic's quest for God, and the evangelist's passion for souls."<sup>4</sup> Only in and through Christ would men find God, and the central point of Christ's Gospel was the Cross. Zinzendorf developed a fixation regarding the Crucifixion; he created a "Blood and Wounds" theology, and was to teach his missionaries to concentrate on this in their preaching.

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<sup>3</sup>Hutton, History of the Moravian Church, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup>W.G. Addison, The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, 1722-1930 (London: S.P.C.K., 1932), p. 19.

His is the true prophetic-evangelical type of piety characteristic of German Protestantism, with its instinct for homely colloquy with God, for the preaching of the Word, for simple converse and spiritual exercises in company with like-minded souls, above all, for its warm and cheerful devotion to Jesus the Lord and Saviour.<sup>5</sup>

In 1722, Zinzendorf bought an estate at Bethelsdorf in Saxony, and installing his Lutheran friend Rothe as pastor, set about creating his own model village. The same year, a party of Protestant refugees from Moravia arrived, led by an apostate Catholic, Christian David. Zinzendorf being away, his Steward led them to a hill on the estate where they might build. This place the steward called Herrnhut - "The Lord's Watch." This first group consisted of only a few members of the "Hidden Seed;" but as more exiles arrived - David went back and forth to Moravia ten times<sup>6</sup> - so did descendants of the old Moravian Church. The peculiar religious traditions of these refugees mattered little either to David or Zinzendorf, and Herrnhut became a centre for discontented Protestants of all shades, Calvinist, Pietist, or Anabaptist. Zinzendorf was not averse to collecting denominations; he wanted to unite them all into a microcosm that the world might imitate.<sup>7</sup>

By 1727, however, Herrnhut had become a nest of fanatics, and stood opposed to the Bethelsdorf settlement. Zinzendorf, who had hitherto virtually ignored the refugees, had to step in, and as lord of the manor, laid down a code of civil regulations known as The Manorial Injunctions and Prohibitions. A second document, the Brotherly Union and Compact, created a voluntary moral society of persons agreeing to a certain mode of communal

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<sup>5</sup>Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup>Hutton, History of the Moravian Church, p. 195.

<sup>7</sup>Knox, Enthusiasm, p. 401.

life. Neither document was to apply solely to the Moravian Brethren, indeed it was not until after the promulgation of these documents that Zinzendorf found a copy of Comenius' version of the Ancient Brethren's Ratio Disciplinae, and realised what exactly he had up on the hill. The discovery did not shake his conviction that his brotherhood should remain inside the Lutheran Church; mistakenly, he believed that the old church had been what he wanted Herrnhut to be - a Gemeinschaft in the Pietist manner, a Gemeine embodying the "ideal of the Unity of the true children of God."<sup>8</sup> In August 1729, he replied to criticism that he was founding a new sect; in the Notariats-Instrument, he claimed that he was only renewing an ancient Gemeine; that Herrnhut would cultivate friendship with other Brethren and Gemeinen that attained Lutheran standards of Church membership; and that the exiles would join in public worship with the Lutherans at Bethelsdorf. The Brethren were to be ecclesiola in ecclesia.

Zinzendorf never quite reconciled himself to the fact that he did create a sect, for he could never lose the ideal of Unity on the simple basis of the Saviour. To explain the multiplicity of Churches, he preached that God's dealings with man vary, but the truth of the Gospel is one; a community of spirit exists, but it is "...convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living..."<sup>9</sup> Thus Zinzendorf evolved the idea of the Tropus, by which he meant that unity of the spirit could be kept in spite of diversities

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<sup>8</sup>Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup>Zinzendorf, Of Ceremonies, quoted in Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 32-3.

in creed and liturgy - diverse tropoi; thus, the "...peculiar Moravian genius ( of the emigrants could retain the old Moravian discipline and forms of worship, while other members of the community might as rightly retain the Lutheran or Reformed ritual they had been accustomed to."<sup>10</sup> True to his teaching, Zinzendorf became a Lutheran pastor in 1734, and a Moravian bishop in 1737.

The traditions of the exiles, derived from their Fathers in the Bohemian Brüder-Kirche, and the disapprobation of the Landskirche, including the Pietists, forced Zinzendorf and his colleagues to a more definite and independent organisation. He continued to maintain, even after his consecration, that this did not imply separatism, and thus under his influence, the renewed church spread in two characteristic ways, by the Diaspora plan, and by the settlement.

Diaspora work was in essence the formation of scattered groups, held together by an inner bond, which accepted the moral and doctrinal standards of the Brethren, and with the consent of the local clergy, welcomed the ministrations of the Brethren's workers. These adherents were expected to continue participating in the sacraments of their own denominations. In North Wales, later on in the eighteenth century, Moravian pastors could apparently be seen shepherding their flocks into parish churches. This in part explains why so few Moravian congregations were ever founded. Diaspora groups were ordered not to set up as separate congregations, even though this was a time when increasing missionary activity was starting to put a

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<sup>10</sup>G.A. Wauer, The Beginnings of the Brethren's Church in England, quoted in Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 34.

strain on the existing organisation. As has been said, perhaps unkindly, the Diaspora plan was "the ecclesiastical conspirator's attempt to achieve the reunion of Christendom by creating in every national Church an élite of Zinzendorfians."<sup>11</sup>

While Diaspora groups were really auxiliaries to existing denominations, the Moravian church itself existed only within the settlement, which to the outsider, was the typical form of Moravian organisation. With its highly selective entry, the settlement was one way to inhibit the growth of the Gemeine into an established denomination; it also reinforced the idea of a brotherhood, which in Zinzendorf's view should be a small, cohesive and disciplined fellowship. He was attracted both by the tradition of discipline in the old Church, and by the concept of a spiritual élite, living apart from the world, over which he might rule. Only through the settlement could a Christianity of the highest quality be produced.

Zinzendorfian Christianity was a religion of the heart, and within a settlement, the hearts of its members could be carefully watched and controlled. The Elders ruled all aspects of life, regulating business and amusements, and giving permission to a Brother to name his heir or to take a wife. They controlled entry into the settlement, and also that Moravian peculiarity, the choir system, whereby the congregation was divided by age and sex. Each division, or choir, had its own hostel and its own special workers. Within the choirs were bands, groups of three to seven people, who met regularly to talk of spiritual matters. The choirs and bands were tightly controlled by "Helpers" or "Labourers," who convened the meetings

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<sup>11</sup>Knox, Enthusiasm, p. 403.

with the permission of the Elders.<sup>12</sup> "Watchful and careful they viewed all points of the battle array, and endeavoured to fix their field dispositions so as to throw back the enemy...."<sup>13</sup> In this way, the authorities kept a close watch on the spiritual development or otherwise of the Brethren. Bad reports could literally mean expulsion, although this was an extreme penalty, and a fallen Brother would usually have to undergo some lesser form of Church Discipline - public reproof, or banishment from the sacraments, until evidence of true repentance was shown. The settlement system, like Diaspora work, had an inhibiting effect on church growth, but it should be remembered that at this stage, and until well on in the nineteenth century, the Moravian Church had no great desire to grow at all.

Until Zinzendorf's death in 1760, the organisation of the Church as a whole was left undeveloped. The Count ruled as an autocrat, and although Synods met, there was no formalisation of their composition and powers. Supreme administrative power at first lay not with Zinzendorf, but with the holder of the office of General Elder, though he of course acted within the lines laid down by the Count. The fear that this office could develop into a Protestant Papacy was allayed by the bald decision in 1741 "That the office of General Elder be abolished and transferred to the Saviour." In 1760 there were two bodies for administration, a Raths-Conferenz for general direction, and a Board to manage finance. It was evident that some reorganisation was vital if the Church was to survive without Zinzendorf's energy and money. His lieutenant, Spangenberg, was

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<sup>12</sup>Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 61, 121.

<sup>13</sup>Herrnhut Diary (1735), Quoted Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 61.

brought back from America, where he had been concerned with the foundation of Moravian settlements, and three Synods were held in 1764, 1769 and 1775 to work out a new constitution. The supreme power was vested in the General Synod, which appointed bishops and ministers, and the executive which was to administer the Church between Synods. All appointments were ratified by the lot,<sup>14</sup> and the executive, known at first as the Directory, and after 1769 as the Unity's Elders' Conference (U.E.C.), was responsible to the Synod. This centralised all real power in Germany, and the U.E.C. in practice consisted invariably of Germans. The Provincial Synods which existed in Upper Lusatia, Silesia, England, Holland, Ireland, and America, had only deliberative powers. All their decisions had to be approved by the General Synod or the U.E.C. The latter body appointed the executive officers in each province, who were not responsible to their provinces, but to the U.E.C., which even went so far as to appoint local Elders' Conferences and settlement managers, and to give approval or otherwise to the marriage of every minister, always according to the lot.

This concentration of authority cannot be attributed to a desire on the part of the German province for predominance over the other provinces, nor to a particular desire to exercise benevolent autocracy. It was rather the result of an attempt to preserve loyalty to the centre by followers of Zinzendorf who regarded the Unity not as a distinct church, but as a federation of members in societies and settlements auxiliary to the National Churches. The main thread of Moravian Church History is the fading of the Zinzendorffian imprint in constitutional as in other matters, and the mid-

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<sup>14</sup>See pp. 11-12 below.

nineteenth century sees the growth of liberalised church government and provincial independence. English Moravian historians<sup>15</sup> tend to resent the cramping effect that excessive continental control has had on their church, and to present their histories in somewhat Whiggish terms. This fails to take into account the conception that Zinzendorf and his followers held of the renewed Unity; they never meant it to be a church in the accepted sense, and thus centralism can be justified as the only way to hold together the scattered adherents of the Brotherhood.

In the 1730's, fired by Zinzendorf's enthusiasm, the first Moravian missionaries left Herrnhut, for the West Indies in 1732, Greenland in 1733, Lapland in 1734, for the Cape of Good Hope and the Guinea Coast in 1737, for the Samoyedes in Russia in 1737-8. Not all these journeys led to the foundation of permanent mission fields, but missionary enthusiasm continued undiminished, and since this time, the Moravian Church has been oriented towards foreign missions, seeing them as one of the main objects of its existence.

Missionaries were formally appointed by Zinzendorf, and after his death, by the Missions Department of the U.E.C.. A volunteer had to inform the authorities of his desire to preach to the heathen, and at the same time, a report on him would be sent by the Elders of his Congregation.<sup>16</sup> The typical missionary was an artisan, with little intellectual training,

but ... in lieu of this ... armed with a lively faith, sound sense, and a constitution inured to hardships and toil. Neither have the Brethren, in their subsequent labours among the heathen,

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<sup>15</sup> e.g., J.E. Hutton.

<sup>16</sup> Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum who Minister in the Gospel among the Heathen. (London: S.F.G., 1784), pp. 6-7.

found it expedient, to employ in the capacity of missionaries, men of much literary knowledge, who cannot easily conform their manner of life to the circumstances, or sympathise with the ignorance of the savages ....<sup>17</sup>

He had to obey the Church authorities implicitly - Zinzendorf until his death, and later, the Missions' Department of the U.E.C. - and had to be willing to work for his living, and serve without pay.<sup>18</sup>

The roots of the missionaries' devotion seem to lie in their belief in the direct and active intervention of God in everyday life. Their assurance was by no means confined to the next life; as Wesley put it, it was "Firma fiducia in Deum, et persuasio de gratia divina, tranquillitas mentis summa atque serenitas et pax."<sup>19</sup> They were willing therefore to decide all questions by Lot: "To me, the Lot and the Will of God are one and the same thing. I would rather trust an innocent piece of paper than my own excited feelings."<sup>20</sup> Zinzendorf was in the habit of carrying around a little green book with detachable leaves, on each of which was written a motto or text, and when in a quandary, he would pull one out at random. He told his missionaries to do the same, instructing Matthew Stach, for instance, the

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<sup>17</sup>David Crantz, The History of Greenland (London: Longman, 1820), II:233.

<sup>18</sup>J. Taylor Hamilton (A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church, (Bethlehem, Pa.: 1901) p. 18.) gives the information that from 1733, Herrnhut was divided into two classes with respect to mission work - descendants of those families who had belonged to the old Moravian Church, and former members of other Protestant sects who had recently joined the renewed church. The former were expected to produce men who would be willing to serve overseas, while the latter had no such obligations. This does not mean, so far as Labrador was concerned, that there was a preponderance of old Moravians among the missionaries in the period dealt with here. Out of a total of 59 men and women, only eight are listed in the Church Books as having been born Moravians, and of these, only two (Joseph Neisser and Johann Schneider) came from an old Moravian family. See Appendix III, p. 234).

<sup>19</sup>Wesley's Journal, 10/8/1738, quoted Knox, Enthusiasm, p. 411.

<sup>20</sup>Zinzendorf to Spangenberg, quoted in Hutton, Missions, p. 172.

first to go to Greenland, never to take a single step without consulting the lot.<sup>21</sup> Although the use of the lot had an inhibiting effect in church government, it gave the missionary the invaluable assurance that he was obeying God directly. It was also Moravian practice to select one verse as the watchword for each day; at first the text would be chosen day by day, but soon Text Books were issued, which covered a whole year. The daily text was thought to have a special message - and this was another prop to the confidence of the missionary. The party travelling to Labrador were much encouraged when the text for July 1, 1771, the day they arrived at St. John's, read "Thy gates shall be open continually - that men may bring unto thee the forces of the gentiles" (Isaiah XI:2).<sup>22</sup>

Zinzendorf maintained that good example could drag the heathen from the mire of sin. Especially while ignorant of the native language, the Brethren must preach through their actions. Thus missionaries must labour, and earn their own living. They must be content with bare necessities, and were neither to demand luxuries nor accept presents. "You must labour with your hands," Zinzendorf told Schmidt in South Africa, "until you have won the love of the people" - "you must set them such a dazzling example that they cannot help asking who made these delightful creatures." No missionary must ever seek the praise of men: the Brethren must be willing to suffer, die, and be forgotten, content that such is the will of God. They must themselves obey their ecclesiastical and secular superiors, and "...teach the heathen, by your example, to fear God and honour the King."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Hutton, Missions, p. 172.

<sup>22</sup>History of the Mission of the Church of the United Brethren in Labrador for the past Hundred Years (London: W. Mallalieu and Co., 1871), p. 17. (Also in PA XVIII:57).

<sup>23</sup>Quotations from Hutton, Missions, pp. 176-177.

During the early years, the method that the missionaries used to expound Christianity to the heathen was much the same as that of any other protestant church. / They proved the existence of God, and described his attributes, the creation and the fall; they expounded the Mosaic Laws, and tried to prove to the heathen that they were sinners deserving punishment, and in need of a Saviour to reconcile them with God. This had little success, and the Brethren found that they could touch the hearts of the unconverted more speedily by concentrating on Christ and the crucifixion; "the blood and death of Jesus must remain our diamond in the golden ring of the gospel." <sup>24</sup> The inculcation of doctrine was believed to be less important than a genuine change of heart, a work of the spirit, which could be produced by dwelling on what a Danish Lutheran missionary in Greenland called "Christ in His state of degradation and His hardest sufferings."<sup>25</sup>

The same principle was to apply in foreign missions as in Diaspora work: "You must not enrol your converts as members of the Moravian Church; you must be content to enrol them as Christians."<sup>26</sup> In those areas where no other churches were at work, typical Moravian congregations were of course set up; but where the denominational nature of the Christian Church was apparent, the Moravians trod, except in Greenland, with care:

We confess and preach to the heathen "Jesus Christ and Him crucified" as the Saviour of the world... and we seek, so far as in us lies, to keep them ignorant of the many divisions in Christendom: but if they happen to have been informed thereof ... we endeavour with great precaution to approve ourselves

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<sup>24</sup> A.G. Spangenberg, An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum ... preach the Gospel, and carry on their Missions among the Heathen (London: 1788), p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in H. Ostermann, "The History of the Mission", Greenland (Copenhagen / London: 1929), III:293.

<sup>26</sup> Hutton, Missions, p. 182.

impartial, speak of the several divisions with much tenderness, and to extenuate and not exaggerate the differences, that thus the knowledge of the mystery of Christ may be increased, and misapprehensions diminished.<sup>27</sup>

Thus by 1760, there were only 1,000 enrolled converts. This attitude towards independent growth stems from Zinzendorf's complete lack of faith in the future of the Moravian Church; his dream was always of one holy and catholic church, and he used the metaphor "temporary tent" to describe the supposedly transitory nature of the renewed Unity. He also believed that the time for the conversion of whole nations had not yet come. As long as the Jews remained unconverted, the only heathen that would accept the Gospel would be a few chosen "Candace-Souls" ("First-Fruits"), but before the end of the eighteenth century, Jesus Christ would appear in bodily form to the Jews, and they would then begin to preach the Gospel.<sup>28</sup> It is understandable that some commentators seem to doubt Zinzendorf's sanity.

His principles regarding missionary work were, however, generally maintained after his death. The "First Fruits" idea was abandoned in 1764, when it was declared that the missionaries should preach to all, and organise themselves in the field as integral parts of the church, each mission field becoming a Province, directly controlled by the Missions' Department in Germany. In time Zinzendorf's stringent regulations concerning, for instance, the acceptance of presents and payments, were relaxed and the attitude towards education changed; but these are developments which lie outside the present field of study.

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<sup>27</sup> Spangenberg, Candid Declaration of the Church known by the name of the Unitas Fratrum relative to their Labour among the Heathen (1768), quoted Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 155.

<sup>28</sup> Hutton, Missions, p. 183.

It was business relating to the establishment of settlements in British North America that first brought members of the renewed Unity to England. In 1732, a group of Schwenkenfelders<sup>29</sup> were ordered by the Saxon authorities to leave Zinzendorf's estates, and he applied to the Georgia Trustees for land. Spangenberg, who was put in charge of the project, went to London to make the necessary arrangements, and to sound out the Trustees on the matter of a mission to the Indians. He met opposition from an Hanoverian group at Court led by the chaplain, Ziegenhagen, but made a firm friend for the Brethren in Oglethorpe, the chairman of the Trustees. The settlers left for Georgia in 1735, and a second group under Bishop Nitschmann soon after. It was with this group that the Wesleys sailed to America.<sup>30</sup>

Oglethorpe's desire for more Moravians in Georgia brought Zinzendorf to London, and he made contact with Charles Wesley, who was at the time staying with James Hutton, a bookseller who kept open house for evangelicals. No specifically Moravian group was set up at this time, but Peter Böhler, in London in 1738 prior to going to South Carolina, met with the Wesley circle at Oxford and London, and organised a society on the established pattern among ten young men who met at Hutton's house. John Wesley, newly returned from America, and under strong Moravian influence, was a leading member.

Wesley's conversion occurred soon after Böhler's departure, and in

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<sup>29</sup> Followers of the Reformation theologian Schwenkenfeld; mystical in attitude, they could not accept the Lutheran view of the Eucharist, and developed a doctrine of the deification of Christ's humanity. Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 1229.

<sup>30</sup> This paragraph and most of what follows is based on G.A. Wauer, The Beginnings of the Brethren's Church in England (trans. J. Elliot. Moravian House, Baildon, Yorkshire: 1901), pp. 56-76.

1738 he left with Benjamin Ingham<sup>31</sup> to visit Moravian settlements in Germany. He met Zinzendorf at Marienborn, and the friction that developed between these two autocrats was aggravated by the refusal of the Brethren there to admit Wesley to the Communion, on the grounds that he was a "restless man." Impressed though he was with Herrnhut, Wesley's disenchantment with the Moravians developed quickly. For a time he maintained his connection with Hutton's society which by now was an important centre of religious enthusiasm with a chapel in Fetter Lane, but in 1740 left with his own faction to work alone.

The underlying cause of the schism lay partly in conflicts of personality, partly in a dispute as to the nature of conversion. The Moravian faction within the Fetter Lane Society gave the impression that conversion was instantaneous and complete; there was no struggle, no painful reconciliation. Zinzendorf mistrusted transports and self-torture, and recommended a passive attitude, on the grounds that salvation was a gift that should be received in quietness, with no effort on the part of the individual concerned. There was no room for doubts. This form of quietism was preached in an exaggerated form in London by Peter Molther, a missionary on his way to Pennsylvania, who maintained that there was no faith short of full assurance, and that without it, all religious activities were useless. John Wesley had never been sure that his interior peace was up to Moravian standards, and had never been able to rid himself of doubts. He could not accept the implication that his conversion was not genuine, and against the Moravian doctrine of stillness, maintained the idea that man could approach

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<sup>31</sup>1712-72. One of the Wesley group at Oxford, later evangelist in Yorkshire. DNB X:434.

grace by means of the sacraments. By 1740, moreover, he had begun to preach, moving crowds to emotional manifestations, while the Moravian group led by Hutton and Molther, continued to adhere to stillness. This was the fundamental divergence, made worse by Wesley's suspicion of Moravian antinomianism, and Zinzendorf's suspicion of what he saw as Wesley's spiritual pride and legalism.<sup>32</sup>

From this time, the Fetter Lane Society came under direct Moravian influence. Spangenberg arrived in London in 1741, and proceeded to organise the English work around Hutton and the Society. In October 1742, Fetter Lane was established as a "Congregation of the Unity of the Brethren", licensed as a dissenting congregation, and approved by the lot.<sup>33</sup> Spangenberg also organised missionary work, especially in Yorkshire, where the aim, as always, was to evangelise and not to proselytise. As the century passed, the English Moravians came under even stronger German control, and were not allowed to develop a church with a specifically national character.

From the start the English Church was expected to play its part in missionary activity. Spangenberg in 1741 set up a Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (S.F.G.) to act as a rallying point for all interested in the Brethrens' missions. It met on the first Monday of each month to listen to mission reports, and to take a collection; it gave help and hospitality to any missionary passing through London. The membership declined in the 1750's, but with an increasing number of missions being established in British Colonies, and the possibility of a Labrador mission,

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<sup>32</sup>Knox, Enthusiasm, pp. 467-473. For a full account, see Clifford W. Towlson, Moravian and Methodist (London: The Epworth Press, 1957), pp.79-117.

<sup>33</sup>Wauer, Beginnings of the Brethrens' Church, p. 90.

the Society "renewed and reformed" itself on September 23, 1768, in order to play a more active role.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>"Retrospect of the Origin and Progress of the Brethrens' Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, and of its operations during the past hundred years." PA XVI: 1-5.

## CHAPTER II

### LABRADOR, 1752-1764

A mission had been established among the Greenland Eskimos by the Norwegian Hans Egede in 1724. He worked under great difficulties, with little encouragement, and with small success.<sup>1</sup> At the coronation of Christian VI at Copenhagen in 1731, Zinzendorf met two of the converts and determined to send help if possible.<sup>2</sup> The first Moravian party, consisting of Matthew and Christian Stach, and Christian David, left for Greenland in 1733. From an early date, the Greenland missionaries were of the opinion that the people living on the other side of Davis Strait were akin to Greenlanders, an impression confirmed by the reports of Henry Ellis, who in 1746-7 made an attempt on the North-West Passage.<sup>3</sup> Matthew Stach was among the first to advocate an extension of mission work to the American Eskimos. Leaving Greenland in 1751, he applied to the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to preach to the natives attached to their factories, but this was refused.<sup>4</sup>

Stach returned to Greenland, but the project had fired the imagination of John Christian Ehrhardt, a sailor from Wismar, who had been converted while on a visit to St. Thomas in the West Indies in 1741, where he had met Moravian missionaries. He had subsequently been the mate on a whaler working in Disko Bay, and seems also to have sailed in the Irene, the supply ship for the Greenland Moravian settlements.

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<sup>1</sup>See L. Bobé, Hans Egede. Coloniser and Missionary of Greenland (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1952).

<sup>2</sup>Crantz, Greenland, II:4.

<sup>3</sup>Crantz, Greenland, II:287.

<sup>4</sup>Crantz, Greenland, II:119,287.

He had therefore probably met Stach, and had certainly picked up some of the Eskimo language.<sup>5</sup> As early as 1750, he had written to Bishop de Watteville on the subject of a Labrador mission -

Now, dear Johannes, thou knowest that I am an old Greenland traveller; I have also an amazing affection for these northern countries, Indians, and other barbarians; it would be a source of the greatest joy if the Saviour would discover to me that He has chosen me.<sup>6</sup>

In 1752, after the failure of Stach's scheme, Ehrhardt was given permission to go to Labrador. Three merchant members of the London congregation, Nisbet, Grace and Bell, bought and fitted out the Hope, "so that the Brethren could establish a settlement and publish the Gospel there, and for the purpose of trade."<sup>7</sup> It was hoped that the voyage would pay for itself, and that the coastal trade would be fruitful enough for a regular communication to be kept up with Labrador without financial help from the Church itself. Ehrhardt was engaged as super-cargo; he would have been captain, had there been time for him to be naturalised before the voyage, and the owners stipulated that on the next trip the present captain, Madgson, would become mate, and that Ehrhardt would take his place. As it was, his position was a special one; the council on board was to consist of Madgson, Ehrhardt, the clerk (Hamilton), and the mate (Goffe), but in the case of a tie, Ehrhardt was to have the casting vote.<sup>8</sup> Four Brethren were to go as missionaries - George Golkowsky,

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<sup>5</sup>Crantz, Greenland, II:287. Also, J.W. Davey, The Fall of Torngak (London: Moravian Mission Agency, 1905), pp. 60-2.

<sup>6</sup>Quoted in Davey, Fall of Torngak, p. 60.

<sup>7</sup>Diary of Kunz, Post, Krum and Golkowsky, May - November 1752. LA 4, PAC 548. Tr.

<sup>8</sup>Instructions for Capt. John Madgshon and John Erhardt our Agent in our ship called the Hope .... May 3, 1752. LA 4.

John Christian Krum, Frederick Post, and Matthew Kunz. Before leaving they were given to understand by Zinzendorf, who was then in London, that the voyage was primarily a reconnaissance, and that if they decided to stay in Labrador, it was to be entirely of their own free will; if any one of them decided to return with the ship, he was at liberty to do so, and was not necessarily bound by the decision of the others.<sup>9</sup>

The Hope left London on May 18th, and Gravesend on the 21st. On July 11th, Belle Isle was sighted, and on the 13th the ship cast anchor in a bay teeming with codfish. Goffe gives the latitude as 52<sup>o</sup>30' north, an inlet now known as Alexis Bay, but which the missionaries, in pedestrian fashion, called "Codd Bay." The missionaries and some others went on shore the next day, and "we found it to be a Land Vastly Barren and No Singes that Ever there had Been any human Creature there." However, they sang a Liturgy together to give thanks for their fortune so far, and held a Lovefeast to dedicate the land and its inhabitants to God. Ehrhardt and Hamilton set up a "monument" taking possession of the land in the King's name, and after the ship had taken on wood and water, the expedition continued north on July 18th. The next day, they sailed into a "very fine inlet," which they explored on the 20th and found to be much more attractive than "Codd Bay;" predictably, they called it "Faire Bay." This may have been Rocky Bay, or possibly Table Bay. The Brethren were struck by the

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<sup>9</sup> Diary, as cited above. This document is the main source for the following account, together with A Journal of an intended voyage By Gods Permission on the Good Ship Hope Capt. Madgson from London to the Coast of Larabodor and to Newfoundland and to Watterford. Transactions and observations Kept and Noted By me Elijah Goff Being then Cheife Mate of sd. Ship. November 8, 1752. LA 4. Except where other citations are given, these are the only sources used. There is some discrepancy between them with regard to dates, and Goffe's Journal has been followed in this respect. The dates are given in New Style, although Goffe for the most part used the Old Style.

abundance of wildfowl and good stands of trees, and they seriously considered settling there. There were, however, few signs of human occupation, and the Hope continued north on the 21st.

By July 26th, the Hope was outside Windy Tickle, which the missionaries took to be the entrance to Davis Inlet. There was a thick fog, and the ship was becalmed. They could see nothing until the 28th, when they heard "an uncommon Noise and Directly Saw 5 Eskemo Kyacks" which came within two hundred yards of the boat. Ehrhardt hailed them through a megaphone, and when they held up whalebone, had the ship's boat lowered, and went out to meet them. The Eskimos came on board, and "they were friendly and kissed us, but when they had traded some whalebone and seal-skins, they hurried away." Only Ehrhardt could understand anything of their speech.

No Eskimos visited the Hope the next day, although two kayaks were seen, and the ship continued its slow drift south. On the 30th, a southwest wind got up, and being unable to get into Davis Inlet, they put into a bay to the south, where there was good holding ground, and they would be safe from storms. The Watchword of the day was favourable - "At the last day you will come into the land where many peoples are gathered together and live in peace. There God lives with man" - and the Brethren decided to build their house there. The bay they called Nisbet's Harbour, after one of the owners of the Hope.<sup>10</sup>

Eskimos came to the bay to trade; on the 31st, sixteen came to trade bone and sealskins, and on August 2nd, a far greater crowd in kayaks and larger boats. The missionaries found them "friendly but thievish,"

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<sup>10</sup>For a discussion of the location of Nisbet's Harbour, see Appendix I, p. 228.

and unwilling to stay on board longer than was necessary. The handicap imposed on the former by ignorance of the language prevented any long conversation, but being anxious to find out where the Eskimos lived, Ehrhardt, Kunz, and Post followed them to their tents. The Eskimos struck camp and moved away to the north.

The next day the Brethren put up a temporary hut they had brought with them, and began to clear a site and fell trees for their house. Ehrhardt asked the crew to help with the work, but they all utterly refused except for the captain, the carpenter, and the cook. In spite of this, the Brethren were able to lay the foundation stone on August 9th: "Brother Kunz said a prayer, and we called the place Hoffnungsthal [Hopedale], for we built in the trust and hope that the dear Saviour would, in His own time, receive the reward for His suffering from the poor Eskimos." The work went on quite fast, in spite of those on shore being "Almost Eate up with muskeaters," and time was found to clear land for a garden, and to plant salad, herbs and root vegetables - none of which grew to any size, as the "frost came too soon."

By September 3rd, the house was virtually finished, twenty-two feet long and sixteen feet wide, with a living room, store room, and kitchen. The ship was anxious to be on its way, and Ehrhardt brought ashore provisions for one year, together with two cannon and eight muskets. The missionaries signed a paper declaring they remained behind of their own free will, and wrote letters to Europe which they gave to Ehrhardt and Hamilton when they came ashore to take their leave. The Hope sailed out of the bay on the 4th, saluting those left behind with a cannon shot. The missionaries transferred their possessions from the hut to the house, and began to prepare for winter.

At the mouth of the bay, the Hope met an umiak, but as the Eskimos had little to trade, continued north with the boat in company. It was not long before they met other boats, and did a little trading, before coming to anchor. Trading continued on the 5th and 6th, and on the 7th, the Hope anchored at "as we conclude the mouth of Davises Inlet." They were near an Eskimo camp, but the volume of trade was small, and at midnight on the night of the 9th-10th, the watch heard the Eskimos "hollow an Bawl and we judge that they then was Removing as they made us to understand they had more whale Bone to the Northward and we judge they are going to fetch it as they told us they would." On the morning of the 11th, two Eskimos came out to the Hope and asked Ehrhardt to go on shore to trade; this he did, and later in the day the Eskimos came and traded on the ship. The same pattern occurred the next morning, September 12th, when three Eskimos again asked Ehrhardt to go ashore, as two boats had come from the north laden with whalebone, With Ehrhardt went Hamilton, the bosun, three sailors (Lawson, Gordon, and Newel), and the captain - this last in the hope of preventing thefts which had occurred on shore the day before.

The ship's boat was soon out of sight behind an island, and was never seen again. They were expected back in two hours, and Goffe, who had a healthy mistrust of the natives, was at once concerned when they failed to return. No sign of life was seen, except that about three hours after the boat had left, Goffe saw an Eskimo stand on top of the island, look towards the ship, and run down again. That night all hands were kept on deck, lights were hoisted, and a cannon fired at intervals. The watch was maintained throughout the 13th, but nothing was seen. Goffe had no boat in which to investigate, and on the 14th, when it looked as though it was going to blow, he decided to go back to Nisbet's Harbour, pick up the missionaries'

aspects

yawl, and then begin a search, although in his own mind he was sure that the seven men had been killed. The Hope weighed anchor at 11 a.m. and at 5.30 that evening, the missionaries saw the Hope enter the harbour and signal to them with a shot.

The missionaries were unable to come out to the Hope until high tide on the morning of the 15th. The yawl set out at once for the island where the seven had disappeared, but was driven back by high winds, which prevented any attempt the next day as well. After discussing the matter on the 17th, the missionaries decided to return home with the ship, which would otherwise have been seriously undermanned. Snow on the hills the next morning increased the missionaries' haste to be gone, their nerve apparently destroyed by the massacre. They took their goods on board ship and nailed up the house, but being unwilling to admit that there was no hope at all for the seven, they left "a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, Cloaths and Tools, in Case our People, as it is very probable, should retire to the House."<sup>11</sup> They hid the key, leaving directions on a paper fixed to the door "that they might finde it if they escaped." The Hope left the bay on September 19th; the wind was against their going to the island, and with "the advice of the Passengers and Importunity of the crew," Goffe set a course for St. John's. As they sailed away, the missionaries dedicated "the land and the Eskimos to the dear Saviour, that in His own time His Name would be glorified there. The Watchword was - 'Grace and truth will not leave thee.'"

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<sup>11</sup> Abstract from different Letters wrote from the Valley of Hope near Nesbithaven Sept. 4 & from St. John's Harbour, October 9 & 10 in the year 1752. PAC A 568.

The expectation that the seven were still alive was repeated in the Instructions issued to Goffe in 1753, when he made another voyage to Labrador in the Hope.<sup>12</sup> Goffe made Nisbet Harbour on July 20th, and "found the House tore all to pieces, saw no signes of our People." On August 1st, he searched the island where they had disappeared, but again found no traces. The Hope then went on north as far as 60°35', but on the way south, stopped again at Nisbet Harbour, and sent the longboat "down amongst the islands." By chance, the boat stopped at an island on which they found the bodies of the missing men, "but could not distinguish any one but Mr. Hamilton, they being so mangled."<sup>13</sup> In 1774, Brother Beck at Nain asked some Arvertok Eskimos if they had heard of the expedition. They said that they knew of it, although they were children at the time. The leader they called "Johanisseme Attolik," and the house, they said, had been plundered by people from Kippokak; many of these had been hurt, because they had set fire to a barrel of gunpowder out of curiosity.<sup>14</sup> There were no further Moravian expeditions to Labrador until 1764, when Jens Haven, inspired by Ehrhardt's murder to carry on the work there finally received permission to make a reconnaissance.

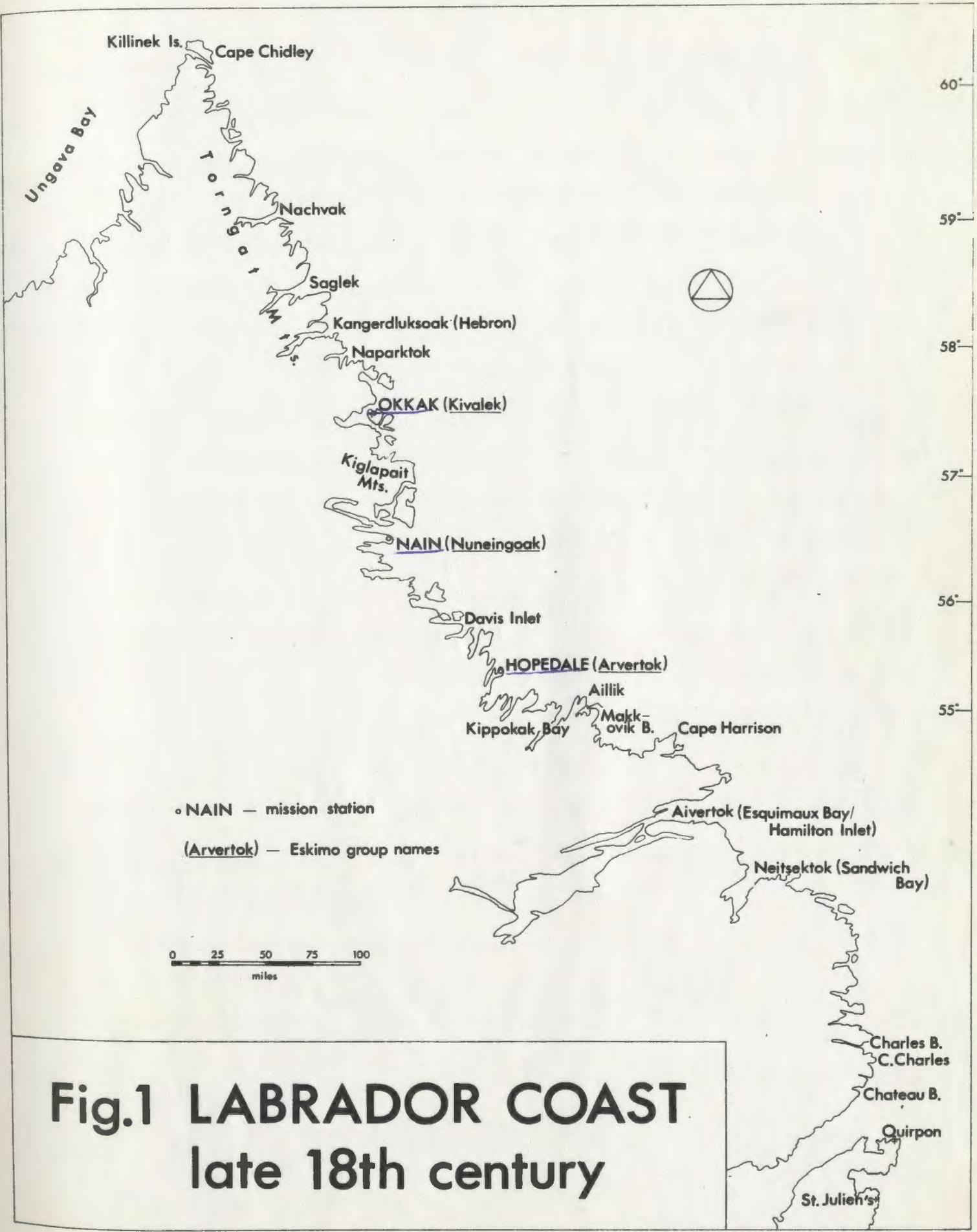
The question remains, however, as to why the 1752 massacre occurred; and this, as well as later Moravian voyages and attitudes, can only be explained and understood when placed in the context of Eskimo-

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<sup>12</sup>Instruction for Captain Elis: Goffe and John Bell Clarke in the ship called Hope, March 29, 1753. LA 4.

<sup>13</sup>Goffe to Nisbet [?], Oct. 6, 1753. PAC A 568.

<sup>14</sup>ND 10/9/74.



**Fig.1 LABRADOR COAST  
late 18th century**

European relations on the Labrador coast. It would seem that by the sixteenth century at the latest, the Eskimos had spread along the north shore of the St. Lawrence as far west as Mingan.<sup>15</sup> In this southern area they came into conflict with the eastern Montagnais Indians, who were armed by the French, and with the white settlers who began moving onto the coast in the early eighteenth century. Courtemanche, who established himself at Bradore in 1702, was harrassed by Eskimos, and he was not the first European to find himself in this situation; the Basques had earlier been forced to give up their whaling operations.<sup>16</sup>

In the general anarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Indians and the whites, sometimes separately, sometimes in alliance, pushed the Eskimos back first to the Straits of Belle Isle, and then north to the Hamilton Inlet, which remains their southern boundary. Some, of course, were left behind during this process to become absorbed eventually into the white population. This is indicated by the reports of Captain Cartwright and others of Eskimos in the south at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The withdrawal to the north was certainly not complete by the 1760's, but there seem to have been no Eskimos living south of Cape Charles. X

The presence of Europeans in the south created a magnet for the Eskimos living in and to the north of the Hamilton Inlet. The withdrawal to the north is therefore confused by the habit these northern groups

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<sup>15</sup> V. Tanner, Outlines of the Geography, Life and Customs of Newfoundland-Labrador. (ACTA Geographica. Vol VIII, No. 1. Helsinki: 1944), p. 477.

<sup>16</sup> W.G. Gosling, Labrador: its Discovery, Exploration, and Development (London: Alston Rivers Ltd., 1910), pp. 131, 133.

<sup>17</sup> For discussion of the Eskimos in South Labrador, see Tanner, Newfoundland-Labrador, pp. 481-2; E.W. Hawkes, The Labrador Eskimo (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916), pp. 17-18; D. Jennes, Eskimo Administration: III Labrador (Technical Paper No. 16. Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1965), pp. 9-10; and A.S. Packard, "Notes on the Labrador Eskimo and Their Former Range Southward." American Naturalist, Vol. XIX (1885), No. 5, p. 471; No. 6, p. 553.

developed of coming south in the summers to trade and plunder, sometimes wintering in the south. This seasonal movement was well established by 1750, as is indicated by Goffe's remarks in his Journal of the 1752 voyage:

i Believe and have heard since i came to Newfoundland that they the Eskimos trade with the french and i have heard that they Come Down to the North Part of Newfoundland and Steele the french fishing Boats and murder all the french they can come a crosse ... We found that they Spooke Severel french words and had as we Judged some french Clothes .... they will Steele the teeth out of your head if you Do Not mind them Very Narrowly.

There are other reports of French trading vessels in the Hamilton Inlet in the 1750's,<sup>18</sup> and of Eskimos coming over to Quirpon "in Batteaus with their Canoes in the Summer Season with Whalebone Seal Skins & etc. to exchange for European Commodities with which the French Fishing ships used to supply them."<sup>19</sup>

The actual trade was not very lucrative, and was not without trouble, once the Eskimos began stealing fishing boats. According to Jens Haven, the situation began to get out of hand when some Englishmen and Americans, thinking there were huge profits to be made from the Eskimo trade, began their own operations. These traders gave the Eskimos too much freedom in order to gain their good will, and of this the latter took advantage, looking "on the Europeans as stupid people without understanding, whom they could cheat and rob as they pleased."<sup>20</sup> By the 1760's, neither side thought it wrong to steal from the other, nor to kill if need be.

In spite of competition from others, and the Eskimos' skill at robbery, the French maintained their hold on the Eskimos until the years

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<sup>18</sup>Tanner, Newfoundland - Labrador, p. 481.

<sup>19</sup>Richard Farr to Board of Trade, Bristol, November 29, 1762. CO 194/15, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup>Jens Haven, A brief Account of the dwelling places of the Esquimaux to the North of Nagvack to Hudsons Straits, their Situation and Subsistence. 1773[?]. LA 5.

following the Peace of Paris in 1763, when the British authorities did what they could to break it. Even so, for some years the French managed "so as that the Esquimaux brought what whalebone they had to ... their old Acquaintance to Newfoundland where the French were."<sup>21</sup>

Some considered that the Eskimos were more sinned against than sinning. A memoir written by one of Courtemanche's men in 1715-16 takes this view,<sup>22</sup> echoed later by Lieutenant Roger Curtis in 1772, who considered that the Eskimos "were impelled by Avenge to the Outrages them committed, through the Inhumanity of the New England Whalers."<sup>23</sup> Although there is truth in this, Haven gives a different picture, describing how

a Band of Robbers from Arvertok the proudest and roughest of all the Esk. made a profession of going to the South ... and under the pretence of trading stole whatever they could, and if they could ... murdered them [the English] without peril.<sup>24</sup>

Eskimos from the north of Arvertok, from Nuneingoak and Kivallek,<sup>25</sup> joined this band to make up a fleet of eighteen boats which cruised in the Straits of Belle Isle in 1764, as well as in other years. The operation was, according to Haven, carefully organised; kayaks always reconnoitred ahead, and the main party would move only by night or in fog. If the Europeans were few, they would creep into a harbour at night and set up a yelling that would cause the Europeans to make off, leaving all their gear behind. If there were a fair number of Europeans, or if they stood firm, the Eskimos would establish confidence through regular trading, and then, at a prearranged signal, stab them. This had apparently happened at

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<sup>21</sup>Haven, A brief Account ...

<sup>22</sup>Gosling, Labrador, p. 133.

<sup>23</sup>Roger Curtis, A short Account of the Territory of Labradore, 1772. CO 194/30, p. 174.

<sup>24</sup>Haven, A brief Account ....

<sup>25</sup>See Appendix II, p. 238, and Fig. 1, p. 27.

Chateau Bay and at Quirpon, and it was no wonder that "if they heard the cry of a bird in the night, everyone began to tremble."

This Band of Robbers furnished the whole coast of Labrador, as far as Hudson's Bay not only with Iron ware, but also with Boats, Sails, Anchors, Ropes and Nets. The Boats were so plenty ... that they often sold a Boat for a few skins, or 12 whale fins, or 2 or 3 Dogs.

By the 1760's, European goods must already have been familiar in northern Labrador. Goffe in the 1752 Journal mentioned that the Eskimos' large boats "have Sailes and Eare Pitcht and Cawlkd as well as the Newfoundland Boats Eare ... they have Got [them] from the french." He also noticed Eskimos using iron pots. It was the Arvertokers and their associates who were the merchants among the Labrador Eskimos. They bought whalebone and other trade goods from their countrymen, and took these commodities south to trade for European articles, which they brought back with as much stolen booty as possible to the north. The main article of inter-Eskimo trade was whalebone, dictated by the European demand for that commodity. This the Arvertokers obtained from the bands north of them. They themselves rarely went further north than Kangerdluksoak, and the northern Eskimos rarely came further south than Nachvak; the Saglek people therefore acted as middlemen, and were visited by Eskimos from north and south. Kangerdluksoak, Saglek, and Nachvak were the main sources of whalebone, but people from these places did not go to the south; they were content to get European goods through the Arvertokers. The Nachvakers traded iron goods with the Eskimos to the north of them, but for wood and soapstone rather than whalebone, which was "not esteemed" in the north.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Material from Jens Haven, A brief Account...., and Extract of the Voyage of the Sloop George from Nain to reconnoitre the northern parts of Labradore, 1773, LA 5.

The presence of Europeans in the south, and the availability of iron goods and other articles, obviously intensified and extended an inter-group trade that had been hitherto rudimentary. New demands and needs were created, especially as the European wooden boat became popular, and the annual marauding trips to the south became a necessity rather than an adventure. Lieutenant Curtis was acute enough to recognise that "the Theft appears to be more the Effect of Necessity than the Consequence of a ferocious Disposition."<sup>27</sup> Moreover, those who went south neglected the summer trout fishery and caribou hunt; arriving back in the autumn with no provision for winter, and no skins for clothing, they had sometimes to sell their loot for necessaries, and this drove them south again the next summer to replace what they had lost, especially if it was a boat.<sup>28</sup> Both Haven in 1764 and Curtis in 1772 saw that the only way to solve the problem was to enable the Eskimos to make enough of a living to buy what they needed honestly, preferably from a trading post in the north, which would remove the necessity for the southern trips. Curtis thought that once such a store was established, the wants of the Eskimos would be increased, and that

By these means Industry will be diffused among them, and they will particularly apply themselves to acquire those things which we appear most anxious to obtain ... a Notion of Industrious Commerce, a profitable Branch of Trade will be established; by frequent Intercourse with us their manners will be polished and their Tempers improved.

Haven emphasised that the Eskimos must be provided with the basic tools

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<sup>27</sup> Curtis, A Short Account.... 1772.

<sup>28</sup> Brasen and Haven to the Governor of Newfoundland, 1772 or 1773. LA 5.

before an honest trade could be established, and that the process would be a difficult one.<sup>29</sup>

Set against this background of conflict, the massacre of 1752 becomes less extraordinary. So far as the Eskimos were concerned, Europeans were fair game, especially if they ventured so far north as Ehrhardt did, and showed themselves willing to go on shore. Although Ehrhardt was not primarily a trader, there was nothing about him that would have enabled the Eskimos to recognise this. He took charge of all trading with them, and his command of the language was slight. Unable to make clear what the primary purpose of the expedition was, he did not establish his position as a special kind of European. The next Moravian expeditions, in 1764 and 1765, had nothing to do with trade, and included men fluent in the Eskimo language. Much of their success stemmed from the fact that they could show that they were not as other Europeans were. They created a special role for themselves; Ehrhardt's failure in this respect was his undoing.

A determined attempt to end the chaos on the Labrador coast was eventually made by Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland from 1764 to 1768. As a part of the extensive reorganisation of North America undertaken by the British government after the Peace of Paris in 1763, the Labrador coast was annexed to the government of Newfoundland. Palliser, agreeing with the Board of Trade that Labrador should have a transient ship fishery, did his utmost to make Labrador what Newfoundland was ceasing

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<sup>29</sup> Journal of Jens Haven delivered to Hugh Palliser, 1764,  
CO 194/16, pp. 59-62.

to be - a fishing station where English adventurers would come in season, and where no permanent settlement would be allowed. This remained British policy towards Labrador until the Quebec Act of 1774, when its impracticability was finally recognised. It was based on the mistaken principle that the most important natural resource of the region was codfish, and that the other resources - seals, salmon, whales, fur-bearing animals - could be exploited like codfish on a seasonal basis. The French had taken the view that the basic natural resources were seals and fur-bearing animals, and that these could only be exploited by fixed settlements. They had therefore made land grants in southern Labrador, which were transferred to Englishmen by Governor Murray of Quebec after the end of the Seven Years' War but before the annexation of Labrador to Newfoundland. These grants were, of course, anathema to Palliser, who did his best to discourage them, but found himself involved in legal proceedings as a result.

Palliser suspected fixed settlements as unjust monopolies which excluded the transient ship fishers,<sup>30</sup> and also because their inhabitants indulged in smuggling and illicit trade with the French. This was the second major problem facing his Labrador policy. By the Treaty of Paris, the French had their fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast confirmed between Cape Bonavista and Point Riche. With ineffective policing of the Straits of Belle Isle, it was impossible to prevent the French trading both with the settlements on the south Labrador coast, and with the Eskimos. Palliser had to try to break this local trade, and at the same time pacify the Eskimos, in order to make the coast safe for a ship fishery.

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<sup>30</sup>Palliser to Shelburne, Feb. 9, 1767. BD III:999.

Undaunted by these obstacles, Palliser set about the implementation of his reactionary policy. In 1765 he issued fishery regulations confining the codfishery to ship fishers, and forbidding inhabitants of Newfoundland or the American colonies to use the coast.<sup>31</sup> The French were forbidden to trade with the Eskimos,<sup>32</sup> and the Governor of Canada was asked to stop Canadians coming to the coast.<sup>33</sup> This amounted to a revolution in the Labrador situation, which Palliser spent the rest of his governorship trying to maintain against the outraged complaints of those affected.

One main point of Palliser's policy was to pacify the Eskimos. Although such an aim might seem unexceptionable, it aroused resentment at the time, since some people

took it ... very ill of Mr. Palliser that he took such a barbarous people as the Esquimaux under his protection; for many people who had lost some Friends and Relations ... cried out for Revenge, and no one would believe it was possible to civilise such a people.<sup>34</sup>

It is probable that Palliser had no clear idea of how the "civilisation" of the Eskimos might be effected until he met the Moravian Jens Haven in London early in 1764.

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<sup>31</sup>Regulations for the Labrador Fishery, April 8, August 28, 1765. BD III: 937, 994.

<sup>32</sup>Order, August 10, 1765. BD III: 1301.

<sup>33</sup>Palliser to Governor of Canada, August 28, 1765. BD III: 942.

<sup>34</sup>Jens Haven, A brief Account ....

### CHAPTER III

#### THE MORAVIANS AND LABRADOR, 1764-1771

Jens Haven was born at Wust in Jutland in 1724.<sup>1</sup> Though a Lutheran, he was apprenticed to a Moravian carpenter in Copenhagen, and went to Herrnhut in 1748. Hearing of Ehrhardt's murder in 1752, he "felt for the first time a strong impulse to go and preach the Gospel to this very nation, and became certain, in his own mind, that he should go to Labrador." Haven offered himself for mission service, but it was not until 1758 that he went abroad to work with the Greenland mission. Stationed at the new settlement of Lichtenfels, he began to reconcile himself to spending his active life there. Three times, however, he had a dream in which a voice said "This is not the place where you are to stay, for you shall preach the Gospel to a nation that has heard nothing of its Saviour." This confirmed Haven in the belief that he was to follow Ehrhardt in Labrador. Leaving Greenland in 1762, he arrived back in Herrnhut early in 1763. When the time came for his return early in 1764, he had the question put to the lot whether or not he should return to Greenland. The lot gave a negative, and the Church at last gave its approval to a renewal of the Labrador project.

Haven's return from Greenland conveniently coincided with a situation favourable for the establishment of a Labrador mission. In the first place Zinzendorf had died in 1760; he had not been enthusiastic about Labrador, nor about the 1752 expedition which had combined evangelism

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<sup>1</sup>The main source for Haven's life is a Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, the First Missionary of the Brethrens' Church to the Esquimaux, on the Coast of Labrador. London: n.d. (Also PA II: 99-110).

with trade.<sup>2</sup> The massacre probably reinforced his doubts on the morality of this combination, and may have a sign to him that the time was not yet ripe for a Labrador mission. His death removed one check on the renewal of the project, but more important was the ending of the Seven Years' War in 1763. It would have been difficult if not impossible to establish a mission during the war years.

Haven proposed to enter the Hudson's Bay Company as a sailor or ship's carpenter and watch for a chance to start a mission in Labrador. However, the Church advised him to go by way of Newfoundland, and after a valedictory meeting on February 2nd, 1764, Haven left Herrnhut on foot for London by way of Holland. He was handicapped in London by his ignorance of English, but through the good offices of James Hutton, managed eventually to get an interview with Commodore Palliser. The latter at once recognized Haven's potential usefulness; the Moravian could not only act as his agent among the Eskimos, but could also, through his preaching, make them into peaceable Christian subjects of the King. Reporting to the Board of Trade later in the year, Palliser described Haven as

one of the Brothers of the Moravian sect who has lived some years amongst the Savages of Greenland, and talks their language . . . and finding in him a strong disposition (to a degree of Enthusiasm) to undertake to introduce some knowledge of Religion amongst those [i.e. the Labrador] Savages, I encouraged him in it, and to come out here.<sup>3</sup>

Haven was further encouraged when he met "with one who could repeat some words of the Esquimaux language whereby he was assured of

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<sup>2</sup>Davey, Fall of Tongak, pp. 79-80.

<sup>3</sup>Palliser to Board of Trade, September 1, 1764. CO 194/16, p. 4. BD III: 932.

its real Agreement with the Greenlandish."<sup>4</sup> He sailed with the annual fleet to St. John's, armed with a letter of recommendation to the military there<sup>5</sup> and until Palliser's arrival, lodged with a merchant and plied his trade as a carpenter.

Palliser issued a proclamation on his behalf:

Hitherto the Esquimaux have been considered in no other light than as thieves and murderers, but as Mr. Haven has formed the laudable plan, not only of uniting these people with the English nation, but of instructing them in the Christian religion, I require . . . that all men . . . lend him all the assistance in their power, etc.<sup>6</sup>

Haven was also given "Passports" to distribute to any Eskimos he might meet, which ordered all who met the bearers to "treat them in a civil and friendly manner and . . . to act with the utmost probity and good faith particularly with such . . . as may produce this certificate of their having entered into a treaty with me."<sup>7</sup>

He went north with three shallops that were going to Labrador to fish.<sup>8</sup> At Quirpon, they met up with four shallops which had just arrived back from the coast with the news that many Eskimos had come

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<sup>4</sup>Diary of the London Congregation, 20/3/64, XII:115. LA MSS.

<sup>5</sup>Printed in Davey, Fall of Torngak, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup>Proclamation to bring about Friendly Intercourse with the Esquimaux Indians. July 1, 1764. CO 194/16 p. 23. BD. III:930. Gosling, Labrador, p. 254.

<sup>7</sup>Indian Passport for those inhabiting the Coast of Labrador, to bring a friendly intercourse between His Majesty's subjects and them, and to be distributed amongst them by Jens Haven, a Moravian. July 1, 1764. CO 194/16 p. . Printed Gosling, Labrador, pp. 255-6.

<sup>8</sup>The following account is based on the Journal of Jens Haven delivered to Hugh Palliser, 1764, CO 194/16, pp. 59-62.

to York Harbour making such "terrible outcries" that the frightened English fired on them<sup>9</sup>. The Eskimos then retreated, but took all they could find unguarded, and burned the fishing works. Haven persuaded his party to go on, but once outside Quirpon the shallops scattered, and his own put back into the harbour, refusing to go any further. Haven was taken to Captain James Cook, who was in Quirpon engaged in surveying. Unable to persuade any of the English boats to take Haven to Labrador, and refusing to allow Haven to go with a French boat, Cook carried him south to St. Julien's. Here an Irish boat was found which was willing to go to Labrador.

Haven landed at Chateau Bay on August 24th, and remained there until the 29th, but saw no Eskimos, only graves and a few tools. When he arrived back in Quirpon on September 1st, he was told that some of the Eskimos who had been frightened away from York Harbour had been seen only the previous day, and he decided to wait. The last English ship left Quirpon on the 2nd, and Haven was left in the care of a French captain. September 4th was "the happy day I so long wished for;" an Eskimo came into the harbour in a kayak, looking for one Captain Galliot, and before he could go, Haven addressed him in Greenlandic. The astonished Eskimo answered him in broken French. Haven told him he was his friend, and that he had words to speak to his countrymen. The man went away "making a great outcry that our friend is come," and before he returned Haven changed into his Greenland clothes. Five Eskimos returned in kayaks, and Haven told them how he

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<sup>9</sup> See above, pp. 30-31.

had long desired to see them; they replied that "I was really one of their Country men, the Joy was great on both sides, and they requested me to come over and see their families" on an island about one hour's row away. From the very start, Haven had managed to impress on the Eskimos that he was not as other Europeans were. His dress, his small stature, and his knowledge of the language all combined to emphasize his apartness.

"It is true indeed," he wrote later,<sup>10</sup>

[that] when I recollect my first interview and Discourse with the Esquimaux I am quite stunned, for there were among [them] dreadful spirits and horrible Countenances marked what Spirit they were of, but nothing could terrify me. I had determined with the Saviour on Life and Death in this affair, and I was resolute if they kill me it is a sign that nothing can be done with them, if they let me alone I will take it as a Signal that Thou O Lord hast thoughts of peace towards them and wilt glorify thy name among them.

Haven received his "Signal;" he remained on the island for two hours, and gave fish hooks to the boys and needles to the women. On a second visit later in the day he told them not to steal, at which they laughed. Haven elaborated on the physical dangers of so doing, which so surprised them that they said they had better leave. He persuaded them to stay, however, after a long conversation on the subject of theft, and the next day eighteen kayaks came into Quirpon to visit him. The French captain was thoroughly frightened, and did not want all the Eskimos to come ashore together, so Haven took six only with him. He read Palliser's "Passport" to them, and assured them of the friendly intentions of the British government. He promised that no injury would be done them if they behaved in a peaceful way, and offered them the written declaration to that effect, but

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<sup>10</sup>Jens Haven, A brief Account . . . 1773.

they would not take it as they "thought it was alive because of my reading it." As the Eskimos could only differentiate between Europeans by the colours of their flags, Haven carefully explained that the English flew the red flag, and were the masters of the country. Some trading went on, and Haven acted as interpreter in any disputes that arose.

When six kayaks appeared on the 6th, the French captain asked Haven to keep them away from the harbour. Haven met the Eskimos, and explained to them that these people with whom he was staying were not of his nation, and that he would soon be leaving them to go back to his own people, whereupon the Eskimos said that they would go too. They begged him to visit their families once more, and Haven went out to the island accompanied by the French captain - "in great fear he put on his best apparel but none of the Indians regarded him, which displeased him very much." The Eskimos asked Haven whether he would return to them; he replied that he would, but that he thought they might kill him; they seemed scared and ashamed, and promised they would do no more harm. Haven accepted this, and went on to say that when he came back, he would tell them many things about their "Lord and Creator." This roused the Eskimos' curiosity; did he live in the sun? If they believed in him, would they be happier and more prosperous? Haven told them that the Lord had created the sun and all things, but that the life to come was much happier than that on earth - a life that could only be expected by those who did God's will now. The religious conversation was not protracted. One of the Eskimos brought a drum and a dance began; by way of reply, Haven sang a hymn in Greenlandic.

The Eskimos left the next day, but as soon as they were out of the harbour, began to steal again. The French were furious, and threatened to go and kill them all. Haven managed to prevent this by arguing that the French should have been on their guard, and clinched it by showing them Palliser's proclamation. He left Quirpon a few days later, and arrived in St. John's on September 27th. He reported his limited success to Palliser. Meeting the Eskimos so late in the season, he had had no opportunity to find either a place for settlement, or the places mainly inhabited by the Eskimos, but he was able to give Palliser a full report on the situation, and an accurate analysis of the economic needs that were driving the Eskimos to some south to take what they wanted by violence.<sup>11</sup>

Palliser was pleased with Haven's report. He wrote to the Board of Trade that the Eskimos had talked with Haven,

to their great Astonishment and Satisfaction, having never before met with any European that could converse with them otherways than by Signes, I think a good use may be made of this man next year . . . I am of the opinion Measures may be taken for opening a friendly Communication with them for gratifying them with what they want in the way of traffick, and thereby provide a security for our Fishers of Cod, Whale and Seal upon that Coast.<sup>12</sup>

Following Haven's suggestions, and working on the not altogether accurate assumption that no Eskimos lived to the south of Davis Inlet, he recommended that a "trucking place" be established far to the north, "where these Savages may be stopt from coming further Southward . . . and we may procure what we want of them and thus keep the rest of the Coast open

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<sup>11</sup>See above, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup>Palliser to Board of Trade, October 9, 1764. CO 194/16, p. 35. BD III:933.

and free for our Adventurers."<sup>13</sup> In the event, it was the Moravian Mission that was to try to serve this purpose.

Haven arrived back in London on November 5th, "having seen the Eskimaux, understood their language, been prospered by our Saviour, approved to and beloved by men."<sup>14</sup> He had an interview with the Board of Trade on the 20th, at which he was told that the Brethren were welcome to settle in Labrador,<sup>15</sup> and may have made a short trip to Holland to report to the U.E.C. He was certainly in London early in January 1765; on the 6th he was present at a meeting of the London Congregation, when he sang Greenlandic verses which left his audience "much affected."<sup>16</sup> A meeting was held soon after at Lindsey House, the headquarters of the English Moravians, to discuss the Labrador mission,<sup>17</sup> and negotiations with the government began. Conversations were held with Palliser, and with Pownall, Secretary to the Board of Trade. The U.E.C. empowered Haven, together with Broderson, Metcalfe, and Hill of the S.F.G. to act on its behalf<sup>18</sup> and sent them official credentials.<sup>19</sup> On February 26th, when the Watchword gave "great Pleasure and strengthened our Hope,"<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Remarks Etc., by Commodore Palliser, in Obedience to the Several Articles of His Majesty's Instructions to him, 1764. BD III:934.

<sup>14</sup> Diary of the London Congregation, 5/11/64, XII:157. LA. MSS.

<sup>15</sup> Diary of the London Congregation, 20/11/64, XII:159.

<sup>16</sup> Diary of the London Congregation, 6/1/65, XIII:2.

<sup>17</sup> Diary of the London Congregation, 11/1/65, XIII:3. Also Daniel Benham, Memoirs of James Hutton (London: Hamilton, Adams Co., 1856), p. 378.

<sup>18</sup> CO 194/16, p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> Full Powers given by the Unitas Fratrum to Four Deputies to treat on behalf of that Society about visiting the Coasts of Labrador, CO 194/16, p. 79.

<sup>20</sup> Diary of the London Congregation, 26/2/65, XIII:13.

the Brethren presented a petition (dated February 23rd) to the Board of Trade,<sup>21</sup> in which they expressed the hope that if the government wished to secure the Labrador fishery by the civilisation of the Eskimos, it would do all in its power to prevent the proposed mission from being molested, and would "also in all respects be inclined to wish well to the same, and readily grant us all needful protection and assistance." They therefore proposed that the government fit out a vessel to explore the coast, with four missionaries on board, who would have a proper commission so that they could determine to some extent the route taken. They asked for a grant of four tracts of land, 400,000 acres in all, in places to be decided upon by the mission, with the right to name places, make maps, and regulate the harbours -

not by any means with the right of excluding others or to hinder the ships of any British subject to enter the said harbours, but yet that such ships and their crews be bound while there to Conform to the Orders and Regulations made in our Settlements.

The Brethren went on to ask for full liberty to send ships of English bottom and flag to Labrador, and if need be, for one missionary in each settlement to be made a Justice of the Peace.

No answer had been received from the Board by March 28th, when it was decided to petition the King.<sup>22</sup> This petition was presented on April 11th, while the King was driving from Buckingham Palace to St. James'. The deputies waited on the Board on the 16th to explain their desire for speed, but were told to return on the 23rd, when the Board explained that it was not in their power to make the land grant; this could only be done

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<sup>21</sup>Petition to the Board of Trade, Feb. 23, 1765. CO 194/16, p.81.

<sup>22</sup>Diary of the London Congregation, 28/3/65, XIII:18.

by the King in Council. They suggested therefore that the Brethren should first make a survey of the coast, and when this was done, the Board would do all it could to further the matter. Permission was given for a party of missionaries to go to Labrador that summer under the protection of the government.<sup>23</sup> James Hutton thought that the Board was suspicious of the Moravians, fearing that "being foreigners, and having risked life and property to a large extent as traders, they were seeking to redeem their loss, by raising a separate government at the expense of the English nation." He hoped that his letter to Lord Hillsborough (President of the Board of Trade, 1763-5, 1766, 1768-1772) had cleared up this misunderstanding.<sup>24</sup>

Palliser had decided meanwhile to make a determined effort in 1765 to come to some kind of understanding with the Eskimos, using the Moravian missionaries as his interpreters and agents. On April 8th he issued an order concerning the treatment of the Eskimos, in which he condemned the "Impudent, treacherous or cruel conduct of some people," and forbade such practices for the future. "I have invited Interpreters and Missionaries to go amongst them to instruct them in the principles of religion, to improve their minds, and remove prejudices against us." No one was to jeopardize this attempt to make peace by imposing on the Eskimos' ignorance and necessity, by stealing from them, formenting quarrels, or by giving them liquor. Men should "encourage and invite them to come with their commodities to trade."<sup>25</sup> A set of

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<sup>23</sup> Benham, Hutton, pp. 379-381.

<sup>24</sup> Hutton to U.E.C., May 7, 1765. Benham, Hutton, p. 382.

<sup>25</sup> Order for Establishing Communication and Trade with the Esquimaux Savages on the Coast of Labrador, April 8, 176. CO 194/16, p.1165. BD III:1297. Gosling, Labrador, p. 172.

regulations for the Labrador fishery issued the same day included identical orders.<sup>26</sup> Arrangements were made for the missionaries to travel out with the Governor's squadron, and a ship was to be sent to Labrador, whose captain was to give them "such Protection and Assistance as is necessary."<sup>27</sup> The Board itself gave the missionaries "a very respectful and hearty recommendatory letter,"<sup>28</sup> which signified its approval of "an Undertaking so commendable in itself, and that promises so great Benefit to the Public," and ordered all assistance to be given them.<sup>29</sup> Palliser issued a proclamation to the same effect on April 30th.<sup>30</sup>

Three missionaries joined Haven on the 1765 expedition; they were John Hill from the London Congregation, Christian Schloezer from Germany, and Laurence Drachart. This last missionary spoke Eskimo, having lived twelve years in Greenland. He had been sent there by the Danish Lutheran Mission, but coming into conflict with his superiors, he had tended to ally himself more and more with the Moravians at New Herrnhut. He had married a Moravian, and on her death in 1751, retired to Herrnhut where he worked as a painter, before volunteering to assist in the foundation of a Labrador mission.<sup>31</sup>

The missionaries left London at midnight on April 30th, after a lovefeast with the S.F.G., a conference at which they received their instructions from the U.E.C., and a farewell Communion. They were

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<sup>26</sup> Rules and Orders to be observed on the Coast of Labrador, April 8, 1765, CO 194/16, pp. 175-6. BD III:937.

<sup>27</sup> Admiralty to Board of Trade, April 27, 1765, BD III:1314.

<sup>28</sup> Benham, Hutton, p. 381.

<sup>29</sup> Certificate issued by the Lords of Trade, April 29, 1765. BD III:1315.

<sup>30</sup> Proclamation . . . in Reference to the Moravians, April 30, 1765. BD III:1316.

<sup>31</sup> Louis Bobé, Hans Egede, pp. 187-8.

strengthened by the Watchword, "Be strong and of a good courage."<sup>32</sup> They sailed from Spithead on May 7th, and arrived at Croque one month later.<sup>33</sup> It was not until July 13th that Sir Thomas Adams arrived in the frigate Niger to take the missionaries north. Leaving Croque on the 15th, they arrived two days later at Pitt's Harbour in Chateau Bay. While waiting there for the schooner which they expected would take them further north, the missionaries looked for signs of Eskimos but found few. The Hope schooner arrived on July 22nd. Adams then produced orders from Palliser to the effect that the Hope was to go to 56° north with one interpreting missionary only; if the missionaries would not separate, then all four were to be detained in Pitt's Harbour to await Palliser's arrival. It was evident that Palliser's immediate object of making personal contact with the Eskimos through Moravian interpreters was to come before the missionaries' aim, which was to find a place for a settlement, and "to try the tempers of the Eskimaux all along the Coast."<sup>34</sup> Adams had broached the matter to Hill on the 16th, suggesting that two missionaries should go north, and two stay behind. Hill had resisted on the grounds that each of them had his job, and they should not separate. The Brethren had expected to stay together, and had also expected to have some say in how the expedition was organised. Being in an impasse, however, they had to acquiesce. They persuaded Adams to sign a paper certifying his orders to detain some missionaries in the south, but he tricked Hill into

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<sup>32</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 381. Diary of the London Congregation, 29-30/4/65, XIII:25-6.

<sup>33</sup>The narrative which follows is based on the Account of the Voyage of the Four Missionaries sent by the Unitas Fratrum to the Esquimaux on the Coast of Labrador, 1765, CO 194/16, pp. 226-239.

<sup>34</sup>Hutton to Secretary of the Admiralty [?], Oct. 7, 1765.  
PAC A 568.

giving it back to him after Haven and Schloezer had left with the Hope on the 25th.

Palliser himself arrived in the Guernsey, accompanied by some merchant boats, on August 8th. It was not until the 17th that a report came in of Eskimos thirty miles to the northeast. The next day, Drachart and Hill went with Adams in search of them, and met some kayaks nine leagues off. Both sides took up the shout of "Tous Camarades," but when the noise had died down, Drachart called to the man in the nearest kayak, shook his hand, and told him they were friends. At once the Eskimos associated him with Haven, asking where Jens Ingoak (Little Jens) might be. Drachart went on shore at Charles Bay, and found a crowd of Eskimos which he estimated at three hundred. They gathered around, telling him not to be afraid, and plied him with questions. Drachart did not deal, as Haven had done the year before, with the trouble that the Eskimos had helped to cause; he told them that he came from the Caralit in the East (i.e. Greenlanders), where he had lived with his wife and family, and that he had important words to say. At this the Eskimos led him to a grassy place, and Drachart went on to tell them that the Caralit in the East were their friends; long ago, the Labrador Caralit and the Greenland Caralit had been one people, and now the latter desired to renew their friendship with their brothers, as they knew the Creator of all things and their Saviour. The Eskimos at first thought that he was talking about other Eskimos to the north of them, having never heard of Greenland, and were puzzled by his last remarks. Eventually an old man ventured the opinion that Drachart was talking about Silla (Tr. air, atmosphere), waved his hands over his head and blew. They asked him who this Saviour was,

and where he lived, to which Drachart replied that he was all over in Silla, waved his hands, and blew. He told them he was a teacher, and two men stepped forward and said that they too were angakut (Singular, angakok, Tr. shaman.); several people began to copy the waving of the hands and blowing and with this Drachart closed the conversation, having allowed them to make some judgement of his position.

The next day Drachart asked them, as he had the day before, whether they would come to Pitt's Harbour to meet the Governor. The Eskimos asked many questions about the number of ships and men, and would only say that they would come "some day." Drachart went back to Pitt's Harbour. On his way north to talk to them again on the 21st, he met twenty kayaks coming to the Governor before he had gone far. The Eskimos were greeted with three cheers from the yards which thoroughly scared them, but Drachart persuaded them to go ashore, where they formed a circle around Palliser. Using Drachart as an interpreter, he "explained to them His Majesty's affection and gracious intentions towards them, and in his name offered them protection from all People whatever, and invited them to live in peace and friendship with us."<sup>35</sup> He desired three things of them, not to come to houses or ships by night, not to come by day in groups of more than five, and not to go near boats when they were "a fishing." The Eskimos at once agreed to observe these regulations, especially as Palliser had presents to give and there was an opportunity for trade. The angakok 'Segulliak, whom Haven had met the previous year at Quirpon, took Palliser by the hand, kissed him, and hit his chest, calling him "Captain

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<sup>35</sup>Palliser to Halifax (Admiralty), Sept. 11, 1765. BD III:946.

Chateau." Trading began at a barrier set up on shore, and Drachart took two angakut and two others on board the Guernsey, to show them the English flag; this, the Eskimos agreed, would be a sign of friendship. Palliser was very pleased with the way matters had developed, but Drachart confessed that he had found it difficult, as a clergyman, to make all Palliser had said intelligible to the Eskimos. The double role of missionary and government agent was not an easy one.

On the 23rd, twenty-six kayaks came into the harbour to trade; the Eskimos said that they were afraid to bring their families, and refused to agree not to trade with the French. Drachart preached for two hours, and on the 26th went himself to Charles Bay, where he remained until the 27th gathering the answers to a list of questions drawn up by Palliser. From the 29th to the 30th, he was with a number of merchant shallops that went north and traded with the Eskimos on St. Peter's Island. They were very suspicious of the armed sailors, and went so far as to search Adams, thinking that such dress was inconsistent with protestations of friendship. They eventually came to trade, however, and Drachart gave some of the men a picture of the scene in Pitt's Harbour on August 21st, when the "treaty" had been made.

Palliser left Labrador on September 1st, well pleased with the expedition. He reported that he was confident "of these People being soon reconciled, and made a very useful People to His Majesty's subjects . . . so long as we forbear to do them any harm, notwithstanding these People have the character of being the most treacherous, cruel, and barbarous of all Savages ever known." He proved that profit could be

made on the coast by pointing out that the merchants with him had traded at a profit of between eight and nine hundred per cent.<sup>36</sup>

The missionaries stayed on the coast until the end of September. The Hope arrived back on the 3rd; some explorations had been made in the Davis Inlet region, but no Eskimos had been seen, and so far as the missionaries were concerned, the trip had been a failure.<sup>37</sup> While a few of the Eskimos in the Chateau area had met Haven the previous year, his name was well known to most of them, and he visited the encampment. Adams, who remained with the missionaries, was most anxious to prevent the Eskimos going to Newfoundland as they would meet and trade with the French there. The Eskimos innocently said that they had to go for wood for their spears and arrows, and seemed set on going. Adams then suggested that two missionaries should go to Quirpon to see that there was no trouble, but they refused to be separated a second time. By the 7th, only those Eskimos intending to cross to Newfoundland remained, the others having gone north; of these there were a fair number, as at their camp the missionaries found fifteen tents, three umiaks, four European boats, and about one hundred kayaks. They could not be dissuaded from going, and repeatedly asked after the Frenchman, Captain Galliot. On the 15th, the Eskimos were found to have moved south to Henley's Islands and were overrunning the fishing works. They were persuaded to go back to their camp, and again Adams asked two of the missionaries to go to Quirpon; again they refused, saying that it was

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<sup>36</sup>Palliser to Halifax, Sept. 11, 1765. BD III: 946.

<sup>37</sup>Journal of Jens Haven and Christian Schloezer in the Hope Schooner, 1765. CO 194/16, p. 240.

dangerous to make the crossing at that time of year, and that they would have no control over the crew who might make trouble. Adams, finding on the 20th that the Eskimos were about to set off for Quirpon, wanted at least to delay them, so that there would be a good chance of their being too late for the French. Haven managed to keep them only until the 21st, when they finally left. Through the insistence of Adams, and in spite of the fact that Hill was sick and Drachart very fatigued, all four missionaries set off alone in a small boat to follow the Eskimos. In a gale that night the boat was damaged, and they were forced to return to Pitt's Harbour on the 22nd.

The difficulties which the missionaries experienced towards the end of their stay reflect the difficulty they had in keeping the Eskimos' attention when talking to them about religion. The initial curiosity and openness soon wore off, and Drachart found that the only way to get on with them was to propose everything in the form of short questions, and to follow them into their tents when they tried to creep away. The missionaries did, however, impress upon the Eskimos the fact that they were a special kind of European from whom nothing was to be feared. Whenever the question was posed to them whether the Brethren should settle in Labrador, the answer was invariably yes, so long as you bring only men such as you, and no guns. The Eskimos could only gain from such an association, and this they seem to have realized. It is probable, though, that the Eskimos had no real conception of what exactly the Brethrens' purpose was; even their leaders, the Angakut, treated them without suspicion. They saw the missionaries as traders and teachers of a sort, kindly men, but not inherently dangerous to their own position in Eskimo society. Only Segulliak may have had some

glimmering of the true nature of the confrontation. During the stormy night of September 12-13, Haven and Drachart stayed in his tent. After they had eaten, Segulliak

began his incantations, which he began with singing some unintelligible stanzas, together with his wives. He muttered over some charm, threw himself into every imaginable contortion of body, at times sending forth a dreadful shriek, held his hands over Drachart's face, who lay next to him; and rolled about on the ground, uttering at intervals loud, and only half articulate cries, of which we could merely catch the words, "Now is my Torngak come." Perceiving that Drachart was awake . . . as often as he passed his hand over his face, he kissed it. He now lay for some time as still as death, after which he again began to whine and moan and at last to sing. We said we could sing something better, and repeated many Greenlandic verses, of which, however, they could comprehend very little.

Segulliak may well have been proving his powers to the strange teachers, whose powers he did not understand to be radically different from his own - indeed, the Brethrens' magic must have seemed much less powerful than his, since the Eskimos soon realized that the Brethren could not put the new doctrines to any direct practical use, and could not promise to make their lives materially more successful.

The Eskimos that the missionaries met seem to have been mostly Arvertokers, although it is probable that there were also a few from the more northerly groups, and from the Hamilton Inlet. Some certainly recognized French maps of Hamilton Inlet ("Esquimaux Bay") shown them by the missionaries, and the names associated with it in the evidence are Kissekakkut, Kangerdluksoak, and Nuneingame. It is not possible, however, to say whether these names refer to one place or to three. The missionaries at least were less confused; they came to the conclusion that the main dwelling place of the Eskimos was "Esquimaux Bay," and they

seem to have equated this with the Hamilton Inlet area. It was here they decided that their settlement would be built.

The Brethren left Pitt's Harbour on September 30th, reached St. John's on October 4th, and arrived in London on November 30th. They had reason to be fairly pleased with their summer. True, the northern voyage by Haven and Schloezer had been fruitless, and no site suitable for a mission station had been found. In the south, though, they had had the chance of continuous contact with Eskimos, and had established a foothold among them. The naval authorities might have treated them in an arbitrary manner, but Palliser had seen them work at first hand, and had become convinced of their potential value in ending the coastal anarchy. He told the Board of Trade that

the Brethren of the Unitas Fratrum have taken great pains as well in the business of their mission as in assisting me in matters for His Majesty's Service. I therefore take leave to mention them as very worthy of that countenance and protection with which His Majesty and your Board are pleased to honour them.<sup>38</sup>

Although Palliser was impressed by the Moravians, they had begun to suspect him of ulterior motives as a result of the cavalier treatment they had received at his hands. When Hutton heard early in October of what had happened on the Labrador coast, he at once sent off indignant letters of complaint to the Admiralty and the Board of Trade. The missionaries had been kept waiting too long both at Croque and at Pitt's Harbour, so that they had lost six weeks in all. The separation of the missionaries he called "an illegal Force and an insupportable and

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<sup>38</sup>Palliser to the Lords of Trade, Oct. 30, 1765. CO 195/16, p. 171. BD III:948.

unwarrantable Tyranny,"<sup>39</sup> against which he protested as "a free born Englishman and as a true Whig who will never submit to Oppression."<sup>40</sup>

It was decided, however, to persist in the scheme. Haven went to see the U.E.C. at Herrnhut in January 1766,<sup>41</sup> and as soon as instructions arrived in early March<sup>42</sup> negotiations were reopened with the government. Hutton saw Palliser, and complained again about the treatment the missionaries had received. Palliser's position was that there was no right of settlement in Labrador, and that both the coast and the fishing grounds came under his jurisdiction; he did not want to exclude any adventurer from fishing there, and did not wish to make grants that looked like monopolies. If the Moravians did not demand a land grant, then matters might progress more favourably. But "it almost seems to me [Hutton] that people think we desire a monopoly or an exclusive property in the territory, which, by a certain class, is looked on as dangerous."<sup>43</sup>

In spite of this difficulty, petitions were presented to the King and the Board of Trade on March 6th<sup>44</sup>. They were virtually identical to those of 1765, except that the Brethren asked for one grant only, of 100,000 acres in "Esquimaux Bay." On the 7th, Metcalfe and Hutton saw Egmont<sup>45</sup> and presented him with a paper stating their case, emphasizing that they asked for no monopoly or exclusive right, but had to have the

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<sup>39</sup>Hutton to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Oct. 7, 1765.  
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<sup>40</sup>Hutton to Pownall, October 9, 1765. PAC A 568.

<sup>41</sup>Diary of the London Congregation, 14/1/66, XIII:79.

<sup>42</sup>Diary of the London Congregation, 2-3/3/66, XIII:85.

<sup>43</sup>Hutton to Brodersen, March 4, 1766. Benham, Hutton, pp. 389-90.

<sup>44</sup>Petition to the Board of Trade, March 6, 1766. CO 194/16, p. 246.

<sup>45</sup>First Lord of the Admiralty, 1763-66.

freedom to earn a livelihood. They also emphasized that there would be no expense to the state.<sup>46</sup> Egmont reckoned that if a grant were made, the Crown would expect a quit-rent, which drew the reply that their only motive for going to Labrador was zeal for conversion - which should have been evident, as the "whole coast was not worth a shilling." Egmont was surprised at the amount of land asked for, "as if this would make us too much masters of the whole; and added to this, the demand for trade, and the right of fishing, and the freighting of ships, did not altogether, as it seemed, prove to him our evangelical disinterestedness."<sup>47</sup> Once more the Brethren pointed out the public utility of the mission in pacifying the Eskimos and detaching them from the French, but Egmont remained unconvinced.

Palliser clarified his attitude at an interview with Hutton and Hill on March 12th. He said that the government would not make large grants of land while the coast was unknown, and that personally, he, like Egmont, could not understand why a mission needed so much land. The Brethren retorted that the government should pay them to go, and that they needed large tracts of land in order to keep other Europeans at a distance. Without such a grant, they would not go at all, since it was better not to expose Eskimos to Christianity, than to allow converts to be contaminated by undesirable outside influences. The Brethren evidently felt that if they were not protected by a land grant, Palliser would be in a position to use them for his own ends - "making use of us in subserviency to his own honour and glory." The Brethren refused to modify their position,

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<sup>46</sup> Benham, Hutton, pp. 397-99.

<sup>47</sup> Hutton to U.E.C., March 7, 1766. Benham, Hutton, p. 399.

based on their experience in Greenland, and at this stage had few hopes of success; "if we get the grant," wrote Hutton, "it must be the Lord's doing, and will be marvellous in my eyes."<sup>48</sup>

The one hopeful sign was the attitude of Lord Dartmouth, who had replaced Hillsborough at the Board of Trade in July 1765. Dartmouth had strong Methodist attachments,<sup>49</sup> and when the Brethren saw him on March 12th, he seemed to understand what they were after. He did not question their motives, and agreed to push the matter at the Board.<sup>50</sup> He evidently kept his word, as later in the month the Board made a representation to the King suggesting that the land grant be made, especially as "the conduct of those who went out last Year upon this difficult and hazardous service, appears to have been so meritorious and prudent."<sup>51</sup> Even Palliser, with whom the Moravians were thoroughly disenchanted, put in a good word for them; he needed their help, and was probably genuine in his appreciation of their intrinsic worth. He told the Board that he was

satisfy'd that they [the Eskimos] may be easily civilis'd . . . and for this end I most humbly Recommend to their Lordships favour, the Brethren of the Unitas Fratrum, for such Grants or Encouragements as may not be inconsistent with the Rights and Interests of the King's subjects, respecting Fishery and Trade.<sup>52</sup>

But doubts must have lingered, for there was still no answer. Haven arrived back from Germany on April 7th,<sup>53</sup> and viewing the state of

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<sup>48</sup>Hutton to U.E.C., March 12, 1766, Benham, Hutton, pp. 402-5.

<sup>49</sup>DNB, XI:858.

<sup>50</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 406.

<sup>51</sup>Representation of the Board of Trade, March 27, 1766. BD III:961.

<sup>52</sup>Answers to Heads of Enquiry respecting Labrador, Article 8, March 19, 1766. BD III:956.

<sup>53</sup>Diary of the London Congregation, 7/4/66, XIII:90.

the negotiation, reckoned that the season was too advanced for anyone to go to Labrador that year.<sup>54</sup> There were further interviews with Palliser, Egmont, and Pownall, but with no result. Palliser tried to persuade Haven to go to Labrador, grant or no grant, but the latter maintained his "firm resolve" not to go until the Brethren had what they wanted.<sup>55</sup> The missionary party in London dispersed. Brodersen and Metcalfe asked the Board on October 28th to let them know if matters advanced,<sup>56</sup> and Hutton had a long talk with Lord Shelburne on December 31st;<sup>57</sup> "If we did not require a grant, all the world would be glad to have us in Labrador; but this is the knotty point."<sup>58</sup>

Palliser continued his attempts to establish order and a ship fishery on the Labrador coast.<sup>59</sup> The "peace" of 1765 proved ephemeral, and Palliser laid the chief blame on the colonial crews. He complained to Sir Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachussets, that in 1765 while he was in Chateau Bay, New Englanders had gone north and "robbed, plundered, and murdered some of their [the Eskimos'] old men, women, and children who they left at home."<sup>60</sup> He expected trouble in 1766 as a result, and reported that once again the Americans were doing their best to wreck his

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<sup>54</sup>Haven to George Olive at Poole, April 18, 1766, Benham, Hutton, p. 409.

<sup>55</sup>Diary of the London Congregation, 19/4/66, XIII:93.

<sup>56</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 411.

<sup>57</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 418.

<sup>58</sup>Hutton to Spangenberg, March 28, 1767. Benham, Hutton, p. 423.

<sup>59</sup>See W.H. Whiteley, "The Establishment of the Moravian Mission in Labrador and British Policy, 1763-83", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XLV (1964), No. 1, pp. 38-39.

<sup>60</sup>Palliser to Bernard, Aug. 1, 1766. Printed Gosling, Labrador, p. 175.

policy; they sold cod to the French, destroyed fishing works belonging to the English Adventurers, and hunted and plundered the Eskimos.<sup>61</sup> To protect the English fishermen, he had a blockhouse built at York Harbour in Chateau Bay during the summer of 1766, which was to be garrisoned all the year round. "It flattered the Fishery with a Mark of the Attention of Government and was a requisite Encouragement towards its Establishment," remarked Curtis in 1772, ". . . but in its Establishment there is room for vast Amusement."<sup>62</sup> It was a symbol rather than of any practical use.

The Eskimo-European conflict reached a climax in November 1767, when Nicholas Derby's establishment at Cape Charles was attacked by Eskimos, apparently in revenge for attacks from New Englanders, causing considerable damage.<sup>63</sup> A detachment from the blockhouse at York Harbour found the Eskimos involved, killed twenty men, and took into captivity three women and six children. They were kept at York Fort, and the second in command, Lieutenant Lucas, learned some of the Eskimo language from one of the women, Mikak. When Palliser was informed of the capture, he at once saw that he could make use of the situation. He gave orders that the prisoners should be well treated, and planned to return them to their people with the message that the English wished for peaceful relations with them.<sup>64</sup> In February 1768, Palliser asked the Moravians to supply him with an Eskimo vocabulary, without specifying his purpose with it. Hutton arranged for the vocabulary to be sent to him, but thought that it was evidence that Palliser had made

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<sup>61</sup>Palliser to Admiralty, August 25, 1766. CO 194/27, p. 263.

<sup>62</sup>Roger Curtis, A short account of the Territory of Labradore, 1772. CO 194/30, p. 156.

<sup>63</sup>Memorial of Nicholas Derby to the Board of Trade, April 10, 1771. CO 194/18, p. 83.

<sup>64</sup>Palliser to Hillsborough, Oct. 20, 1768. CO 194/28, p. 25.

up his mind to deal with the Eskimos without the help of the Brethren.<sup>65</sup> Palliser was unable to send the prisoners back in 1768, and when he left Newfoundland for the last time in the autumn of that year, he arranged for Mikak, her son aged about six, and a boy named Karpik, aged thirteen or fourteen, to be taken to England. The other prisoners were left in St. John's, Palliser hoped to impress those who went to England with power and grandeur of the country, before sending them back to Labrador.<sup>66</sup>

The Brethren had already renewed their application for a land grant before the news of the capture arrived. Haven, who had spent most of 1766 at the Moravian settlement at Fulneck, Yorkshire, went to the Zeist settlement in 1767. He would not accept mission service anywhere but Labrador, and eventually in 1768 received permission from the U.E.C. to return to London, and to reopen the attempt to establish a Labrador mission.<sup>67</sup> Haven saw Pownall at the Board of Trade, and gave him an abstract of the petitions of 1765 and 1766. Pownall thought it very likely that the land grant would be approved<sup>68</sup> and the matter was fully discussed at a "very solid and important meeting" between the newly revived and re-constituted Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel and members of the U.E.C. who were holding a visitation in England. This lasted for five hours,<sup>69</sup> and the application for a land grant was formally submitted on October 3rd.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Benham, Hutton, p. 443.

<sup>66</sup> B. LaTrobe, A Succinct View of the Missions established among the Heathen by the Church of the United Brethren (London: 1771), p. 25.

<sup>67</sup> Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, p. 5.

<sup>68</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 23/9/68, I:1. LA 1-3.

<sup>69</sup> Diary of the London Congregation, 23/9/68, XV:22.

<sup>70</sup> Benham, Hutton, pp. 445-7.

News of the capture of the Eskimos arrived in November, and reinforced Hutton's gloomy opinion that Palliser had abandoned the Brethren altogether. He wrote to the U.E.C. that Eskimos had been brought to St. John's "either by fraud or craft, or driven thither by a storm .... I do not like this; it may occasion bitterness among the Esquimaux. He [Palliser], perhaps, thinks to get on with them without the aid of the Brethren."<sup>71</sup> But Hutton's forebodings proved false. He met Palliser on November 24th, and found him "very cordial." Palliser explained what he hoped to achieve through his prisoners, and Hutton, as volatile as ever, now considered Palliser "my personal friend, and no enemy to our cause."<sup>72</sup>

Mikak's presence in London at this time was probably an important factor in the Moravians' success in obtaining their land grant in 1769. She had met both Haven and Drachart in Labrador, and she could repeat a prayer that Drachart had taught her.<sup>73</sup> Although the Brethren did not approve of the amount of time she spent with her captor Lieutenant Lucas, on whose ship she had come to England, they recognised that "Her repeated applications were of great use in putting forward the business of the projected mission, for she was noticed by many persons of rank and influence, and her request [that the Brethren should return to Labrador] attended to."<sup>74</sup> Mikak was patronised by George III's mother Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales, "the Duke of Gloucester, and sundry persons of distinction [who] took notice of

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<sup>71</sup>Hutton to U.E.C., Nov. 21, 1768. Benham, Hutton, p. 447.

<sup>72</sup>Hutton to Neisser, Nov. 25, 1768. Benham, Hutton, p. 448.

<sup>73</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 449.

<sup>74</sup>Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, p. 5.

her and loaded her with presents."<sup>75</sup> Eskimos suddenly became fashionable, and this was all to the Brethrens' advantage.<sup>76</sup>

Karpik was entrusted to the care of the Brethren. He stayed for some time at Lindsey House, and then in June 1769 was sent to Fulneck to be under the care of Drachart until such time as the Brethren should go to Labrador again. He was taught reading and writing, and instructed in Christianity. Taken ill with smallpox, Karpik was baptised on his sick-bed, and died soon after, in October 1769.<sup>77</sup> The Moravian Church recognised him as the "first-fruit" of the Eskimo nation, and mourned his death; it was hard to lose a convert before the mission had even begun.

Hillsborough returned to the Board of Trade in January 1768, with the additional office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. When Hutton, LaTrobe, Wollin, Metcalfe and Haven met him on January 28th 1769, he claimed that he had been favourable to them from the start, "but having lost his seat in the ministerial bench, nothing had been done since in the matter." Appreciating the Brethrens' desire for speed if anything were to be done the same year, he at once came down to details. Since the government of Newfoundland was military, there were only two ways to get a grant: either by a Royal Patent under the Great Seal, or by a special order from the Privy Council. The former was safer, since it could only be revoked by Act of Parliament, but more costly - between £200 and £300 - as it had to pass through many offices, "whereby ... it became more secure, weighty,

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<sup>75</sup>B. LaTrobe, A Succinct View, p. 25.

<sup>76</sup>A portrait of Mikak, by John Russell, is reproduced in H-W. Jannasch, "Reunion with Mikak," Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. LVIII (1958), No. 3, p. 84.

<sup>77</sup>B. LaTrobe, A Succinct View, pp. 25-6. S.F.G. Minutes, 24/10/69, 1:58.

and binding." An Order in Council would only cost a few guineas, but might be challenged in a court of law. Hillsborough doubted whether the government would be able to provide a blockhouse in their vicinity, as such things were expensive, but he thought that some financial assistance and arms and ammunition might be forthcoming. He promised to lay the Memorial before the Board, and when the Brethren decided which kind of a grant they would prefer, he would put the matter before the Privy Council.<sup>78</sup>

Both the Brethren directly concerned with the mission and the S.F.G. were unanimous that they should ask for a grant under the Great Seal, reckoning that the expense could be met by a general appeal. Haven wanted to tell Hillsborough this decision directly, but others felt that the U.E.C. should be consulted. The lot upheld the majority view, and the U.E.C. was consulted. However, further discussions with Hillsborough made it clear that it would be a slow and difficult business to obtain a Great Seal grant, and that the Crown lawyers would insist on distinct boundaries. Both Pownall and Hillsborough told the Brethren that an Order in Council would do just as well, and they decided to acquiesce. The plan was to get an Order in Council first, then go to Labrador, map out a plot of land, and apply later for a grant under the Great Seal.<sup>79</sup>

By the end of February, Hillsborough had taken the memorial and the report of the Board to the Privy Council, which appointed a committee to examine the matter. On March 8th and 9th LaTrobe and Hutton saw Hillsborough, and read the report, which they described as very favourable.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>Benham, Hutton, pp. 462-7. S.F.G. Minutes, 31/1/69, I:30.

<sup>79</sup>Hutton to Neisser, Feb. 3, 1769. Benham, Hutton, p. 466. Also S.F.G. Minutes, 14/2/69, I:32.

<sup>80</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 468

The Committee of the Privy Council was slow to report. The Brethren grew daily more impatient, but refused to make any preparations until the grant was in their hands. This seems to have annoyed Pownall and Hillsborough, who felt that the grant was as good as made - "But 3 years ago we were kept in Expectation ... until the very day that the ships sailed for Newfoundland yet nothing was done and we were at considerable expense."<sup>81</sup> There was still no grant by April 11th; "The Labrador affair waits, I suppose, for Lord Hillsborough, who has been dangerously ill, and is still sick enough. I [Hutton] believe there never was any business done in so slovenly a manner."<sup>82</sup>

At last, on May 3rd, the grant was executed in Privy Council.

We cannot let it pass unnoticed that today [May 8th] the Labrador matters, which for some time had been in motion, and treated about with the Government, came to an agreeable and blessed issue, when the Order in Council giving the Brethren leave to make a settlement amongst these poor savages was delivered to our Brethren. It caused great joy in us, and excited us to thank our dear Lord, who leads the hearts and minds of the great according to his will. The Watch-words on this occasion were very comfortable, which we cannot pass over in silence: for, on the 24th of April, when a Committee of the Council, appointed to search into this matter, gave its favourable opinion, the Watch-word was, "I am as a wonder to many." On the 3rd of May, when the King received it graciously, the Watchword was: "Take back thy Brethren, mercy and truth be with thee." And today, when the seal was put to it, and delivered to our Brethren, the Watch-word was: "Every one, according to his blessing, he blessed them."

. . . . .

And thus this tedious affair was, by the favour of our blessed Lord, brought to a favourable issue, to the joy and thanksgiving<sup>83</sup> of all concerned for the salvation of the poor heathen Esquimaux.

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<sup>81</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 14/3/69, I:36-7.

<sup>82</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 470

<sup>83</sup>Diary of the London Congregation, 8/5/69, XV:95-6. Printed Benham, Hutton, pp. 470-1.

The Order in Council granted to the Unitas Fratrum and the S.F.G. the right to occupy and possess "at His Majesty's pleasure" 100,000 acres of land in that part of "Esquimaux Bay" best suited to their purpose. The Governor of Newfoundland was to render all reasonable assistance to the missionaries. The request of the Brethren that a blockhouse should be established near them was turned down, but instead they were to be given fifty muskets and a supply of ammunition.<sup>84</sup>

There was no expedition to Labrador in 1769. Palliser and Byron, who became Governor of Newfoundland in 1769, had tried to persuade Haven to go to Labrador in April, but he had refused,<sup>85</sup> and when the grant came through it was too late to make any preparations. Mikak was taken back to Labrador by Lieutenant Lucas and landed on the island of "Arvasauack."<sup>86</sup> She returned with the message that the Brethren intended to visit the Eskimos the following summer, and said that she would pass this on to her countrymen, and induce them to be friendly.<sup>87</sup>

Haven left London on July 21st<sup>88</sup> to attend the General Synod of the Moravian Church at Marienborn, where the Labrador mission was discussed. The impetuous Haven wanted the Synod to approve the establishment of a mission the following year, but the lot decided that a reconnoitering voyage should be undertaken first.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>Order in Council, May 3, 1769, CO 194/18, p. 149. BD III:1321. Gosling, Labrador, p. 263.

<sup>85</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 469.

<sup>86</sup>Probably Arvertokhsoak, latitude 55°29' north. See E.P. Wheeler, List of Labrador Eskimo Place Names (National Museum Bulletin No. 131. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1953.), No. 51, p. 16.

<sup>87</sup>Lucas to the Board of Trade, Nov. 8, 1769, CO 194/28, p. 91. S.F.G. Minutes, 21/11/69, I:60.

<sup>88</sup>Diary of the London Congregation, 21/7/69, XV:115.

<sup>89</sup>Minutes of the 1769 Synod, p. 241. LA Mss.

The S.F.G. undertook the organisation of the reconnaissance of 1770. Under the Navigation Acts, all ships trading to British possessions had to be of British bottom, and all cargoes had to pass through British ports. It was thus obvious that the economic administration of the Labrador mission would be in the hands of the English Moravians. How far the financial responsibility would be theirs was not clear at this stage. During discussions following the making of the land grant, the S.F.G. had decided that it would be necessary to purchase a ship for the use of the mission, a step approved by the 1769 Synod.<sup>90</sup> In June it was decided to raise £ 1,000 capital to buy and fit out such a ship. The capital was to be divided into one hundred shares of £10 each, and those purchasing them would be considered the ship's proprietors. They were to appoint a committee to act for them, and a Ship's Husband to carry out the committee's directions. The ship was to belong to the proprietors alone, who were to attempt to pay for the operation by organising a barter trade with the Eskimos. Whoever had responsibility for the mission, as opposed to the ship, was to pay the proprietors - or the Ship's Company, as it came to be called - passage money for the carriage of missionaries, and freight on goods sent out for the use of the mission.<sup>91</sup>

The Ship's Company was not properly constituted until February 1770, but several months before the Brethren concerned had begun to search for a suitable ship and captain. It was not until March 1770 that a small sloop of eighty tons called the Jersey Packet was purchased for £ 350. The

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<sup>90</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 24/10/69, I:57.

<sup>91</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 6/6/69, I:48-50.

captain was Francis Mugford, "an honest, simple, sensible man, not at all irreligious."<sup>92</sup>

The purpose of the 1770 voyage was to find the principal dwelling places of the Eskimos, to come to an understanding with them, and to find a place to build. "The Vessel goes this voyage in order to make and establish as lasting a Peace between the English nation and the Esquimaux as can possibly be procured."<sup>93</sup> Three missionaries were on board: Haven, Stephen Jensen, a Danish ship's carpenter and an experienced seaman, and Drachart. After the 1765 voyage, Drachart had resolved never to go to Labrador again, but the death of Karpik had changed his mind.<sup>94</sup> John Thornton from the Moravian settlement at Fulneck was to act as supercargo, and John Glew from Haverfordwest as mate. Eight Englishmen and three Germans made up the crew.<sup>95</sup>

Governor Byron issued a proclamation to protect the voyage on April 21st<sup>96</sup> and on May 3rd the Jersey Packet left London. The expedition stopped at Deal for a boat, at Lyminster for salt, and at Exmouth for other articles. On leaving Exmouth on May 17th, the Brethren were heartened by the daily text - "Out of them shall proceed thanksgiving and the voice of them that make merry: and I will multiply them and they shall not be few; I will also glorify them, and they shall not be small."<sup>97</sup> They sighted

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<sup>92</sup> Benham, Hutton, pp. 480-1.

<sup>93</sup> Instructions for the Captain of the Jersey Packet, 1770. LA 5.

<sup>94</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 24/10/69, I:58.

<sup>95</sup> John Wheeler to James Hutton, Sept. 26, 1770. PAC A 568. Benham, Hutton, p. 481.

<sup>96</sup> Proclamation by Governor Byron for protection of Moravians, April 21st, 1770, BD III:1325.

<sup>97</sup> Jeremiah XXX:19. The account of the 1770 voyage that follows is based on three extracts from the papers of Drachart and Haven made by the S.F.G. on their return. All PAC A 548.

Quirpon on June 23rd, and on the 24th put into Queen's Harbour in latitude 53°34'. Coasting north, the Jersey Packet found a good anchorage on July 13th in what the Brethren called Prince of Wales Harbour, to the south of Cape Aillik. While rounding the cape on the 15th, they at last met a group of Eskimos. Two men, Segluinak and Segliana, had met Haven before and another remembered Drachart. The reunion was a joyful one, and the Eskimos at once asked if what Mikak said were true, that the Brethren would come and live with them. The Eskimos also undertook to guide the ship to where Mikak was, since the missionaries were anxious to find her.

There were several considerations dictating the decision to turn south in search of Mikak. In the first place, no one on the ship was sure of the way to "Esquimaux Bay." They knew that they were nearing the Nisbet's Harbour of 1752, and that it was supposed to be to the north of "Esquimaux Bay;" on the other hand, the Eskimos with them said that Arvertok, which lay to the north, was south of "Esquimaux Bay." They had apparently missed the entrance to the Hamilton Inlet, which was known by quite another name to the Eskimos.<sup>98</sup> The Brethren confessed themselves "perplexed," and wanted Mikak and her husband Tuglavina to act as their guides. It was also in their interest to be associated closely with Mikak, who knew them, and who would probably have gained prestige among the Eskimos through having been in England. They realised that Mikak could be vital to them in establishing friendly relations with the Eskimos, and were determined to find her before Lieutenant Lucas did. Lucas, who had danced attendance on Mikak from the time of her capture until her return to Labrador in 1769, had gone into partnership with George Cartwright to

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<sup>98</sup> See above, p. 53-54.

set up a trading post at Cape Charles. He was also counting on Mikak's help, and the Moravians feared he might "thwart" them. For this reason, the Jersey Packet had left England as early in the season as possible.<sup>99</sup>

Towards evening on July 16th, near Byron's Bay, the missionaries met Mikak's father in his kayak. He was wearing an officer's breastplate and a pair of English wash leather gloves. His daughter had been much changed by her stay in England, he said, and he now called her Nutarrak, meaning "newborn." He guided the ship to the island where his family was encamped, and soon after, Mikak and Tuglavina - "the most intelligent among the Indians" - came on board. The former was dressed in the suit of clothes given her by the Dowager Princess of Wales, with the King's medal on her breast. After an exchange of compliments in English, the Brethren congratulated Mikak on her marriage to Tuglavina, and told her they had come to find a place to build a house, if the Eskimos would like them to do this. They warned her, though, that if the Eskimos tried any of their tricks, and began to steal or murder, Captain Mugford would use his guns, and they would return no more.<sup>100</sup> Mikak was pleased that the missionaries approved of her husband, but was

sorry to hear that we had such a bad opinion of their country people they then assured us that they loved us very much and desired that we would come and live with them; we said do not speak to us in so a form we know that there is great murders and thieves among your country people and that they don't know their Creator and Redeemer; Mikak then answered do not the English also steal; we then told her when any English steal or murder he was hanged, but as that was not our business with them, and as we told you before if you will not live with us in friendship we

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<sup>99</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 13/2/70, I:65. On Lucas, see Gosling, Labrador, pp. 201, 203, 223, 225.

<sup>100</sup>The Jersey Packet carried two large cannon, six swivels, and four false guns, besides a "good quantity" of muskets and bayonets. Ehrhardt's ghost still haunted the missionaries.

will not live with you at all . . . the rest of your Country people we can trust verry little in at present.<sup>101</sup>

Mikak asked after Karpik, but the Brethren "waved" the answer, and also if Lucas were coming to Labrador:

I [Haven] said I know not where he is, I know not if He will come ask me nothing more about him, my words about Him are at an End ask me therefore no more you know him yourself. She said to her husband I know he is a Lyer and then no more was said.

Many of the Eskimos visiting the ship knew Drachart from seeing him in Chateau Bay in 1765, and the next day (July 17th), he went on shore. Seeing that Mikak was a person of some importance among her people, he had her call them all to her tent, which had been given her by Palliser, and preached to them. The missionaries mentioned that they did not know the way to "Esquimaux Bay," and Mikak agreed to guide them; she and Tuglavina were given a cabin on board, which pleased them immensely.

On July 18th Haven went ashore to help Mikak and Tuglavina pack up their things, while Drachart called all the Eskimos together to discuss the buying of land from them. They stretched out their hands and cried "Pay us and take as much as you will." Drachart gave payment to men, women and children, and they put their marks to their names to conclude a form of treaty. He told the men that when they next went to "Esquimaux Bay," they would see four great stones set up, and that these would mark the land the Brethren had taken. Whether the Eskimos, with no conception of proprietary rights to land, would have interpreted this "sale" in the same way as the missionaries seems highly doubtful.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>Haven and Drachart to Byron, Sept. 13, 1770. Mor. Mss., p. 58248.

<sup>102</sup>Helge Kleivan, The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador (Skrifter Nr. 139. Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitut, 1966), p. 28. See below, p. 160 ).

The next day, the Jersey Packet set off north for Nuneingoak. This was not the "Esquimaux Bay" of the Moravians. It is probable that when the Brethren in 1770 asked to be taken to "Esquimaux Bay," the Eskimos thought they meant "the place where many Eskimos were assembled."<sup>103</sup> At this time of year, mid-July, a major gathering place was the Nuneingoak region, where there was a good trout fishery. It was also a gathering for trade and for sports prior to the summer caribou hunt inland. Largely ignorant of the northern coast and the living pattern of the Eskimos, the missionaries were being taken to that place where most people might be expected at that particular season.

The expedition passed Aillik on the 20th, and Arvertok and Davis Inlet on the 21st. From the evening of the 22nd until the 26th, the ship lay fogbound in "Comfort Harbour." All this time, Drachart held regular meetings for religious instruction with the Eskimos on board, singing verses, and asking "catechetical questions which he had formed for the Boy Karpik in Fulneck." Mikak was acute enough to ask why, "when [she] was in England [she] heard nothing about our Saviour? I [Haven] scarce knew what answer to give her. (Our Brethren were shy of speaking to her then of our Saviour as her attention could not then be obtained, Lucas had other matters to speak to her about.)"

On July 26th the ship went on north among the islands, and soon met five Eskimo boats which guided it into a bay, where anchor was dropped about half a mile from an encampment. There were fourteen tents, containing about 100 Eskimos, many of them from Arvertok and Kivallek. | Here Haven had a characteristic brush with an angakok, who came out in a kayak

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<sup>103</sup> See above, p. 68 .

to the ship with several other Eskimos. He told the missionaries that he was not afraid of them, nor of death itself, and began to throw a fit, making "a terrible noise and Knockin against our vessel and turnd his Eyes . . . Mr. Haven then beged of him to take caer of himself that he did not over set his cano." The other Eskimos lay flat on their kayaks while this was going on, and Haven decided that he must humble the angakok's "proud spirit for all the Esquimaux were infatuated with his great power." He therefore

Got them one of the childrens' toys which we have in England which was a man running after a dog and a hare and turning it round it makes a noise. Shewing it to him and said hire is another great Conjure . . . look can you make suche a one; he said then no. I replied then you are a little on and must learn from me for I can make such a one . . . his country people fell a laughfing at him.<sup>104</sup>

Haven's influence among the Eskimos was considerable. Tuglavina told him that they loved him, "but found it hard to deal with [him] as [he] discovered their very thoughts." Drachart pointed out how Haven was

known thro' all the Esk. Country and we hear and see that all the Esk. love Jens, as He is so brisk, He is not only able to say a great deal with a few words, but knows how to put his Head, Face, Hands and Feet, yea all his Body and make all the Gestures used among the Esk., and thereby He wins all their affections.

The Jersey Packet remained at this camp in what was probably Annaktalik Bay until July 30th, when, after making another agreement about the purchase of land, the journey north continued. Mikak's father had gone ahead to tell the Eskimos encamped further north that the missionaries were approaching, and they soon met two kayaks sent to act as guides. Through lack of wind they were unable to continue until the afternoon of

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<sup>104</sup> Haven and Drachart to Byron, Sept. 13, 1770. Mor. Mss. p. 58248.

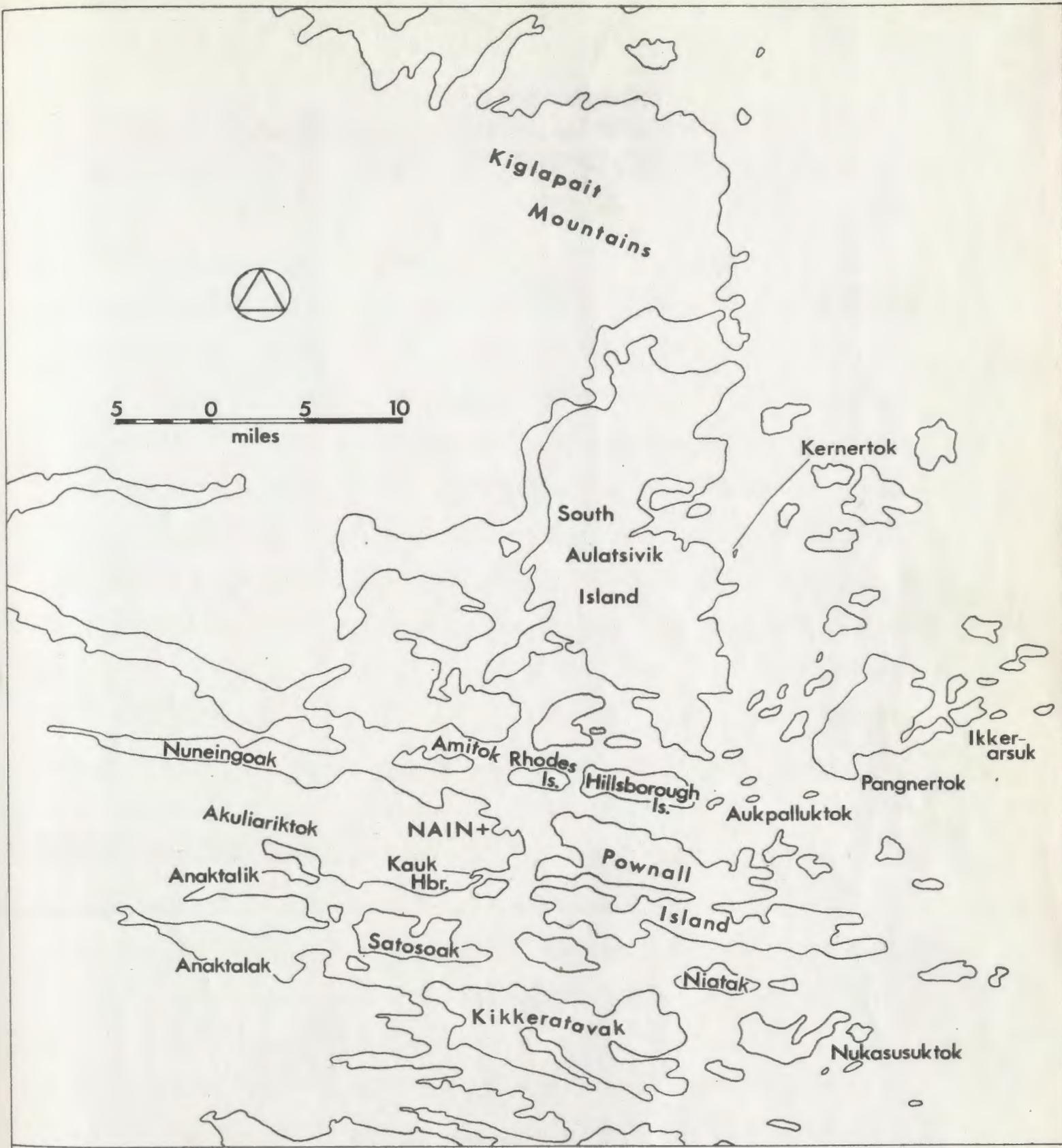
the 31st, when they got as far as the south point of Akuliariktok,<sup>105</sup> called Kauk, and anchored there. The next day they towed the ship out, doubled the point "Kingalik," and held a course north northwest. At four in the afternoon they saw the Eskimo camp at Amitok, and came to anchor. There were forty-seven tents, fourteen European boats, and two umiaks. It was made clear to the Eskimos on shore - among whom was Tuglavina's brother Segulliak, with whom Haven and Drachart had spent a night in 1765 - that no one was to come on board between the gun fired at night, and that fired in the morning. No more than five Eskimos were to come aboard at any one time.

On August 3rd, the missionaries counted fifty-one tents and twenty-one boats, and estimated the number of Eskimos in their vicinity at between six and seven hundred. This is almost certainly an over-estimate, a more likely figure being between three and four hundred. Even so, this summer assembly was exceptional in size, with people from Arvertok and Kivallek present in large numbers. They may have come not only to trade and sport, but also in response to Mikak's message that the Brethren would come that summer. The Eskimos certainly told the missionaries that they had been waiting for them, and had come on purpose "to see and hear good words from us." Although this statement can be partly explained away by the fact that the Eskimos would say what they knew the missionaries wanted to hear, there is no doubt that the Brethren had begun to exert a fascination that would have drawn the Eskimos to them.

) Drachart preached, once agin in Mikak's tent, and profiting by the instruction they had received on the way north, she and Tuglavina

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<sup>105</sup> See Figure 2, p. 74.



**Fig.2 THE NAIN AREA**

were able to explain and illustrate all he said, which "surprised and astonished" the other Eskimos. The men all agreed to a sale of land, and a third treaty was made out on August 3rd; they told the Brethren to "build, dwell, and do in our land as we do . . . for your language and behaviour resembles much that of the Innuits and ye are Innuits, ye are not such Kablunaks . . . like other Europeans."

Also on the 3rd, Haven began to reconnoitre the area for a place to build using Tuglavina's boat, but he found nowhere suitable. Drachart preached for the last time on the 4th, and spoke with Mikak and Tuglavina about the sincerity of the Eskimos' invitation to the Brethren to come and settle among them. They said that they would constantly remind their countrymen of the missionaries, and would give as much help as they could. They also promised to spread the word that the Eskimos were not to go to Newfoundland, and that there could be no more boat-stealing without reprisals. Mikak gave the missionaries two fox skins for the Princess Dowager, two for Palliser, and one for the Duke of Gloucester.

On the 5th, most of the Eskimos dispersed, but Tuglavina came on board to help the missionaries find a place for their house. They found nowhere suitable that day, and since Tuglavina was anxious to be gone, the missionaries would not detain him. They paid him with a blanket, a rope, a blue shirt, and a few other articles, and lent him four fox traps. He promised to meet the Brethren the next summer, and "the parting was tender." "We have been greatly beholden to this man without whose assistance in all probability we could not have found Esquimaux Bay. He is a man of sense and modesty . . . a man of authority among his people."

The Brethren had by now decided that they were in the general area where they should settle, and on the 6th set up the boundary stones.

They began at the north cape of "Esquimaux Bay" (Nuneingoak),

which is called Tikerak and the land Nunengoak or the little main land and then we kept to Akuliariktok which is called the middle land held W.S.W. 2 leagues and then row'd an Hour to the S. to get by the Point that we could again lay our course to the main land which is called Nunarsok and runs pretty East and West, we had again 2 leagues from Akuliariktok to Nunarsok, so we had from Nunengoak Cape to Akuliariktok and rowed 3 equal English miles in each of the 4 hours as we held our course W.S.W. to the main land.

Stones were set up at Nuneingoak Cape and at Nunarsuk, two in each place, one with the letters "G.R. III. 1770" and the other with "U.F." (Unitas Fratrum).

The Brethren then began to examine the area more closely, and found a suitable place for building on Akuliariktok, half a mile from the hill the Eskimos called Kauk. It was in the middle of the land they had taken, which extended for six miles on either side. The missionaries had enquired how the Eskimos of the area lived, and realised that they had met a summer concentration of the population. They knew that the Eskimos usually spent the winter scattered over the islands, meeting in large numbers only in the early summer for the trout fishery, before dispersing again for the inland caribou hunt. They had been advised to settle either out on the islands, or in one of the bays, but the Brethren were unwilling to choose either location. The islands were too exposed to bad weather and privateers, and lacked wood, and soil suitable for cultivation; the bays were too far away from the majority of the population for the greater part of the year, and remained frozen for too long a period.

The site chosen was mid-way between these two extremes. Being on the outermost point of the mainland, the missionaries expected that Eskimos would be constantly passing by; it was near to the summer gathering place, and yet not too far from the islands, which also acted as a protective screen. There was a good, land-locked harbour, a spring, plenty of wood running inland between two hills, and a long high hill to the north giving good protection. The site lay open to the south, and there was even ground suitable for a garden. A river ran in from the west. This place is now known as Kauk Harbour.

On August 8th, the Jersey Packet left to go south, arriving at Chateau Bay on the 15th, either to fish, or to pick up a freight for England, to defray some of the cost of the expedition. Although there had been some trading with the Eskimos, the merchant had only taken whale-bone and skins to the value of \$150. After a short stay at Chateau, the ship went on to Concho, where a freight was taken on for a Mr. Pinson. Leaving in mid-October, the Brethren arrived back in London on November 16th.

During their stay in southern Labrador and northern Newfoundland, the missionaries heard stories of the infamous Lucas. He had arrived at Cape Charles in July, and after spreading rumours that the Moravians were "secret Jesuits," had gone north to look for Mikak. He went as far north as Arvertok, and brought a family of nine Eskimos back with him to Cape Charles.<sup>106</sup> In October, Lucas was on his way to England -

He was in great haste . . . and He gave out that He had great business to do there with the King, this sounds

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<sup>106</sup> Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal, ed. C.W. Townsend (Boston: Dana Estes and Co., 1911), p. 41.

like Mr. Lucas, but probably he will scarce know how to pass the winter without Mikak; be that as it will, if he can stir up anything to our prejudice, He will.

On their return, the Brethren saw the Princess Dowager in order to give her the two white fox skins sent by Mikak,<sup>107</sup> and reported to the Board of Trade. They showed Hillsborough, Pownall and Lord Barrington<sup>108</sup> maps of the Nuneingoak region, described how the land had been "bought," and a form of conveyance received from the Eskimos. Barrington thought their action very prudent - "it is a firmer grant to you than the King's, [and] the King gave you the best he could and such as he himself never had from the King of France."<sup>109</sup>

Preparations for the establishment of the mission occupied the S.F.G. and the Ship's Company throughout the winter and spring. It was decided that the missionaries would have to take a prefabricated house with them which could be erected quickly after their arrival. This was to be paid for by the Society, and the work undertaken by Haven, Jensen, and Theobald Frech, one of the German sailors on the 1770 expedition.<sup>110</sup> It was not until the spring of 1771 that it became clear that the English Moravians would have the main financial responsibility for the mission. They had financed the 1770 voyage, and the Company had lost £374-8-0, but there had been no statement from the Missions' Department of the U.E.C. on

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<sup>107</sup> A Brief Account of the Occasion to and of the interview between her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales and the Brn. LaTrobe, Drachart, and Jens Haven, December 4th, 1770. LA.5).

<sup>108</sup> Secretary at War, 1765-1778. DNB I:1215.

<sup>109</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 17/12/70, I:80.

<sup>110</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 16, 17/12/70, I:80,82.

the permanence of this arrangement. The statement was given in a letter to the S.F.G. read at a meeting on April 4th; the expenses of the Brethrens' missions were so great that there was an overall loss, and the Department had no money to spare for Labrador. The matter had been discussed with the U.E.C., and the Department could do no more than contribute 100, and pay the expenses of the Labrador missionaries coming from Germany or Holland as far as London. 20 was to be sent for Drachart's maintenance until he left for Labrador, and it was guaranteed that any collections taken in Germany for the mission would be devoted solely to that end. The S.F.G. was asked to look after the missionaries, to see them fitted out, and to buy them a year's supply of provisions.<sup>111</sup> Spangenberg added his own exhortation -

If now my dear Brethren of the S.F.G. are not both able and willing to take this matter in Hand, what shall we do? Shall we slacken our Hands after we have laid hold thereof even with our teeth? No! No! my dear Brethren that would **not** be well done . . . God himself brings it so about that this **Affair** falls into Your Hands . . . as a particular Blessing for You.<sup>112</sup>

So the Society, which Hutton described as being "more . . . of faith than of possession,"<sup>113</sup> agreed "with a charming Spirit of Willingness and holy Zeal" to take upon itself the expense of fitting out the expedition, and of providing for the missionaries for one year.

It was fully realised that the expense would be considerable. The missionaries had to be provided with virtually everything, and there would be a fairly large number in the party. As early as 1769, the S.F.G. had

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<sup>111</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 4/4/71, I:89.

<sup>112</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 4/4/71, I:94.

<sup>113</sup>Benham, Hutton, p. 484.

maintained that a large group would be necessary, "considering the present murderous disposition of the Indians," and the fact that the missionaries would have to split up to go about their several tasks. Such a group might also create more respect in the Eskimos' minds, "and prevent a rupture which in the beginning might prove the ruin of the Mission."<sup>114</sup> Hutton thought that it was sound mission strategy to send out

more persons . . . than those actually employ'd in Preaching to and Instructing the Heathen, [so] that they may see before their Eyes living examples of the good fruits of a Faith new to them; for not only Philosophers but ignorant Savages want to see Experiments of the Superior Good resulting from new Propositions . . . Some [of the missionaries] will be employ'd in Fishing, Shooting, Hunting, making Boats . . . others working at home and taking care of the Habitation, instructing such of the Esquimaux who may be near them in domestic Employments, trying to civilise and humanise them . . . others will Instruct them in Christianity, and everyone be employ'd as usefully as possible.<sup>115</sup>

This is a classic statement of the Moravian mission ideal<sup>116</sup> and it was followed in the case of Labrador. The missionary party sent out in 1771 consisted of fourteen persons, of whom four - Haven, Jensen, Frech and Drachart - had been to Labrador before. The Church provided Haven with a wife from the Fulneck settlement, whom he married at Chelsea on April 11th. One of the more sentimental missionary writers of the nineteenth century tells us that "now, on the very scene, and near the full fruition of his desires, the loneliness of his lot rose fearfully to his fancy. He went

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<sup>114</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 6/5/69, I:50. See also LaTrobe [?] to U.E.C., Jan. 28, 1771. PAC A568.

<sup>115</sup>Draft of a pamphlet on Labrador by Hutton, June 1771. PAC A568.

<sup>116</sup>Cf. above, p. 12.

back to London, and sought earnestly for a wife."<sup>117</sup> Besides Haven there were two other married Brothers: Johann Scheider, aged 58, who had worked in Greenland from 1740-47,<sup>118</sup> and the leader of the missionary party, Christoph Brasen, aged 33, who like Haven was provided with a wife in 1771. Five single Brethren completed the party. Andreas Morhardt, aged 31, and Joseph Neisser, aged 26, were both Germans; Christian Lister, aged 21, James Rhodes, aged 36, and William Turner, aged 28, were all ~~Yorkshiremen~~.<sup>119</sup>

The choice of Brasen as leader is not easy to explain. He had no knowledge of Labrador, nor of the Eskimo language; he seems to have had no previous mission experience,<sup>120</sup> and was among the younger members of the party. He was not even ordained until shortly before going to Labrador. The selection must have been made by the lot, and was probably a recognition of his education - he was a surgeon and physician - and of his personal qualities

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<sup>117</sup> A History of the Mission in Greenland and Labrador from Carne's Lives of Eminent Missionaries (New York: Lane and Tippett, 1846), p. 157. The author goes on to discuss Moravian arranged marriages -- "These oriental kind of matches, in general, turn out well: where there is not a mutual passion, there is a mutual forbearance; even the rising dislike is suppressed by the belief that the choice is divinely ordered. Each Moravian girl is allowed to refuse three times the different lovers; a fourth offer is never made. . . . The Brother who wants a wife . . . attends the chapel, and considers the goodly array of females on the opposite side . . . . Having made his choice, the suitor communicates it to the superior, who sends for the unconscious woman [sic], and discloses it, with the full permission to refuse or accept." In the eighteenth century, marriages were usually approved by the lot.

<sup>118</sup> F.L. Kölbing, Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Grönland (Gnadau: 1831), Appendix.

<sup>119</sup> See below, Appendix III, p. 234.

<sup>120</sup> Whiteley ("The Moravian Mission in Labrador, 1763-83," p. 44) states that Brasen had worked in the Greenland mission, but his name does not appear in the list of Greenland missionaries given by Kölbing (Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Grönland, Appendix).

as "a solid, firm, patient, and peace making and preserving Brother."<sup>121</sup> His youth was an additional advantage, as he could look forward to long years of work in building up the mission. Haven, who would have been the obvious candidate, was a self-assured, prickly character, tending to be "warm and overbearing;"<sup>122</sup> he would not have been able to maintain harmony in the cramped, uncomfortable conditions of one of the early mission houses.

Since neither the S.F.G. nor the Missions' Department could support the annual ship and the mission from European funds alone, it was laid down that a barter trade with the Eskimos should be established and organised by the Ship's Company to support the annual voyages, while the missionaries were to earn what they could towards their maintenance by working with their hands, making tools and boats for sale. These two operations were to be kept strictly separate, since it was a principle of the Brethren that missionaries should not be involved in trade if it could be avoided.<sup>123</sup> Otherwise the heathen might expect temporal advantage to result from their conversion to Christianity. The U.E.C. recognised, however, that there was more than a purely economic reason for the trade; "the american indians, according to their customs, can, by no means, comprehend, why ye will not assist them with such necessary matters." If trade were to be withheld from them, they might use force, and in any case they should "look upon your abode in the country as an Advantage to them, which will be the case, if they can trade with you for what they want at an equitable rate."<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> LaTrobe [?] to U.E.C., Jan. 28, 1771. PAC A 568.

<sup>122</sup> Wollin and LaTrobe to U.E.C., May 18, 1778. PAC A 568.

<sup>123</sup> Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum, p. 45.

<sup>124</sup> Instructions for our dear Brethren and Sisters, who this Spring are going to settle at Unity Harbour in Esquimaux Bay .... March 23, 1771. Mor. Mss., pp. 3607-3616.

The Company was to appoint an agent to act for it in Labrador, and run the barter trade. The original proposal was that the Company should give half the net profits to the S.F.G., but this had been turned down by the 1769 Synod on the grounds that the arrangement would make the Society in effect a junior partner of the Company, and that the Brethren who ran the risks should have the right to dispose of the profits.<sup>125</sup> Hence the S.F.G. was expected to raise the necessary funds mainly by collections and an appeal for funds. Spangenberg advised the Society not to borrow, nor to spend money on things which were not indispensable.<sup>126</sup>

Another matter to be considered was whether one of the Brethren should be appointed a Justice of the Peace, as provided for in the Order in Council. The Committee of the S.F.G. decided against it - "if our Saviour and his Spirit does not keep our Brethren in order and make them good and orderly citizens or Members of Society our case would indeed be deplorable."<sup>127</sup> None of the missionaries had knowledge of the law; moreover, a Justice became de facto an esquire, and this, the committee thought, "might prove hurtful to such a Brother's own heart." It was realised that a J.P. would have jurisdiction over the crews of visiting ships, but since the Brethren did not expect that any ship would find the settlement for at least two or three years, the matter was dropped.<sup>127</sup> The U.E.C. later consulted the lot on the matter, and the Lord concurred with the views of the Society.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> LaTrobe and Wollin to U.E.C., May 18, 1778. PAC A 568.

<sup>126</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 4/4/71, I:94.

<sup>127</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, Committee, 9/4/71, I:100.

<sup>128</sup> U.E.C. to Nain, 1774. Tr. Mor. Mss., p. 3654.

The Company replaced the Jersey Packet with a larger vessel, the Amity,<sup>129</sup> and came to terms with the Society on passage money for the missionaries, and freight charges for their house and other goods.<sup>130</sup> With provision for one and a half years,<sup>131</sup> guns and powder from the government, two surplices and a pair of French horns,<sup>132</sup> the missionaries finally left London on May 8th, after a farewell lovefeast with the London Congregation. The previous day, Byron had issued a proclamation stating that the settlement was under royal protection, and that no one was to molest either the mission or the Eskimos.<sup>133</sup>

The expedition<sup>134</sup> called at Deal, where a boat built for the mission was taken in, and at Poole for seal nets, fox traps, twine, and other articles. 40 had been budgeted for purchases made there, but to the dismay of the S.F.G. the bill came to 99-4-9.<sup>135</sup> Five passengers joined the Amity at Poole for the passage to St. John's, making a total of nineteen passengers and nine crew, which made the ship uncomfortably crowded. They did not reach St. John's until July 1st, a voyage of fifty-five days, during which time many of the missionary party were very sick. For those recently married, "it was a cheerless nuptial journey," but "one that was sure to draw closer the ties of affection."<sup>136</sup> The ship remained a week at St. John's, unloading freight

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<sup>129</sup> A Brief Account of the Vessels employed in the Service of the Mission on the Coast of Labrador.... PA XXI:54-83, 120-133. Published separately (London: 1877), p. 4.

<sup>130</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 22/4/71, I:104.

<sup>131</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, Committee, 9/4/71, I:102.

<sup>132</sup> S.F.G. minutes, 3/5/71, I:106.

<sup>133</sup> Proclamation of Governor John Byron, May 7th, 1771. Mor. Mss.p. 15434.

<sup>134</sup> The account which follows is based on the Journal of the Voyage of the Missionaries ... from London to the Coast of Labradore to settle a Mission in the ship Amity .... 1771. LA. 5.

<sup>135</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 24/9/71, I:116.

<sup>136</sup> A History of the Mission ... from Carne's Lives, p. 157.

and taking in boards, shingles, flour, spirits, molasses, and other supplies. Once again, the missionaries overspent, sending a bill for £118-14-11 to the S.F.G. instead of the expected £50-160. The reason for this discrepancy was that the American ships bringing staple supplies to Newfoundland had not arrived; many of the articles the Brethren needed were in short supply, and they had to pay double the usual price.<sup>137</sup>

From St. John's, the Amity went to Conche to pick up some goods left there by the Jersey Packet in 1770, and then proceeded north. By July 21st, the ship was somewhere between modern Hopedale and Davis Inlet. Held up by ice, they did not get much further north before meeting some Eskimos on August 3rd. The latter seemed glad to see the Brethren, so much so, that they paid scant attention to Drachart's preaching. They traded with Frech, the Company's agent, and told the missionaries that Mikak and her family were waiting for them further north. There was no need this year to be worried about Lucas, although the Brethren could not know it; he was lost at sea in the autumn of 1770, on his way to Portugal from Newfoundland.<sup>138</sup>

On August 4th, the Amity continued north, working through the ice, and by the evening of the 8th was opposite the entrance towards the mission land. Two Eskimos who had arrived the previous night piloted the ship through the fog on the 9th, and soon after 5 p.m., the missionaries arrived in Unity Harbour, "and sang Hallelujah to Him, who, we humbly own, has hitherto delivered us out of every danger." The Watchword for the 10th greatly encouraged them, and seemed to confirm that their work would be blessed -

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<sup>137</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 24/7/71, I:116.

<sup>138</sup> Cartwright's Journal, ed. Townsend, p. 84. S.F.G. Minutes, 2/7/71, I:109.

Thou shalt bring them in and plant them on the mountain of thine inheritance - in the place, O Lord, which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in; in the Sanctuary which Thy Hands have established.

(Exodus, XV:17).

Although Kauk Harbour had originally been selected for the settlement, the Brethren decided instead to build on the site of present-day Nain.<sup>139</sup> It is not clear why the change was made, especially as the harbour at Kauk is much more sheltered. The missionaries say that the Nain site had a better landing place, and more room for Eskimos to live around the station, but neither of these points seems convincing. The sailors of the Amity criticised the harbour as being too wide open to the east, a complaint still heard today.<sup>140</sup>

The Brethren measured out the site of the house, and began clearing the ground. Work started in earnest on August 12th. Some Brethren went on shore to cut pallisades. This was tedious work; eight hundred stakes were needed, each one six or eight inches thick, and eight feet long. Others remained on board the Amity, to speak with the large numbers of Eskimos who came to visit. Haven, who did most of the interpreting, tried hard to convince the Eskimos that the missionaries had not come to trade, but to save souls. The natives had little to trade, and although many had congregated in the area, they had apparently grown tired of waiting for the Brethren and had gone south or inland. The Eskimo women were curious to see the European sisters, and Drachart took every opportunity of preaching to any who came on board. He was upset because Mugford would not allow men on board who had nothing to trade,

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<sup>139</sup> See Luke, VII:II. The settlement was called Nain on the instruction of the U.E.C.

<sup>140</sup> The change may have been made after a consultation of the lot, which approved the present site of Nain while rejecting Kauk Harbour. There seems to be no other explanation for the missionaries' choice of the poorer of two possible locations.

and because while trading was going on the crew was ordered to arms on the forecastle. He felt that a distinction should be made in favour of those Eskimos known to Haven and himself, but Mugford was adamant. Drachart's method was to give a short talk, and then ask questions, to which the Eskimos could answer yes or no. Most of them, he reported, were "wild and of a light turn of mind." When asked if they would, as poor sinners, think on the Saviour, some shouted yes, others no, others that they did not understand, but did he have a knife to trade? To Drachart, the situation was very similar to that he had encountered in Greenland thirty years previously, and he felt sure that they really did understand what he was saying.<sup>141</sup>

On August 19th, most of the Eskimos in the area went caribou hunting. The pallisade was finished on the 23rd, and the next day, the salt that was on top of the hold was brought on shore and stored in a shed built especially for it. The weather was warm and dry, but the missionaries were annoyed by the gnats - "a plague indeed, and more so here than in Greenland." By the 28th the foundation was ready, and before the house was raised, the missionaries gathered in the joiners' shed to sing hymns, pray, and hold a lovefeast with a glass of wine and a sea biscuit. The work continued slowly in the following days, lining the walls with bricks, and putting on the roof. The missionary party moved ashore on September 22nd.

Mikak and her family visited the Brethren in late August and September. In speaking with the men who made up Tuglavina's hunting party, Drachart found that their opinions concerning the position of the settlement had changed since 1770: "they last year made everything as easy to us therein as they could and told us how proper this place was, so heavy and difficult

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<sup>141</sup>Drachart to S.F.G., 1771. LA. 5.

and inconvenient did they now represent it." They said that they could not make a living there, and that they never stayed for more than two months in the area. There was some truth in this statement, but Drachart was convinced that the traditional economy would become adapted to the new situation. In Greenland, he told them, the Eskimos used to stay in their houses for only three months, but that as their desire to hear the Gospel increased, "they went rather diligently a fishing than hunting and then staid five months in their houses near us."<sup>142</sup> It was, in any case, too late for the missionaries to change their minds.

The Amity left Nain on September 25th<sup>143</sup> and arrived in London early in November. The net loss to the Company was £168-6-10, but the Society was in far deeper financial trouble. The total expenditure on the mission for 1771 was £1126-7-2, and the total income, from all sources, only £542-0-4. The Society was forced to disregard Spangenberg's advice, and borrow money to pay the Company and the bills from Poole and St. John's.<sup>144</sup> In the face of these difficulties, the Society found it necessary to pass resolutions stating that the decision to support the Labrador mission had been unanimous, that the Society had been fully consulted on all important matters, that nothing unnecessary had been bought, and that it had not been possible to predict the total expenditure.<sup>145</sup> These resolutions did not quieten criticisms that the Society had been extravagant; Spangenberg wrote

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<sup>142</sup>Drachart to S.F.G., 1771.

<sup>143</sup>ND 25/9/71.

<sup>144</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 30/7/71, I:110; 14/1/72, I:123; 20/1/72, I:125; 17/2/72, I:126.

<sup>145</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 24/9/71, I:113.

suggesting that an inventory of goods sent be made from the bills, so that people could see for themselves what had been bought with so much money. Only in this way, he thought, could the Society clear itself.<sup>146</sup> There is no record of how the matter was resolved.

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<sup>146</sup>Spangenberg to S.F.G., Jan. 13, 1772. PAC A 568.

## CHAPTER IV

### COASTAL EXPANSION AND MISSION ORGANISATION

The early years at Nain were difficult for the missionaries. They found Labrador "a much more savage and cold country than we had at all imagined,"<sup>1</sup> and during the first winter, at least, did not have enough skin clothing to enable them to travel far or work easily outside.<sup>2</sup> Their European leather boots froze hard, and they were unable to keep the house warm. It was not until their second winter that the Brethren did any amount of travelling.<sup>3</sup> They set fox traps in winter and fish nets in summer, but did nothing about setting the seal nets they had brought with them. The mission house was extended and improved, and a saw mill built.

Busy as they were, the missionaries saw less of the Eskimos than they would have wished, especially in winter. One family spent most of the winter of 1771-2 at Nain, seeking a cure for a boy "grown contract and shaped" by epilepsy,<sup>4</sup> but Tuglavina and Mikak would not accept an invitation to live with the Brethren. The second winter, the missionaries were quite alone. There was a fairly steady stream of visitors, it is true, coming from Arvertok and Kivallek as well as from the Nuneingoak, drawn by curiosity and the opportunity to trade, and there were large concentrations of Eskimos in the summers, but this was not what the missionaries wanted. They needed

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<sup>1</sup>ND 31/10/72

<sup>2</sup>ND 12/12/71

<sup>3</sup>ND 30/1/73, 15/2/73

<sup>4</sup>ND 25/10/71

to have a far more continuous contact with the Eskimos, in the hope that soon some of them would be touched by the Gospel message and come to live at Nain. Then the Brethren could begin to realise their ideal of a settled village community of believing Eskimos.

As time went on, it became evident to the missionaries that in choosing to settle at Nain among the Nuneingoak Eskimos, they had come to what was, from their point of view, the most difficult of all the coastal Eskimo groups: difficult because the geography of the region and the absence of whales - with the exception of dead whales found by chance - compelled the population, in searching for food, to scatter widely among the many bays and islands.<sup>5</sup> There was no one large Eskimo camping place where the Brethren could also build. Moreover, Nain was not a good hunting place, and, therefore, not attractive to the Eskimos as a place to live. As the Nain Brethren put it in 1779, "Here is no place for the Esquimaux to live in winter as they are quite out of the way of getting any subsistence."<sup>6</sup>

In 1773, therefore, the missionaries began a series of explorations to the north and south of Nain, looking for sites for new mission stations, and hoping to expand and stimulate the trade, which was not doing well in the early years.<sup>7</sup> David Crantz implies that the Brethren originally intended that Nain should form a focus and gathering place for all the coastal Eskimos,<sup>8</sup> but even if this unlikely idea was ever entertained, the poor hunting at Nain must soon have led to its being dropped.

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<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> ND 2/3/79

<sup>7</sup> See Table 1 below, p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> History of Greenland, Appendix, II:300

The first voyage of exploration to the north was made in the summer of 1773. The Ship's Company agreed to buy a "covered shallop" for its own use in Labrador,<sup>9</sup> which was picked up in St. John's and sailed to Nain while the Amity went to fish on the Banks before going north.<sup>10</sup> Carrying John Hill, as representative of the Company, and Brother Layritz from the U.E.C., the sloop George arrived in Nain on July 25th and went north on August 2nd, accompanied by Lieutenant Curtis, who had been sent by Governor Shuldham to ascertain that all was well at Nain.<sup>11</sup>

With one of Tuglavina's nephews as pilot, the expedition, led by Haven, went as far north as Nachvak, calling in at Kivallek, Naparktok, Kangerdluksoak, and Saglek.<sup>12</sup> Of all the places visited, Haven found Kivallek most suitable for a new mission station; there was "no place either in Greenland or Labradore so suitable for a Congregation ... nor where it could be better maintained." His very full report was sent to the U.E.C. with the Amity, which had already arrived at Nain when the George returned on September 17th.

After reading this report, the U.E.C. was able to lay down policy regarding the proposed new settlements.<sup>13</sup> The lot approved that there should be two new mission settlements, one to the north, the other to the south of Nain, and that in 1774 the missionaries should make a second voyage north to pick a definite place. The lot had not approved of a

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<sup>9</sup> Company Committee, 20/1/73. SCP p. 4 LA 5.

<sup>10</sup> Extract of a letter from Br. Layritz, St. John's, May 18-19, 1773. PAC A568.

<sup>11</sup> Shuldham to Dartmouth, Sept. 8, 1773. CO 194/31, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Extract of the Voyage of the Sloop George from Nain to reconnoitre the Northern parts of Labradore in the months of August and September, 1773. LA 5.

<sup>13</sup> U.E.C. to Nain, 1774. Mor. Mss. p. 3654. Tr.

settlement being made at Kivallek,<sup>14</sup> but the U.E.C. stated that this could not stop the Brethren from consulting the lot about other places in the same area, and suggested that they look for a site on the mainland near Kivallek. When the sloop returned from the north, the lot was to be consulted once more. If a question was answered with a blank, the Brethren were not to take this as a negative; it could mean that they should first ask about another place, or that they should ask about several places for the purpose of elimination.

After wintering in St. John's, the George arrived at Nain on July 31st, 1774.<sup>15</sup> John Hill and a new missionary, Gottfried Lehmann, remained on board, and were joined by Brasen, Haven and Lister for the voyage north, according to instructions received from the U.E.C. They arrived at Kivallek on August 8th, and after a few days' search, decided to settle at Okkak ("the tongue") on the island of Kivallek, about a half-hour's walk from the Eskimo winter houses. The George went on to Kangerdluksoak and Saglek, and arrived at Nachvak on August 27th. Here the missionaries tried to find a pilot to take them to Killinek, but failing to obtain one, started south on September 1st.<sup>16</sup>

Before starting on this voyage Haven had felt a premonition of disaster; he had been seized by "an uncommon horror and trembling ... so that, contrary to my former experience, I was exceedingly intimidated, and wished rather to stay at home."<sup>17</sup> On September 14th, somewhere among the

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<sup>14</sup> See Fig. 3, p. 97.

<sup>15</sup> ND 31/7/74

<sup>16</sup> Christian Lister's Account of the Voyage to the Northward from Nain - to the 59th Degree - and of their return till the 13th of September 1774 . PAC A548.

<sup>17</sup> Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, p. 7.

islands south of the Kiglapait Mountains, the sloop ran aground in a north-east gale. By the morning of the 15th, so much water had been shipped that the sloop had to be abandoned and the crew and passengers put out in a small boat. They ran before the wind all day, unable to get to land, and when making a final attempt to land before nightfall, struck a rock off Aukpalluktok.<sup>18</sup> All on board managed to get ashore with the exception of Brasen and Lehmann who were drowned. The survivors managed to salvage the boat and repair it, so that on the 18th they were able to set off for Nain. In the late afternoon they reached Rhodes Island, at the entrance to Nain harbour, where soon after they met some Eskimos who took them to the mission station.

The news of her husband's death was slowly broken to Sister Brasen, who was pregnant, but she had been prepared for it by a dream in which she had seen him standing before her, pale, and with a wound on the side of his nose. The next day, Hill and some sailors went out to the wreck of the George to see what could be salvaged, and five Brethren went to fetch the two bodies, which had been laid under a stone shelter during a short service held by Hill. They returned on the 24th, and the bodies were buried at Nain.<sup>19</sup> It is not clear from the diaries who took Brasen's place as First Helper before the arrival of Samuel Liebisch in 1775. In any case, plans for the new mission stations went ahead. In July 1775, Haven, Beck and Lister went south with Tuglavina and his brother Kannigak

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<sup>18</sup>ND 14/1/77.

<sup>19</sup>Account of the melancholy accidents attending the loss of the Sloop George on her return from Navok in 59.9 to the 57th degree .... Appended to Nain Diary for 1773-4. See the account in Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, pp. 7-9, and that given by L.H. Neatby, "Wrecked on the Coast of Labrador," The Beaver, Outfit 297 (Autumn 1966), pp. 21-25.

to look for a site in the Arvertok region.<sup>20</sup> Going on south beyond Nisbet's Harbour, they eventually found a spot near Arvertok itself "better suited for the purpose of a Mission-settlement than any hitherto discovered."<sup>21</sup> ✓

The Ship's Company did not replace the George, but sold the Amity, acquiring instead a sloop of seventy tons called The Good Intent.<sup>22</sup> This ship arrived in Nain on August 16th, and left again on the 19th for another northern exploration, having taken aboard Lister, who had made good progress in the Eskimo language.<sup>23</sup> Once again the Brethren failed to get further north than Nachvak.<sup>24</sup>

Liebisch brought with him a commission from the U.E.C. to Haven to begin a new station at Okkak. The lot had approved the site, and had decided also that its name should remain as it was.<sup>25</sup> Haven and Jensen set out for the new mission site in an Eskimo boat on August 20th, purchased the land from the Eskimos, and set up boundary stones.<sup>26</sup> The British government had already in 1774 made a grant to the mission of two further tracts of land, each of 100,000 acres.<sup>27</sup>

The Okkak mission house was prepared at Nain, and this task occupied the Brethren for the following autumn, winter and spring. Wood was cut at Kauk and nearer Nain, and was hauled to the settlement in February. In April 1776, five Brethren set to work to frame the house,

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<sup>20</sup>ND 9/7/75.

<sup>21</sup>Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup>A Brief Account of the Vessels . . . ., p. 6. The date given by this source for the last voyage of the Amity is incorrect; it was in 1774, not 1776.

<sup>23</sup>ND 16/8/75, 11/11/75.

<sup>24</sup>ND 12/9/75

<sup>25</sup>U.E.C. to Nain, 1775. Mor. Mss., p. 3686. Tr. Also Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup>ND 20/8/75

<sup>27</sup>Order in Council as to further grants of territory to the Moravians, March 9. 1774. BD III:1331.

which was finished by the end of July.<sup>28</sup> The Good Intent which was to carry all the materials to Okkak, arrived at the end of August and left a week later.<sup>29</sup> Besides the frame of the house, the sloop carried boards, bricks, shingles, nails, stoves, tools, cooking utensils and provisions for one year.<sup>30</sup> The number of missionaries on the coast had been increased in 1775 from fifteen to twenty,<sup>31</sup> and the arrival of C.J. Waiblinger, an elderly physician (aged 67), in 1776 made up a strength sufficient to maintain two stations. The Havens, Morhardt, Neisser and Branagin were to be the permanent staff at Okkak, but with them on The Good Intent sailed Andersen, who was to stay for the first year, and Rhodes, Frech, Turner and Lister, who were to help with the building.<sup>32</sup>

The house was quickly raised at Okkak, and by the time that The Good Intent arrived back in Nain on October 13, three rooms were habitable.<sup>33</sup> The missionaries continued building during the autumn, completing a provision house, and adding a bake house at the east end of the mission house.<sup>34</sup>

For the S.F.G., the expense of starting the Okkak station was not so great as at the foundation of Nain. The debt incurred then was paid off by June 1776,<sup>35</sup> but a new one had to be contracted almost immediately. However, the Missions Department contributed 100,<sup>36</sup> and by this time, the earnings of

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<sup>28</sup>ND 30/9/75, 13/10/75, 25-6/2/76, 2/4/76, 29/7/76.

<sup>29</sup>ND 30/8/76, 8/9/76.

<sup>30</sup>List of requirements for Okkak, 1775. Mor. Mss. p. 54366. Tr.

<sup>31</sup>Those who came in 1775 were Brother and Sister Liebisch; an Irishman, James Branagin (42); a Dane, Sven Andersen (29); and a wife for Johann Beck, who had arrived in 1773.

<sup>32</sup>ND 4/9/76.

<sup>33</sup>ND 13/10/76.

<sup>34</sup>OD 19,21/10/76.

<sup>35</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 11/6/76, II:10.

<sup>36</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 9/7/76, II:11.



Fig.3 The OKKAK area

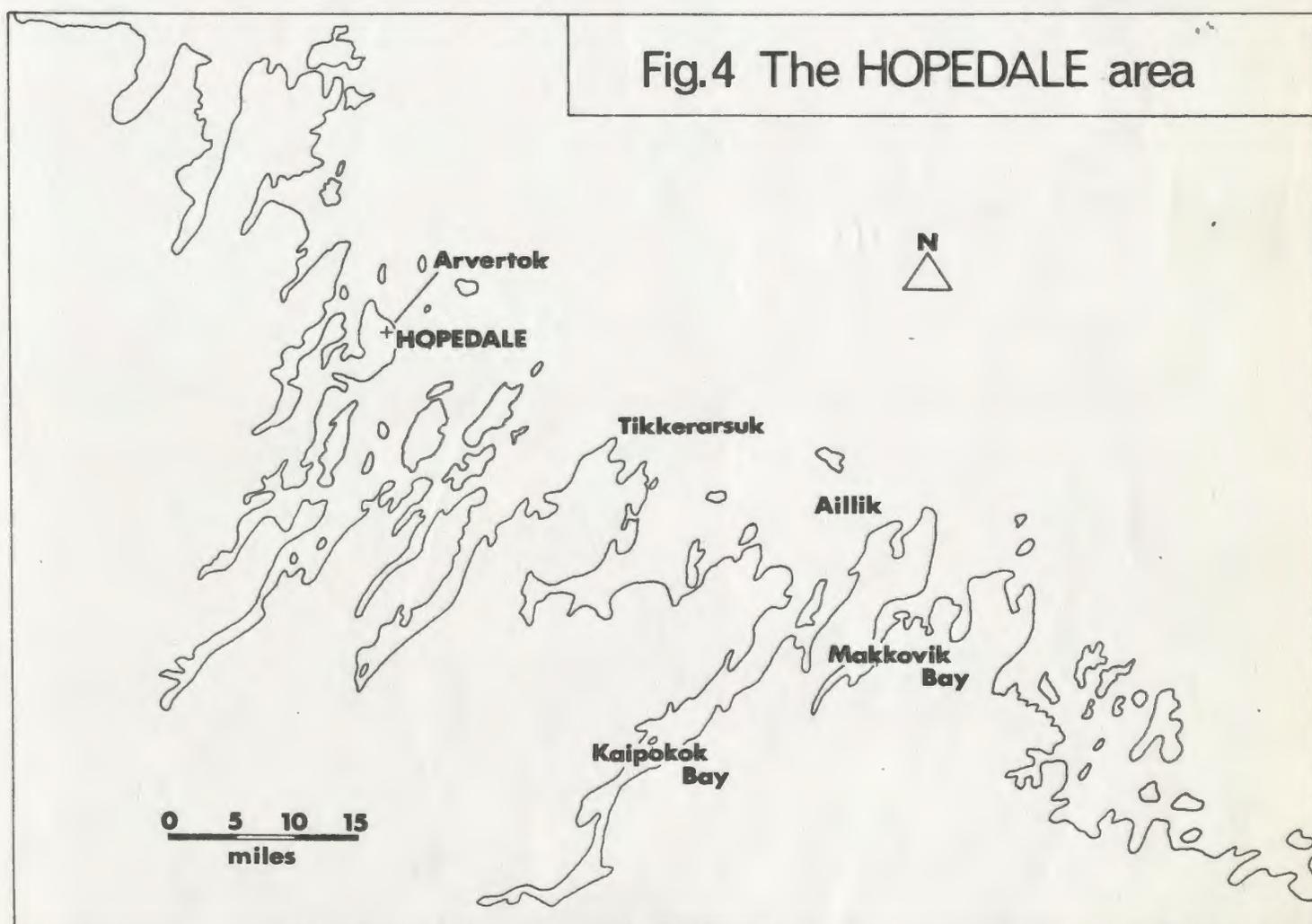


Fig.4 The HOPEDALE area

the missionaries - as distinct from the Company's barter trade - were becoming more substantial. The S.F.G. received 349-11-0 from Labrador in 1776, and spent 643-18-1 1/2. The overall loss for the year was 439-11-6, which was considerably less than might have been expected.

In 1777, the Brethren turned their attention again to a southerly settlement. In July, three Brethren went to Arvertok to take possession of their land.<sup>37</sup> Very few people were found at Arvertok, but those there were willing enough to let the Brethren have the land they wanted, which was "from the North Corner of Arvertok as far as Tikkerarsuk to the South." They collected names, gave payment, and placed a boundary stone "at the hook of Arvertok land." On their way south, the missionaries met other Eskimos who added their names to the deed, and reached Tikkerarsuk on July 12th, where they put up the other marker.<sup>38</sup> Arvertokers who arrived at Nain later in the summer were also given payment.<sup>39</sup>

No decision was made to begin the Arvertok mission until 1781.<sup>40</sup> That autumn, Haven was transferred from Okkak to Nain to take charge of the building of the Arvertok mission house.<sup>41</sup> Wood was cut for that purpose in the Nain area, and in the spring of 1782 the Brethren began to shape the timbers. The frame was erected at Nain when finished in early August, and made ready for transportation on the ship.<sup>42</sup> The new house was sixty feet

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<sup>37</sup> See Fig. 4, p. 97.

<sup>38</sup> Account of Schneider, Lister, and Jensen's voyage from Nain to Arvertok .... Appended to Nain Diary for 1776-7. The Arvertok deed, in Eskimo, Mor. Mss. pp. 13693-97.

<sup>39</sup> ND 2/8/77.

<sup>40</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 13/3/81, II:101.

<sup>41</sup> Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven, p. 10.

<sup>42</sup> ND 15/11/81, 8/3/82, 3/8/82.

long, twenty-four feet broad, and contained four dwelling rooms: a kitchen, store room, loft, and a hall that was to serve also as the meeting place. With the addition of David Krügelstein (37), Georg Schmidtman (33) and Johann Wolff (27) in 1781, and Christian Parchwitz (38) and Samuel Towle (25) in 1782, the total number of missionaries had increased to twenty-five. Of these, the Havens, the Schneiders, Turner and Wolff were to be the permanent staff of the new station, which was to be called Hopedale (Hoffenthal). Five other Brethren went to help in the building.

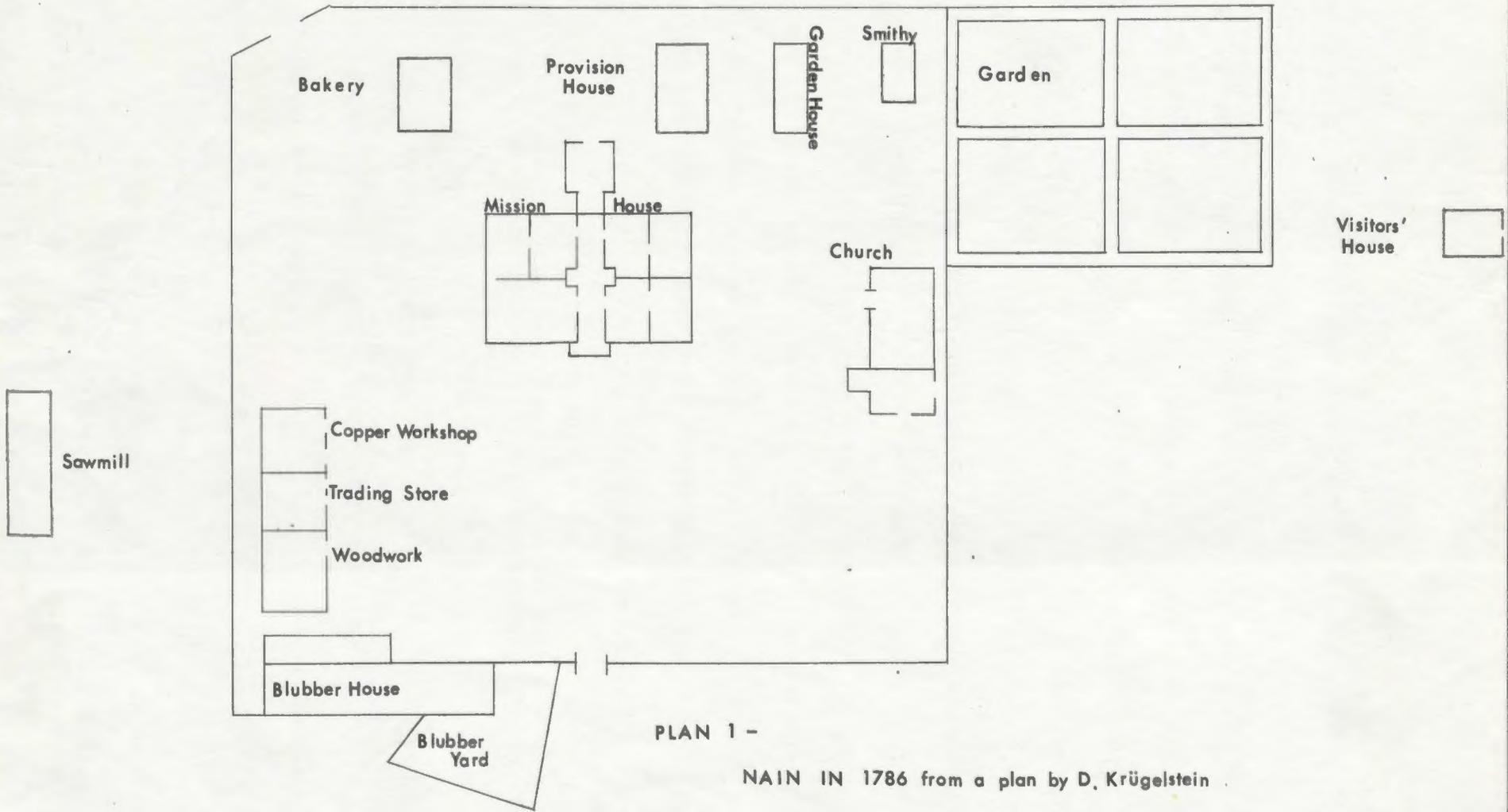
After 1782, the mission expanded no more until the foundation of Hebron in Kangerdluksoak in 1830. Both Okkak and Hopedale were more favourably situated than Nain. The presence of whales in both areas, and simpler geographical configurations, meant that the Eskimo populations of Kivallek and Arvertok were less dispersed than that of Nuneingoak. Okkak was built near to a large Eskimo camp at Kivallek, and was not far from another at Uivak; Hopedale was only a few hundred yards from the camp at Arvertok.<sup>43</sup> Thus the missionaries at these stations had the chance of continuous contact with the local Eskimos, and had the advantage over Nain of being near good hunting places.

The mission house was designed to be the nucleus of a settled community of Christian Eskimos, but at the same time, especially in the early years when it usually stood alone, it was to be a model of correct communal behaviour. The missionary community was to be a typical Moravian settlement in microcosm, and its internal organisation was fully detailed in the instructions given to the Brethen in 1771.<sup>44</sup> Regular religious

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<sup>43</sup>For illustration of the position of Hopedale in relation to the Eskimo houses at Arvertok, see Junius B. Bird, Archaeology of the Hopedale Area, Labrador, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, No. 39, part 2 (New York: 1945), plate 9.

<sup>44</sup>Instructions for our dear Brethren and Sisters .... 1771. Mor. Mss., pp. 3607-3625.



(Mor. Mss., p. 58687)

exercises would ensure that the missionaries would not be distracted by material cares. Thus each missionary was to find a time in the day for personal prayer and each week all were to meet together to make joint prayers. No one should miss a meeting. Once a week, the Brethren were to meet together to read the Bible and old and new sermons. Besides a morning and an evening blessing, there should be daily meetings for a liturgy and singing. The choir system was to be rigidly observed; each choir - married men, married women, and single brethren - should have weekly meetings, and at set times have "hearts' conversations" together. These would correspond with the "bands" mentioned above in Chapter I.<sup>45</sup> In this way, each would walk according to the rules of the choir, and "therefore all unnecessary Conversation between Brothers and Sisters will be sacredly avoided." Each part of the whole was to do his own work, and this should reduce the number of misunderstandings; but "if any should arise, for you are poor human Creatures, let them not last, but explain Yourselves one to another, according to our Lord's word. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath." Communion was to be held monthly, and before this sacrament there was to be "bandlike speaking with the labourers and one another." In this way, the community would worship once more as a unity, with all disputes and resentments brought into the open and resolved.<sup>46</sup>

Brasen, as leader, or First Helper, was "constantly ... to have an Eye to and bear on his heart the inward and outward matters, relating both

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<sup>45</sup> Above, pp. 7-8.

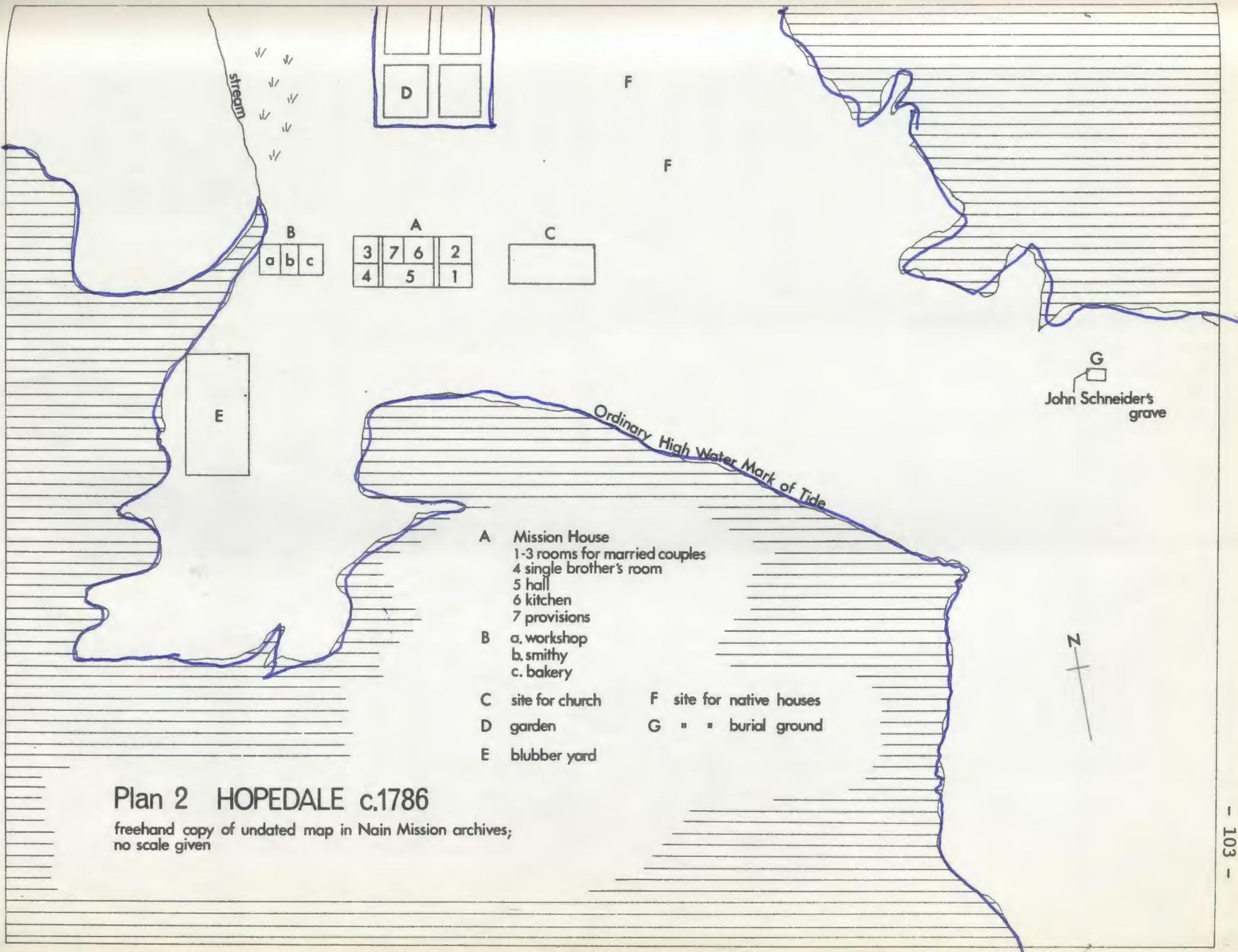
<sup>46</sup> The speakings were an important facet of Moravian religious life. They have been defined as the "mutual interchange of Christian sentiment without the exaction of any confession of past transactions." The object was "a perfectly restrained disclosure of Christian experience." James Henry, Sketches of Moravian Life and Character (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1859), p. 128.

to the House Congregation and to the Mission." With him, Drachart and Schneider, the two oldest and most experienced men, and Neisser, the labourer with the single brethren, were to form a conference to deal with any inward and personal matters that might arise, and which could not be settled by the persons involved. They were also to decide who was to take which meetings. Haven, Jensen, and the sisters were to join these four to form another conference having general direction over the whole mission, including the House Congregation, in matters both inward and outward. It was in this conference that the lot was to be consulted if need be and questions of baptism to be decided. It is probably this group that is referred to in the diaries as the "Elders' Conference." The U.E.C. appointed Jensen by lot to be House Deacon, in charge of all the material concerns of the mission community. He was to watch the use of provisions, to decide what manual work needed to be done, and who was to do it. He was to be assisted in this by the House Conference to which the whole community belonged, and which usually met weekly. Each year the U.E.C. expected a complete diary, an extract of the proceedings of the Elders' Conference as well as its report, and a personal account of "his situation" from each missionary. A regular correspondence was to be kept up with the Missions' Department and the S.F.G. In this way the home authorities could keep a close watch on the Labrador situation, and give new instructions as needed.

There is mention in 1777 of the institution of a new "Mission Conference," which was to meet monthly to consider "the good of the Mission."<sup>47</sup> It is not clear which of the existing conferences this supplemented or replaced, but it can be presumed that it consisted of those Brethren who

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<sup>47</sup>OD 30/8/77.



- A Mission House  
1-3 rooms for married couples  
4 single brother's room  
5 hall  
6 kitchen  
7 provisions
- B a. workshop  
b. smithy  
c. bakery
- C site for church
- D garden
- E blubber yard
- F site for native houses
- G " " burial ground

Plan 2 HOPEDALE c.1786  
 freehand copy of undated map in Nain Mission archives;  
 no scale given

were active, Eskimo-speaking missionaries, rather than assistants. It would certainly not have included the agents of the Ship's Company at Nain, Frech and Wolfes, who were expected to concern themselves almost exclusively with the barter trade. Until 1785, the agents were supported by the Company rather than by the S.F.G. There was no barrier against a trade brother becoming a fully-fledged missionary - this was the case with Frech - but many seem never to have been ordained, and some stayed on the coast for a relatively short time.

This structure of authority was reproduced at the new stations of Okkak and Hopedale. Although expected to send separate diaries and reports to Europe, they remained subordinate to Nain, and were expected to keep as regular a correspondence as possible with the First Helper, who was always stationed there. Also, copies of the diaries were circulated on the coast, so that all the missionaries remained fully informed of developments in other stations. Each station was semi-autonomous, but the First Helper had overall responsibility. In this period, he was not necessarily chosen from among the Labrador missionaries. On Brasen's death in 1774, Liebisch was sent out from Europe; when he retired in 1783, Lister took over for one year on an interim basis, and in 1784, four missionaries were appointed as "General Helpers."<sup>48</sup> However, in 1786, Rose arrived to assume the office of First Helper. His successor in 1794, Burghardt, was the first to be chosen from among the missionaries, having been Rose's assistant for some years. The First Helper visited Okkak and Hopedale fairly regularly, and in 1787 the first coastal General Mission Conference was held, when the leaders of the other stations came to Nain to discuss their problems and policy.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>ND 11/8/83, 7/9/84.

<sup>49</sup>ND 25/4/87.

*FRASERS*

In spite of ~~choirs~~, bands, exhortations to brotherly love and the use of the lot, which removed personal responsibility for important decisions, personal frictions developed, though not enough of the correspondence has been examined to discuss the matter fully. Bad feeling could develop, for instance, between the Company's agent and the missionaries, who were involved, in effect, in two rival trading operations.<sup>50</sup> There could also be friction between the First Helper and another station. In 1780 Liebisch wrote of his trouble with Haven at Okkak. When he visited there in the winter, they quarreled to such an extent that Liebisch very nearly left Okkak never to return. Haven acted sometimes in such a way as to make him "stand astonished;" for example, a letter from the U.E.C. to Okkak had had as its theme a lament that the missionaries were not living together in harmony and love. Haven had at once taken over the writing of the replies, and here, love and harmony were loudly written. "I [Liebisch] sometimes think I shall be happy when the office of Helper is taken from me."<sup>51</sup>

In 1791, the Yorkshireman Turner complained from Hopedale of Rose, the German First Helper: "he is such an enemy [sic] to the English Brethren as I have never met with in the Congn. he can scarce bear to hear anyone speak of England." Rose visited Hopedale in January 1791, and spoke with each person in turn; when he came to the Turners it appeared that he was full of "false reports on which he stood fast - and was in a greater heat than I have ever seen in a Brother." After a loud argument, Turner's pregnant wife had to retire to bed. The child, which was born in April, only lived eleven days and Turner's resentment against Rose is understandable,

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<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 82.

<sup>51</sup> Liebisch to LaTrobe, Okkak, Sept. 7, 1780. PAC A568. Tr.

especially as his wife did not fully recover.<sup>52</sup> On Rose's visit the next winter to Okkak, where Turner was now stationed, the two men had nothing to say to each other.<sup>53</sup> Turner left Labrador in 1793, and Rose the year after, on the grounds of bad health.

An outsider like Lieutenant Curtis might have been "agreeably disappointed - ... he had expected to find us in huts, with all the sourness and mistaken austerity of anchorites; but had in us a proof of that becoming cheerfulness, neatness and order which were the genuine effects of true godliness."<sup>54</sup> But it is hardly surprising that frictions arose within the small world of the Labrador mission, and within the smaller world that comprised each mission house. The balance could easily be disturbed by tactless individuals like Haven and Rose, and resentments made worse by the frustration of working in a mission that seemed to be making such slow progress. The missionaries were, after all, individuals, and not the faceless stereotypes of the published material. On the death of James Branagin in 1794, the Okkak diarist wrote that the late brother had

given the truest service ... not through the work of his hands alone, but also with his quick intelligence ... and served with good advice on all occasions .... His heart was changing and not always to our and the dear Saviour's joy and honour, so that we were very very often full of sorrow because of him. The reading of hurtful books, which he succeeded in getting for himself from time to time and knew how to keep safe did not have a good influence on his heart and mind, which was clearly apparent towards the end.<sup>55</sup>

The Irishman preserved his individuality to the end, within an organisation that expected it to be submerged. Perhaps more typical was Benjamin Kohlmeister,

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<sup>52</sup>Turner to Moore, Sept. 6, 1791. PAC A568.

<sup>53</sup>Turner to Moore, Okkak, Nov. 14, 1792. PAC A568.

<sup>54</sup>ND 31/7/73.

<sup>55</sup>OD 27/3/94.

who was described as being

indeed a favourable specimen of the genuine Moravian missionary: his manners were simple, his address easy but unassuming, and his whole demeanour was marked by a cheerful piety and an affectionate freedom, which were attractive in no ordinary degree .... His heart was filled with love to the Saviour .... By reading, observation, and the constant exercise of a mind of no common activity and intelligence, he was enabled to supply many of the deficiencies of his early education.<sup>56</sup>

Kohlmeister spent thirty-four years in the Labrador mission (1790-1824), but this length of service was by no means untypical; indeed, several remained longer - Meisner for forty years, Schmidtman for forty-three. A Brother called to the Labrador mission had to be prepared to stay there for his active life, although this did not necessarily mean that he would do so. Lister was transferred to Jamaica in 1788, Schmidt to the Hottentot mission in 1794, and Liebisch returned to join the U.E.C. Until the evidence is fully examined, this aspect of mission service must remain obscure. However, the usual pattern seems to have been for the single Brother to arrive in Labrador in his late twenties or thirties.<sup>57</sup> From this time on, he was to some extent at the mercy of the capricious choice of the lot, which might forbid or delay his marriage, or his rise from the rank of acolyte to that of deacon.<sup>58</sup> Usually a Brother's marriage and his becoming a deacon either coincided, or took place within a few years of each other; there was no fixed rule as to which event should come first. It is probable

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<sup>56</sup>Memoir of Br. Benj. Gottlieb Kohlmeister (London: S.F.G., 1845), p. 23.

<sup>57</sup>Excluding Drachart and Waiblinger, who were both of exceptional age on arrival, the average age of new missionaries was thirty-four. After 1771, only five married couples arrived in Labrador together.

<sup>58</sup>Most missionaries were made acolytes on going to Labrador. They could assist in the mission, but could not administer the sacraments until reaching the next rank of deacon. The next ranks were those of presbyter and bishop.

that marriage and full ordination marked the Brother's acceptance as an active, responsible, Eskimo-speaking missionary. In the case of the English Brethren, a knowledge of German was also necessary.<sup>59</sup>

The difficulty of the Eskimo language may have been a barrier to the advancement of some Brethren. Drachart, Haven, Schneider, and Beck all came to Labrador with experience in Greenland, and the other missionaries had to learn the language from them - there is a mention of an "Eskimo school" among the Okkak Brethren<sup>60</sup> - or from books acquired from Greenland. The Greenland dialect is of course distinct from that of Labrador, but the Brethren found that "although the Esquimaux do not understand every word ... yet they are acquainted with most of them, which is a great ease to us."<sup>61</sup> That not all Brethren applied themselves to the task of learning the language with enthusiasm is implied by the hope expressed in 1775 that all missionaries "may get courage and spirits to learn this difficult language that one after the other may be enabled to do that for which each of us has been sent here."<sup>62</sup>

It was often the case, though, that the bachelor would be provided with a wife within ten years. He would either marry her when home on a year's furlough, or on the coast, the girl having been sent out on the annual ship. The reactions of one of these wives who was sent out to Labrador are illustrated in a letter to LaTrobe from Elizabeth Müller (Née Hyrom), who was born at Whitney in Oxfordshire and went to Labrador in 1798. In her case, adjustment was made more difficult by her ignorance of German. After one year, she wrote -

now I can unstand most all the Deusche Sprach but I cannot raid  
Deusche nor write Deusche not this hear. I can raid moore of the

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<sup>59</sup> See Appendix III, p. 234.

<sup>60</sup> OD 23/12/77.

<sup>61</sup> ND 2/1/73.

<sup>62</sup> ND 11/11/75.

sermons but that is very lettel. I hope my Dear Saviour will help me to make moer progress in the eskemos Language .... [At Hopedale] I see the furst eskemo woen she look very frenly hat us, my hart burn with love to the poor eskemos. [They go on to Nain in a small boat] and when we came to the furst iland ther we fiext oure tent and we sup too night ther and then we came to a varry grat hood then wee fiext our tent a gain and then we was 6 Days and it rained all the time so that we cold not get a lettel coffe but on time all the Day we laid in the watir so much that our bads was very wet in deed but the son shine the Day after so that we could Dry all our things I was vary thankful ... and from that hood we came to another hood and it snowed all the Day so that all the land was covherd with snow and it was vary cold ... we was 13 Days coming [back] from Nain to Hoffenthal and we had much company with us ther was 10 eskemos with us in the boot ... and a black beer<sup>63</sup> meet and much see ducks meet the blood was over the boot ....

Sister Müller's stoicism in going to marry a strange man in a strange environment, far removed from her native Oxfordshire, is admirable, and probably fairly typical. These women were, after all, buoyed up with a sense of being part of a divine purpose, and were coming to mission houses closely modelled on what they had left behind.

The number of children born to the missionaries was fairly small. Between 1771 and 1810 there were twenty-three marriages; of these, fifteen produced a total of thirty-six children, of whom nine were either still-born, or failed to survive eighteen months.<sup>64</sup> The presence of children in the mission house was important, in order to demonstrate to the Eskimos the correct principles of child care, but there were many factors militating against large families. The sisters were married fairly late, the average age being approximately thirty-two, and they were fully occupied in house-keeping, and as acolytes, in working with the Eskimo women. They, as well as their husbands, were immersed in the business of the mission, which had

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<sup>63</sup>Elizabeth Müller to LaTrobe, Hopedale, Sept. 15, 1799. PAC A 568.

<sup>64</sup>See Appendix III, below, p. 234.

to come before all else. The mission finances would have been strained if many children were to be supported, and in any case, the communal and often cramped mission houses were not the best places for families. As it was, the surviving children were sent back to Europe at the age of five or six. Beyond that age, there was no place for them in Labrador.

Although the missionaries grew what they could in their gardens and ate local food as much as possible, they relied mainly on the provisions and livestock sent them by the S.F.G. The surviving order lists show the variety of the articles that were sent from London - salt beef and pork, flour, butter, suet, rice, pearl barley, beans, molasses, coffee, tea, vinegar, olive oil, sugar, cheese, mustard, prunes, currants and raisins, spices, herbs, pepper and ginger; starch, writing paper, quill pens, chamber pots, crockery and cooking utensils, needles and linen; seeds for the garden, and simple medicines. Each missionary would send as well a personal order, which would be paid for by the tenth of trade profits allowed for personal needs.<sup>65</sup> These orders were usually for simple, necessary articles - stockings, gloves, material for shirts and towels, jerkins, handkerchieves, and sometimes chocolate or snuff.

The early Brethren, at least, smoked and drank, but not to excess. Orders for 104 lb., 53 lb., or 84 lb., of tobacco look a vast amount, but it works out at no more than two ounces a week at the most for each Brother who smoked a pipe. It was recognised in 1771 that in a hard climate some rum and brandy would be needed, but the instructions stated that it was to be used only for medicinal purposes, or after heavy labour, and that drinking was not to become a daily habit.<sup>66</sup> The order lists, however, mention large

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<sup>65</sup> See below, p. 112.

<sup>66</sup> Instructions to our dear Brethren and Sisters .... 1771.  
Mor. Mss. p. 3612.

quantities of rum - 40 gallons, 57 gallons, 66 gallons, 23 gallons - and even allowing for rum used for medicinal purposes, and for the sailors at ship - time in the summer, this would suggest that a tot of rum was a daily habit; each man must on average have drunk about a pint a week.<sup>67</sup> By the 1790's rum was less popular among the missionaries than red wine and ale; writing in 1790, the Missions' Department mentioned that

Our Brethren in Labrador are for the most part persuaded, that the daily use of Rum has more bad than good Consequences .... Those that used to maintain the absolute necessity of Rum in Labrador are for the most part no longer there; and those, that are still there, must either quite give up the use of it, or if they cannot, be also called back again. It is a great shame, that so many of our Brethren in Labrador have so much insisted on having Rum, and we cannot think on it without grief.<sup>68</sup>

The mission was closely linked to Europe by administration, culture, and economy. As far as possible, a European way of life was maintained in Labrador, supported largely by the profits made from the barter trade run by the Company, and the sale of articles manufactured locally by the missionaries. This division in the trade was inefficient, and led to many difficulties in the organisation of the mission economy. These difficulties, and the necessary adjustments, must now be examined.

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<sup>67</sup>Material for this and the previous paragraph from the Okkak order lists of 1776, 1778, 1779, 1781, 1782, 1783. Mor. Mss., pp. 54369-54389. Tr. Also a list of provisions sent to Nain in 1782, SCP, p. 37. LA. 5.

<sup>68</sup>U.E.C. (Missions' Department) to Company, April 22, 1790. LA. 4.

## CHAPTER V

### THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TRADE

The division in the Labrador trade was based on the principle that missionaries should not be interested in trade and commerce, but should seek to earn their own living by their own labour.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Labrador missionaries only bartered with the Eskimos those things which they produced themselves; whatever they earned was sent back to England and sold by the S.F.G. for the benefit of the mission. Out of these profits the S.F.G. set aside one tenth to supply the personal needs of the missionaries. The regular provisions, sent annually, were paid for by the S.F.G. out of donations and the remaining nine tenths. The Company's barter trade was quite separate; it was run by two agents and the cargo from Labrador was kept distinct from that sent by the missionaries. The S.F.G. paid the Company freight charges on its cargoes to and from Labrador as well as passage money for missionaries.

The arrangement might have worked smoothly had the Company been able to make a steady profit. As it was, the Company made an overall loss of £713 -4-4 between 1770 and 1772, in spite of sending the Amity to fish on the Banks in 1772, and had to make a call of fifty per cent on the original capital to keep the ship afloat.<sup>2</sup> The winter of 1772-3 was good for whales in Labrador, and the Company at last made a profit of £803-19-2 on the 1773 voyage. After this time, the Company no longer made a regular loss, but neither did it make a regular or substantial profit.<sup>3</sup> Anxious to advance the

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<sup>1</sup>Mss. note by Hutton, 1773. LA 4.

<sup>2</sup>Company profit and loss account, 1770-81, SCP p. 69.

<sup>3</sup>See Table I, below, p.115.

trade, the Company found itself in competition with the missionaries who saw it as their duty to send back to the S.F.G. as large a cargo as possible. The missionaries resented the fact that the Company was sending to Labrador various articles - tools for instance - which they claimed they could make themselves and sell for the benefit of the mission at a price higher than that set by the Company.<sup>4</sup> They protested to the U.E.C., and Spangenberg wrote to Hutton on their behalf in June 1777, enclosing some proposed regulations for the Labrador trade, which would have given the Nain Brethren some control over what the Company sent to its agents in the way of trade goods. Hutton replied that the Nain Elders had no good reason to complain, and that the original regulation, "proper and necessary for the world and the mission," could not be relaxed. The S.F.G. vetted everything that was sent to Labrador, and "therefore, to tell the Company that they at Nain, have such a controul sic over what should be sent, as de facto to order it back to Europe, is so ticklish a point that I should not for the world venture to translate it to them, from fear of making them stare and start." He noted with distaste the desire of the missionaries to earn as much as possible -

It has been the great desire of its the Company's members to prevent with a holy jealousy the Missionaries from being diverted from their principal point, to the hopes and practices of commerce, to which they feared there was a tendency. I think myself, that the Missionaries have taken too many whale fins for the boats they have sold the Esquimaux ... we shall all be undone if we look to earthly profit; and as to the Company, I never desired much beyond what should be sufficient to maintain the Vessel, and were it otherwise, I should despise it.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Wollin and LaTrobe to U.E.C., May 18, 1778. PAC A 568. Thoughts of the U.E.C. relating to the external maintenance of the Mission ... in Terra Labrador.... May 13, 1795. LA 4.

<sup>5</sup>Hutton to U.E.C., June, 1777. Benham, Hutton, p. 516.

The London Brethren feared that the missionaries' sale of their own manufactures could seriously damage the Company's trade, and charged that the missionaries "received too many goods from the Esquimaux in barter ... which would otherwise go to the trader."<sup>6</sup> They also accused the missionaries of buying trade goods at cost price from the Company's agent and then bartering them with the Eskimos to the advantage of the mission. The increasing amounts of goods bought by the mission from the Company reinforced this opinion, especially with respect to Okkak and Hopedale where there were no Company agents, and where the bartering was supposedly confined to articles manufactured by the missionaries. The Company was also unhappy - perhaps unreasonably - about the missionaries' paying Eskimos for services rendered with Company trade goods, while saving their own manufactures for barter - "If so, what chance does the Company stand for trade?" While this practice was thought to be most prevalent at Okkak and Hopedale, the Company suspected that it also occurred at Nain, where the agent, Frech, would be under pressure to manipulate the trade to the missionaries' advantage.<sup>7</sup>

The dispute was made all the more bitter by the fact that the missionaries were, on the whole, making more money than the Company - although it was the Company that looked after them and ran the risks. It seemed evident to the London Brethren that some of the missionaries, "seeing a likelihood of gain, now regret they have not the whole trade in their hand." Their suspicions centred on Haven, who seems from the start to have wanted the trade to be entirely in the hands of the Missions' Department.<sup>8</sup> This had

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<sup>6</sup>Thoughts of the U.E.C. relating ... to external maintenance ....

<sup>7</sup>Wollin and LaTrobe to U.E.C., May 18, 1788, PAC A 568. Letter of John Wheeler, 1783 or 1784, LA 4.

<sup>8</sup>Wollin and LaTrobe to U.E.C., May 18, 1778.

TABLE 1COMPARISON OF THE VALUE OF MISSIONARY PRODUCE AND COMPANY PROFIT AND LOSS, 1770-81<sup>a</sup>

Year	Value of missionary produce £.s.d.	Company Profit £.s.d.	Company Loss £.s.d.
1770	-	-	374-8-0
1771	-	-	168-6-10
1772	6-10-6	-	170-9-6
1773	222-6-0	803-19-2	-
1774	190-12-0	-	280-18-10
1775	276-12-10	557-18-2	-
1776	349-11-0	284-5-10	-
1777	295-11-2	-	10-13-3
1778	188-16-0	-	323-3-9
1779	500-1-9	79-12-8	-
1780	785-18-4	270-9-0	-
1781	485-13-11	160-0-0	-

<sup>a</sup>Figures taken from a table of Net Proceeds from the Brethrens' work in Labrador, and Expenditure, 1771-81, LA 4, and a table of the Company's Yearly profits and losses, SCP, pp. 72-3.

not been possible, nor had it been approved, and Haven had to content himself with trying to limit the Company's sphere as far as possible.

We know [Haven] as a mischief maker. I conceive him capable of setting all Nain against the Company. J. Hill I [Hutton] believe to have been blamed for some things in which [Haven] was as much at fault on the other side .... When Br. Layritz returned in 1773, I saw that something would happen .... I am much for [Haven] as a Mauerbrecher, as a bold adventurer in different emergencies; but, he has a dangerous temper.<sup>9</sup>

Haven was in Europe for the winter of 1777-78 and appears to have brought the Missions' Department around to his point of view, since a second set of proposed trade regulations reached London in 1778. The Company's objections were substantially the same as those put forward by Hutton the previous year;

<sup>9</sup>Hutton to U.E.C., June, 1777. Benham, Hutton, p. 517.

the regulations laid no restraints on the missionaries while listing in detail what the Company should not do, and by putting the decision touching the choice of trade goods in the hands of the Nain Brethren, the Department was giving an unfair advantage to the mission.<sup>10</sup>

The missionaries, of course, maintained that the Company's complaints were groundless. In a statement to the Company in 1783, the Nain missionaries denied that there was any attempt by the mission to encroach on the Company's trade; goods bought from Frech were not used for barter, nor was it true that the mission went out of its way to get as many fox skins as possible. At Okkak and Hopedale strict accounts of all trade transactions were kept, and these were inspected by the First Helper. If anyone were grasping, the statement implied, it was the Company rather than the missionaries who were reaping the fruits of honest labour.<sup>11</sup>

The only solution to the dispute seemed to be a complete reorganization of the trade, which was carried out in 1785. Under new regulations<sup>12</sup> there was to be one trade Brother at each settlement who would manage the bartering under the inspection of the House Conference. He was to receive both the trade goods from Europe and the articles made by the missionaries, and all received from the Eskimos in return was to be put together to make one cargo, without distinction. The net profit was to be divided between the Company and the S.F.G., the former receiving three fifths, the latter two fifths. The trade Brethren were to be supported in common with the missionaries, and not by the Company, which was to pay only for the trade goods and expenses connected with the ship. As before, the S.F.G. was to pay for provisions,

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<sup>10</sup>Wollin and LaTrobe to U.E.C., May 18, 1778.

<sup>11</sup>Answers of the Nain Conference to certain complaints of the Owners, 1783 or 84. LA 4.

<sup>12</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 3/5/85, II:170.

freight charges, passenger fares, and to allow the missionaries one tenth for personal needs out of its share of the profits. The missionaries pronounced themselves satisfied with the new method, which began auspiciously with a profit of £1710-3-0 on the 1785 voyage.<sup>13</sup> Lister wrote from Nain that the new arrangement should end misunderstanding and make life easier among the missionaries, who could now work with more satisfaction, and be fully employed all the year round.<sup>14</sup>

The 1785 trade regulations had the desired effect of ending the disputes between the missionaries and the Company, but they did not make the trade any more lucrative. Wollin, the Ship's Husband, pointed out to the U.E.C. in 1790 that the increased number of settlements meant increased expenses; few Eskimos lived around the stations, and the trade profits were barely keeping pace. The Eskimos' wandering to the southern traders, especially from Hopedale, was having a serious effect on the mission trade, and the Company had been unable to declare a dividend or pay interest since 1784. It had made a loss on the voyages of 1788 and 1789, and was now £1330 in debt.<sup>15</sup> The size of this debt was partly because of the building of a new ship, the Harmony, launched in 1787.<sup>16</sup> This ship cost nearly £1900 while the Amity fetched only £400. The S.F.G. was also in a precarious position, with a deficit at the end of 1789 of £202, which was barely covered by the two fifths received from the 1789 voyage. To make matters worse, the market value of whalebone and oil was declining steadily. Wollin suggested that it might be as well to abolish the division of the profits as laid down in 1785;

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<sup>13</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 20/9/85, II:175.

<sup>14</sup>Lister to LaTrobe, Aug. 2, 1785. PAC A 568.

<sup>15</sup>Wollin to Liebisch (U.E.C.), March 19, 1790. LA 4.

<sup>16</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 9/1/87, 1/5/87, II:197, 207.

all expenses and a reserve for the next outfit could be deducted from the profits, and the surplus if any go to the S.F.G.

The U.E.C. rejected this idea;<sup>17</sup> the stipulated division of the profits could only be abandoned if another means could be found to indemnify the S.F.G. Otherwise, the owners might be saved but the Society might expire. The U.E.C. informed the S.F.G. that it had exhorted the missionaries to be as frugal as possible, and exhorted the Society in its turn to examine the lists of goods going to Labrador, to make sure that only absolute necessities were sent.<sup>18</sup> This, the Society replied, was exactly what they always had done.<sup>19</sup>

However, it was necessary to economise as much as possible, and in the early 1790's the Society and the Company explored various ways of cutting costs. The Company's largest expense was the Harmony, a brig of 136 tons; a vessel of under 100 tons would have served well enough, but as there was a trade regulation to the effect that no rum or brandy was to be exported in a ship of that size, the Company had built the large and costly Harmony.<sup>20</sup> The U.E.C. expressed sorrow and incredulity at this news, and recommended that the ship be sold, and be replaced by a smaller vessel which the trade could support; if necessary, the missionaries would have to forego their liquor.<sup>21</sup> This was good advice, but the Harmony remained in service until 1802.<sup>22</sup>

Serious consideration was given to a proposal to abandon Hopedale. Wollin suggested that the settlement was "to very little purpose;" many Eskimos

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<sup>17</sup>U.E.C. to Shipowners, April 22, 1790. LA 4.

<sup>18</sup>U.E.C. to S.F.G., April 22, 1790. LA 4.

<sup>19</sup>S.F.G. to U.E.C., Sept. 4, 1790. LA 4.

<sup>20</sup>Wollin to Liebisch (U.E.C.), March 19, 1790.

<sup>21</sup>U.E.C. to Shipowners, April 22, 1790.

<sup>22</sup>A Brief Account of the Vessels . . . ., p. 9.

had left the area for the south, wood was becoming scarce, the navigation was dangerous, and the expense of keeping the station open was over £200 a year.<sup>23</sup> Since two of the missionaries at Hopedale, Jensen and Krügelstein, had been of the same opinion as early as 1787, the U.E.C. studied the matter in 1790 "and found indeed that this place does not seem to answer the design for which it was erected." But Hopedale had been started by permission of the lot, and the U.E.C. felt that its closure should have the same sanction. The question therefore was put to the lot, and the drawing of a blank was interpreted as meaning that the Labrador Brethren should be further consulted.<sup>24</sup>

Although by 1791 the U.E.C. had come round to the view that there were more reasons for continuing than for giving up Hopedale, the station's future remained an open question since the lot gave no definite directions.<sup>25</sup> The matter was referred to the Committee of the S.F.G. which consulted Samuel Towle, who left Labrador in 1791, and then held a long discussion.<sup>26</sup> The arguments in favour of closure were strong. According to Towle, the state of the baptised at Hopedale was lukewarm, and the proximity of Europeans made the establishment of a settled congregation there unlikely; indeed, there were enough instances of the pernicious influence of Europeans in the history of the Indian mission in North America to justify emigration from the area. The trade was too small to make the time and expense involved worthwhile. Nain was within reach and the baptised could either move there, or visits could be made to them. Against closing the settlement were the less practical, but to the evangelical mind, equally powerful arguments, that the natives of the area needed to be saved as much as any others, and

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<sup>23</sup>Wollin to Liebisch (U.E.C.), March 19, 1790.

<sup>24</sup>U.E.C. to S.F.G., April 22, 1790.

<sup>25</sup>Reichel (U.E.C.) to S.F.G., May 24, 1791. S.F.G. Minutes, II:278.

<sup>26</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, Committee, 2/3/92, II: 302-308.

that even if only a few were converted, it was still worth the effort. The meeting was reminded that the missions in Antigua and Greenland had experienced great difficulties at first, and to one Brother, the drawing of blank lots on the question of closure seemed to indicate that the Lord intended that abandonment should be postponed. The Committee was swayed by these arguments and passed a resolution to the effect that outward difficulties should have no weight in making the final decision - which was left to the U.E.C. Once again the question was put to the lot, and on this occasion all heavenly procrastination ceased. Hopedale was to be continued.<sup>27</sup>

The number of settlements was to remain constant, but the London Brethren now wondered whether the number of missionaries could be reduced. The full complement for each station was three married pairs and two or three single Brethren. Since 1786, when there had been the full number of twenty-eight adults on the coast, the number had been allowed to dwindle to twenty-two in 1794. The missionaries did not think that their staff could be further reduced, since they had to do more than preach. There was the Company's work to attend to; barrels and boats to be repaired, blubber to be boiled, goods to be bartered, guns to be mended, tin and iron articles to be made, wood to be cut, gardens to be dug, and fish to be caught. They needed more men than they actually had, rather than less, and this the Society recognised, "with regret that they shd. be more wanted for commercial than missionary purposes."<sup>28</sup> It was not until 1798, though, that the mission was once again at full strength.

The projects for economy were accompanied by various schemes to increase income. The Company mooted the idea of purchasing a small vessel of

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<sup>27</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 24/4/92, II:313.

<sup>28</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 23/12/94, III:39. Address by Br. Rose to the S.F.G., December 23, 1794, S.F.G. Letter Book, p. 69. LA 1.

thirty or forty tons in which reconnoitre the northern coast, and perhaps find and trade with the main body of the Eskimos.<sup>29</sup> Fraser, who had replaced Mugford as captain of the ship in 1780, was willing to winter in Okkak and go north in the spring. However, this project would have cost the Company more than it could afford, and although the U.E.C. toyed with it for a while, it never came to fruition.<sup>30</sup>

The one suggestion that was put into practice was the attempt to exploit the Okkak whale fishery. In 1790 the U.E.C. pointed out to the Company that whales were frequently seen from the mission house, "but the Eskimos have seldom at that time come back from their hunting, and by their superstition, they are often led to miss the best times for the Whale fishery." If proper tackle and a harpooner were sent out, the Company might hope for a good return.<sup>31</sup> The idea was put forward again in 1791, together with the suggestion that the cod fishery at Okkak be put on a commercial basis.<sup>32</sup> Fraser reckoned that if the Harmony made her last stop there at the end of the season, five or six tons of salted fish could be taken in. However the Society did not think that there was much to be expected from cod, and preferred the idea of a whale fishery. At the Society's request, the U.E.C. began to look for a Brother from Sweden or Denmark who could be put in charge.<sup>33</sup> Such a Brother was found later in the year,<sup>34</sup> and the Company decided to adopt the plan, and allow the Harmony to stay in Labrador for as long as was necessary.<sup>35</sup> The harpooner, a Dane named Roloff

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<sup>29</sup>Wollin to Liebisch (U.E.C.), March 19, 1790.

<sup>30</sup>U.E.C. to Shipowners, April 22, 1790. Reichel (U.E.C.) to S.F.G., May 24, 1791.

<sup>31</sup>U.E.C. to Shipowners, April 22, 1790.

<sup>32</sup>Reichel (U.E.C.) to S.F.G., May 24, 1791

<sup>33</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 21/6/91, II:283.

<sup>34</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 8/11/91, II:292.

<sup>35</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 28/2/92, II:300.

Brodersen, "an awakened man, and very likely for the purpose," duly arrived in London in April 1792, and was dispatched to Labrador.<sup>36</sup>

The whale fishery was not a great success either in 1792 or in 1793, and the attempt was not renewed. No whales were caught in 1792;<sup>37</sup> in 1793, Brodersen harpooned one whale, but as the Kivallekors had struck it first, there was some dispute over the division of the spoils. It seems to have been usual for the harpooners to initiate the distribution of a whale, cutting off "large pieces of the whales flesh, which they portion out to the people present as the shares designed for their families. Then the rest is cut off by the other men and boys, and brought to land, and given to the women."<sup>38</sup> Fraser wanted half the flippers and half the flesh; as the remainder had to be shared among three Eskimo groups (Okkak, Kivallek, and Uivak), the Eskimos were at first dissatisfied. When it became clear that Fraser was more interested in blubber than meat, however, an agreement was reached. During the cutting up of the whale, Fraser's share "melted a good deal" and he got little enough.<sup>39</sup> Not only was whaling uncertain, and a bad financial investment for a Company with little enough to spare for experiments, but it was also inconvenient to all concerned to have the ship stay on the coast until the end of November. During the Revolutionary Wars, the Harmony had to meet the Hudson's Bay convoy at Stromness in the Orkneys before going on to London, and the Company could not allow any lingering on the coast.

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<sup>36</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 24/4/92, II:313.

<sup>37</sup> S.F.G. to Hopedale, May 21, 1793. S.F.G. Letter Book, p. 39. LA 1.

<sup>38</sup> OD 6/11/78.

<sup>39</sup> OD 11/11/93.

The failure of these schemes to strengthen the precarious finances of the Society and the Company led to a deterioration in the relations between the two bodies. From 1790 until 1796, the agreement of 1785 concerning the division of the profits ceased to operate.<sup>40</sup> Once the S.F.G. stopped receiving its full share, the U.E.C. took up the cudgels on its behalf. It was the Company's duty to pay the two fifths since one party to a contract could not unilaterally abrogate its obligations. Moreover, it was unjust that the Labrador missionaries should be earning little or nothing towards their support after all their work, and that the S.F.G. should have to depend entirely on the good will of the Company.<sup>41</sup> The U.E.C. maintained constantly that the Harmony was too big and expensive, and urged its sale, "but it appears as if all writing and speaking was done in vain."<sup>42</sup>

The despondent S.F.G. at one point wondered if it might not be as well to give up the responsibility for maintaining the Labrador mission and transfer it to the Missions' Department,<sup>43</sup> but more positive counsels prevailed. The merging of the Company with the S.F.G. was first discussed in February 1795,<sup>44</sup> and the Society bought up seven vacant shares in the Company in 1796.<sup>45</sup> It was not until March 1797 that the decision to merge was finally made, the end of a long and strained dispute.<sup>46</sup> The Society agreed to take the ship and stores at a fair valuation, and either to refund

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<sup>40</sup> See Table 2, p. 124.

<sup>41</sup> Thoughts of the U.E.C. relating to ... external maintenance ....  
1795.

<sup>42</sup> Liebisch to LaTrobe and Moore, Dec. 21, 1795, LA 4. Extract of a letter from the U.E.C. to S.F.G., 1793, S.F.G. Minutes, 18/6/93, II;341.

<sup>43</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 12/8/94, III;19.

<sup>44</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 24/2/95, III:41.

<sup>45</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 17/5/96, III:93

<sup>46</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 21/3/97, III:117-8.

TABLE 2

THE OPERATION OF THE 1785 AGREEMENT AND S.F.G. PROFIT AND LOSS, 1785-96.<sup>a</sup>

Year	Value of Cargo	Amount due to S.F.G. (2/5)	Amount paid to S.F.G. <sup>b</sup>	S.F.G. Lab'dor expenses	S.F.G. Lab'dor Balance	S.F.G. Total Receipts	S.F.G. Total Expenses	S.F.G. Total Balance
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
1785	1710.3.0	684.1.2½						
1786	2103.8.1	841.7.3	684.1.2½					
1787	948.19.9	379.11.10	841.7.3	737.4.11 <sup>c</sup>	104.2.4+			
1788	1398.7.9	559.7.0	379.11.10					
1789	648.9.8	259.7.10	559.7.0	556.14.7 <sup>c</sup>	2.12.5+			
1790	1208.13.3	483.9.4	259.7.10					
1791	2328.19.7	931.11.10	100.0.0					
1792	899.12.9	359.17.0	300.0.0	509.19.5½	209.19.5½-	533.10.1	770.12.5	237.2.4 -
1793	1490.15.11	596.6.4	-----	623.9.2½	623.9.2½-	333.16.10	932.13.6½	598.16.8½-
1794	2339.7.4	935.14.0	-----	678.16.4	678.16.4-	312.8.5	1048.6.8½	1095.18.3½-
1795	2619.18.10	1047.19.6	850.0.0	429.14.2	420.5.10+	1141.3.10½	1610.4.0½	469.0.2 -
1796	3289.18.6	1315.19.5	600.0.0					

<sup>a</sup>The figures are taken from a table of cargo values, and money paid to the S.F.G., 1785-96, LA 4. Also from the S.F.G. Balance Sheets for 1792-5, LA 4.

<sup>b</sup>As shown in this column, the profits from one voyage were credited to the following year's account.

<sup>c</sup>These figures are from Wollin to Liebisch (U.E.C.), March 19, 1790. LA 4.

the owners their shares or to keep them as capital at five per cent. The S.F.G. paid £1200 for the Harmony, and received £976-12-11 from the Company in compensation for the losses sustained by the Society after the breakdown of the 1785 agreement.

The consolidation of the economic administration of the Labrador mission created a far more rational and efficient system,<sup>47</sup> although it did not change the organisation on the coast to any great extent. There, the distinction between the Company and the mission had been removed by the agreement of 1785. The virtual control of the trade by missionaries went against Moravian mission principles, but there seemed to be no other way. The dilemma continued to exercise Moravian consciences until the trading operation ended in 1925.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>See Table 3, p. 126.

<sup>48</sup>See D. Jenness, Eskimo Administration: III. Labrador, p. 18.

TABLE 3

THE LABRADOR TRADING OPERATION AND S.F.G. PROFIT AND LOSS, 1797-1800.<sup>a</sup>

Year	Net Value of Cargo	Exp. on ship and stores	Exp. on mission	Total Labrador Expenses	Labrador Balance	Total Receipts	Total Expenses	Total Balance
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
1797	4136.6.8 <sup>b</sup>	2756.9.5 <sup>c</sup>	610.6.3	3366.15.8	769.11.0+	5528.9.11½	3727.17.10	1800.12.1½+
1798	1450.7.10	1531.3.5	687.4.0	2218.7.5	767.19.7-	3705.5.7½	2400.1.4	1305.4.3½+
1799	1401.2.2	1303.17.0	714.8.6	2018.5.6	617.3.4-	3690.8.0½	2253.9.3	1436.18.9½+
1800	3191.6.2	1593.8.7	921.7.4	2514.15.11	676.10.3+	5069.1.3½	2839.1.4	2229.19.11½+

<sup>a</sup>Figures from S.F.G. Balance Sheets, 1797-1800. LA 4.

<sup>b</sup>This figure is a total of the following amounts: £ 1843.10.4, net value of cargo,  
£ 1315.19.5, the 2/5 due from 1796,  
and £ 976.12.11, compensation paid by Company.

<sup>c</sup>This figure includes the purchase price of the Harmony, £ 1200.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE SETTLED COMMUNITY

In setting up a trading operation in Labrador the Moravians were doing more than to establish an organisation which would, hopefully, produce a large enough profit to provide for the physical needs of the missionaries. They had to draw the Eskimos to their stations and provide them with what they needed in the way of European goods, if they were going to stop them wandering south to the traders at Cape Charles and Chateau Bay. The British authorities expected the mission to do this so that the codfishery in south Labrador could work unmolested; and the Moravians needed to do it, so that they could convert and civilise the heathen. Government and mission wished to establish what was virtually an Eskimo reserve; and if this were to materialise, then the mission must remove the economic necessity which drove the Eskimos south.<sup>1</sup>

The mission never had any intention of trying to bring the Eskimos back to a state of primitive simplicity and realised from the beginning that it would have to make European goods available to them. Haven wrote in 1770 that

our chief business at first will be to repair the boats and if possible build new ones for the Esquimaux at their paying for them, for if we will get them to leave off stealing boats, we must show them how otherwise they may come at Boats, and as far possible furnish them with everything they absolutely stand in need of on their paying for them; else all we preach to them will be impossible for them to practice.<sup>2</sup>

A trading economy would develop, but the Moravians were concerned that it should develop along the ideologically correct lines. Their purpose was to

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<sup>1</sup>See above, p. 32, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup>Journal of Voyage of the Jersey Packet, 7/8/70.

guide, rather than hinder change, and this could be done by judicious help and the supply of useful rather than frivolous trade goods. They aimed to inculcate honest and fair principles of trade and the traditional protestant virtues of steady industry and thrift. There were to be no presents either way, and services rendered by the Eskimos were to be paid for according to an agreement made before hand - "one of the foundations of regulated society. This is quite new to them." In the same way, if the missionaries made boats, lamps, or pieces of iron work, they expected to be paid.<sup>3</sup> The Eskimos were to be made to learn, as Lieutenant Curtis noted with approval in 1773, that "every convenience is a product of Industry," and that there was no situation which industry could not better.<sup>4</sup>

In other words, the Eskimos were to be civilised, and although to the Moravians to be civilised meant to be Christian, it also implied the observation of certain rules which created and maintained regularity and conformity in economic as in other conduct. Civilisation could not take root in an anarchic society like that of the Labrador Eskimos where there was no centre of authority and each family could do as it wished; where morality, or the social standards accepted among themselves, did not include or apply to their dealings with Europeans. The Eskimos, runs an early report, "Have a fancy that the Europeans are to be their slaves or servants, and have a very mercenary greed slavish mind or they would not come so far to bring them such things as they want or like, and no Roman perhaps ever thought himself [to have a] more imperious nature than the Esquimaux in common fancy of themselves."<sup>5</sup> According to Moravian thinking, however, if the Eskimos wanted

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<sup>3</sup>Report of the State of the Brethrens' Mission to the Coast of Labrador, 1773, PAC A 548.

<sup>4</sup>An Account of the Moravian Mission upon the Coast of Labrador in 1773. CO 194/31, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup>Report of the State of the Brethrens' Mission....1773.

European articles, then they would obtain them on European terms and abide by European Christian standards. The mission would create the necessary centre of authority and enforce the necessary rules; its ethic was that of the civilised society, and by this ethic the Eskimos would abide if they wished to better themselves and make use of the goods and services which only the European - the missionary - could supply. In this context, the land grant was crucial; if the Moravian experiment were to be successful, then no competition could be tolerated from other traders who might not set the same high standards. The mission needed a monopoly to survive economically and to succeed spiritually. On mission land "those Esquimaux who from time to time may be touched by the Gospel" might "come and settle near the Missionaries and quitt their vagabond life" in order to learn and practice the virtues and delights of civilisation in a settled community.<sup>6</sup>

The land grants could preserve the mission from non-existent competition on the northern coast, but they did not solve the problem of the southern traders. The mission took very seriously its duty of trying to prevent journeys to the south, but throughout the early period it was never completely successful. For the first few years after the establishment of Nain, it was mainly the Arvertokers who went south. Curtis reported in 1773 that they brought little with them that was of any value, and had ceased stealing boats and tackle, but that they seemed unable to break the habit.<sup>7</sup> For some time, indeed, it seems that Nain assumed the position that Chateau Bay had had ten years before, in that it became the focus for trade on the

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<sup>6</sup>Hutton to Howell, Jan. 29, 1771. PAC A 568.

<sup>7</sup>An Account of the Moravian Mission....1773.

northern coast. The Nuneingoak began to trade goods from the Nain store with the more northerly groups in return for whalebone, becoming merchants in competition with the Arvertokers.<sup>8</sup> The latter came in numbers to trade at Nain in spring and summer and continued to go further north to trade for whalebone. But the presence of the mission must certainly have drawn off some of their supply and probably reduced the numbers of Arvertokers who continued to go south. Certainly, the endemic warfair of earlier years seems to have died out, to be replaced by a new, more peaceable relationship between the Eskimos and the whites.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear, however, how far the Moravian mission was responsible for this development.

According to Tuglavina, Arvertokers had gone south to Chateau in the summer of 1771, and had stolen some boats and gear<sup>9</sup> which was probably the reason for the proclamation of Governor Shuldham in 1772, in which he required the Moravians to "use every fair and gentle means in their power, to prevent the said Esquimaux Savages from going Southward without first obtaining their Permission in writing for so doing."<sup>10</sup> The Brethren replied they would do what they could, but were not hopeful, as the Eskimos were under no form of control.<sup>11</sup> The proclamation was read out to the Eskimos<sup>12</sup> and hung on a "great board" outside the mission pallisades.<sup>13</sup> One of the objects of Curtis' visit to Nain in 1773 was to impress upon the Eskimos the necessity of obeying the proclamation. He called a meeting, and through the

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<sup>8</sup> e.g. ND 17/7/72, 26/4/73. See above, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> ND 13/1/72.

<sup>10</sup> Proclamation by Governor Shuldham, April 10, 1772, BD III:1326.

<sup>11</sup> Brasen and Haven to Governor of Newfoundland, 1773. LA 5.

<sup>12</sup> ND 5/11/72.

<sup>13</sup> Report of the State of the Brethrens' Mission....1773.

missionaries, told the Eskimos that they were not to go south without a certificate from the Brethren -

If some of these Esquimaux connected with the Brethren want to sail to Newfoundland or to the Southern parts of Labradore, they need only bring a certificate from the Brethren here. ... But if any Esquimaux come ... without a certificate, under a pretence of going to fetch wood for their arrows, and, ... murder and steal, such people will not be let pass, nor escape unpunished.<sup>14</sup>

Curtis arrived, however, just after there had been a move to the south from the Nain area.<sup>15</sup> Keminuqe, the Parnertok angakok, who had been in dispute with Tuglavina, Mikak, and their kindred throughout the winter, had gone with his party,<sup>16</sup> part of a fairly large migration. Mission estimates of the numbers involved vary between one hundred<sup>17</sup> and two hundred,<sup>18</sup> while Captain Cartwright put the figure at about five hundred - "Almost the whole of the three Southernmost tribes of Esquimaux."<sup>19</sup> The references to numbers of Arvertok Eskimos being at Nain in the summer of 1773<sup>20</sup> on their way to winter in the north would suggest that Cartwright was exaggerating, but the movement cannot have been confined to the Nuneingoak. Most of the Eskimos that went south in 1773 are reported to have died, some in a storm, others of hunger and sickness.<sup>21</sup> It was in the summer of 1773 that Cartwright

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<sup>14</sup>ND 1/8/73.

<sup>15</sup>Curtis' visit came only one year before the abandonment of Palliser's Labrador policy. Although the Moravians came to the coast as an integral part of that policy, they did not have time to gain the influence among the Eskimos that was needed if they were to fulfill the government's expectations.

<sup>16</sup>ND 13/4/73.

<sup>17</sup>ND 4/12/83.

<sup>18</sup>Hutton and LaTrobe to Board for American Affairs, April 23, 1784. PAC A 568.

<sup>19</sup>Cartwright's Journal (ed. Townsend), p. 137.

<sup>20</sup>ND 18,20/7/73.

<sup>21</sup>Hutton and LaTrobe to Board for American Affairs, April 23, 1784.

brought the Eskimo woman Caubvick back from England, infected with smallpox, and it seems that this disease caused the death of many of those who had gone to the south.<sup>22</sup>

There are scattered reports during the 1770's of Eskimos going to or coming from the south, often mentioning Aivertok (Hamilton Inlet) as their wintering place.<sup>23</sup> A group that went south in 1777 returned in 1780 with reports of settlers at Neitsektok (Sandwich Bay), who were building a house for Cartwright, and there was more unpleasant news for the mission in 1781 when word arrived that some Europeans were planning to settle on the mission land at Arvertok. Nothing seems to have come of this, however.<sup>24</sup>

In 1782, Tuglavina, Mikak, and a few others went to Chateau Bay; on their return they told the Nain missionaries how the "captain" had been delighted to meet baptised Eskimos.<sup>25</sup> They had bought a large boat there for which they would be taking payment the next spring, but worst of all, Tuglavina had brought back a gun, shot, and powder.<sup>26</sup> In spite of their aim, which was to supply the Eskimos with the European goods they needed, the Moravians had refused to sell firearms, although they had received many requests, and some Eskimos had threatened to go south to get them.<sup>27</sup> At Okkak, one of the

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<sup>22</sup>Cartwright's Journal (ed. Townsend), pp. 136-141, 260-61.

<sup>23</sup>e.g. ND 2/9/75.

<sup>24</sup>ND 23/10/81.

<sup>25</sup>After the Quebec Act of 1774, which returned the Labrador coast to Quebec, the garrison had been withdrawn from York Fort in Chateau Bay in 1775. However, the Governor of Newfoundland retained the responsibility of supervising the Labrador fishery, and the "captain" that the Eskimos met was evidently a British naval officer of the Newfoundland squadron. See Duff to Carleton, Sept. 15, 1775, BD III:1162.

<sup>26</sup>ND 2/10/82.

<sup>27</sup>ND 24/5/73.

baptised came to Haven on behalf of his fellows to ask the reason why Frech would not sell them guns - did he not want them to shoot more caribou? Haven told him that in Greenland the Innuits had guns, and as a result they spent all summer inland, and had no dried fish or meat for winter, no skins for their boats, and many suffered hunger. Guns, he maintained, drove away caribou, and while the Eskimos could always expect help with weapons to catch seals, whales, or fish, they could not expect the mission to help them ruin themselves.<sup>28</sup> While the Brethren may have believed this argument, they were much more afraid of the damage that the Eskimos might do to themselves once they had guns, which might "in a Short Time prove the Destruction and Extirpation of the whole Esquimaux nation."<sup>29</sup> They also feared for the safety of themselves and other Europeans: "How mischievous, dangerous, and undesirable is it to teach savages the use of firearms by which alone the Europeans have a visible superiority over them."<sup>30</sup> Once the Eskimos had guns, the missionaries would be exposed "to the malice of the angekoks."<sup>31</sup>

Once Tuglavina had a gun, however, everyone wanted a gun. Eventually the Nain missionaries had to call a meeting of all the baptised men to remind them of their baptismal promise to love Christ, never to forsake the congregation of believers, and to obey their teachers. They pointed out that when the Eskimos had been in the habit of going south regularly, some of them had always been lost, and that all those who went in 1773 had failed to return.

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<sup>28</sup>OD 26/11/78.

<sup>29</sup>Draft of a report on the Eskimos' going south, 1785 [?], LA 5.

<sup>30</sup>Report of the State of the Brethrens' Mission .... 1773.

<sup>31</sup>Hutton and LaTrobe to Board for American Affairs, April 23, 1784.

On the other hand, those who had stayed at home, in obedience to the instructions of the Governor, had prospered. This talk made little difference; the men said that the "captain" at Chateau wanted to see baptised Eskimos and that he would give them food, drink, and guns with which to fight the French and Americans.<sup>32</sup> By March 1783 the missionaries were expecting "most of the Esquimaux" to leave them in the spring and go south.<sup>33</sup>

In May, following the instructions of the 1772 proclamation, the missionaries composed a letter for the Eskimos to carry with them. It contained a statement of the reason for the journey, a short historical account of the mission, and a recommendation of the bearers to the goodwill of those they met.<sup>34</sup> From the Nain area fourteen families went south - eighty persons, of whom nineteen were baptised, just over fifty per cent of the Nain congregation.<sup>35</sup> Well over a hundred persons went from further north.<sup>36</sup> The winter of 1782-3 had been hard, the Eskimos had been short of food, and the converts spiritually slothful. The prospect of better things in the south, and more open-handed Europeans, as well as guns, were the main factors in the "great emigration to the South":<sup>37</sup>

We intend to see whether the Europeans in the South are better than you are; if they are not, we will soon return. This is the way of us inuit [sic], we like to go to such places where we can get something to eat.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>ND 4/12/82.

<sup>33</sup>ND 25/3/83.

<sup>34</sup>ND 24/5/83.

<sup>35</sup>ND 14/7/83.

<sup>36</sup>ND 20,26/7/83.

<sup>37</sup>ND 7/8/84.

<sup>38</sup>ND 26/7/83.

The southern movement of 1783 marks the ending of the Eskimos' initial fascination with the mission and the start of a period of great frustration and unhappiness for the missionaries, which they called the "Sifting Season."<sup>39</sup> In twelve years, they had been unable to establish a firm hold on the Eskimos, and the strictness of their economic rules had led the natives to look once again to the south. The policy of containment had failed, and the missionaries feared for the souls of the converted, and for their own position in relation to the Eskimos. If the Eskimos got all they wanted in the south as presents, and developed a taste for liquor, then they might turn against the missionaries, who gave no presents and no alcohol, and they would forget all the principles of industry and contract preached by the Brethren. The missionaries reckoned that the southern traders would be unable to feed such large companies of Eskimos, who might as a result resort to murder and stealing to get what they wanted. If any Eskimos did come back, they would have missed the season for collecting winter provision, and would come to the mission for food. The migration might, in fact, put the clock back to the 1760's.<sup>40</sup>

Some of the missionaries' fears were justified. Four boats returned in 1784, one to Hopedale, the others to Nain and Okkak.<sup>41</sup> Tuglavina arrived in Hopedale dressed up in an old naval officer's uniform with a broad sword; Haven ordered him to put back on his Eskimo clothes, and when this was done, Tuglavina related with great gusto what had gone on in the south.<sup>42</sup> Of the

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<sup>39</sup>ND 1/8/88.

<sup>40</sup>Hutton and LaTrobe to Board for American Affairs, April 23, 1784.

<sup>41</sup>HD 24/8/84.

<sup>42</sup>Draft of a report on the Eskimos' going south, 1785[?].

nineteen baptised that had gone from Nain, five were dead. David had been lost in his kayak, and so his sister Kablutsiak had been murdered on the advice of old Nerkingoak, Mikak's father, "perhaps to keep David company in some other world." Abraham had died of a poisoned wound. Moses and Timotheus had been murdered at Cape Charles by Tuglavina, Jonathan, Aglokak, and another Eskimo; the cause of the murder was not absolutely clear, but

as Aglokak and Eve, Moses' wife, who has married Aglokak since, had had a secret connexion, and as Tuglavina resented other things, namely that Esther, Timotheus' former wife ... had hanged herself, occasioned by Timotheus' behaviour to her, and as Moses was accused by the Esquimaux of bad designs, these and other reasons caused this horrible Deed ... which was done in the European house, who would help at first, but ... only fired once, the shot hitting Moses in the leg only; then Tuglavina and the others shot him dead.<sup>43</sup>

Some other Eskimos had been killed too, and all by guns. Moses' wives, both baptised, had taken heathen husbands. Matthew's wife had run off with Titus, and Peter, the first Eskimo to be baptised, also stayed in the south. Only five baptised returned to Nain, one to Okkak, and one to Hopedale.<sup>44</sup>

Tuglavina spent the winter of 1784-5 in Kangerdluksoak and there obtained all the whalebone which the Nachvak Eskimos had intended to trade at Nain. He went south again in 1785, but with a smaller crew than formerly.<sup>45</sup> More Eskimos returned that summer, mostly those who had gone south from Kangerdluksoak, but also Peter and Mikak. Once married to Tuglavina, Mikak had, since 1783, been married to Serkoak, and then had eloped with Pualo. When Serkoak tried to recover her, Pualo shot him. Apart from this affair, there had been few deaths the previous winter; old Nerkingoak had expired at

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<sup>43</sup>ND 6/9/84. See also Cartwright's Journal (ed. Townsend), p. 320.

<sup>44</sup>HD 5/11/84.

<sup>45</sup>ND 15/7/85, HD 5/8/85.

Chateau, and a young man had died of drinking too much brandy at the "Cartwright house." All those who returned praised the Europeans at Sandwich Bay, who were apparently planning to move up to Arvertok. They brought with them guns, showing "wildness and extravagance, and there is none among them that does not smoke or chew tobacco."<sup>46</sup> The missionaries were justified in having gloomy thoughts:

They soon spend the powder and shot they get from the South. They know that we have some for our own use, and if they even should not design to rob us of our property, they still have the desire of getting it somehow or other. They then go to the South whereby they plunge themselves into the greatest poverty and misery, as they cannot provide any food for themselves, nor have they a sufficiency of goods to buy provisions in exchange. They have a wild and childish pleasure in shooting and as their wandering and roving spirit never suffers them to remain long in one place, this is the means of their ruin. ... This makes us sometimes concerned and almost doubt if it ever will be possible to have a Congn. of believing Esquimaux that live together in peace and quietness.<sup>47</sup>

The introduction of firearms among the Eskimos forced the mission to make flints, powder, and shot available. The Company stores were certainly stocking these items by 1787 or 1788 at the latest,<sup>48</sup> and possibly as early as 1785,<sup>49</sup> but the visits to the south continued throughout the 1780's. Although there was no exodus comparable to that of 1783, there was steady contact with traders in, and to the south of, Hamilton Inlet. Some traders began to give the Eskimos articles with which to trade on the northern coast, thus creating a new economic bond with the south. From 1785 onwards, Tuglavina and others were returning north with trade goods - guns, powder, knives, fox traps, pearls and beads.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> ND 12,20/7/85, HD 4/7/85.

<sup>47</sup> HD 4/7/85.

<sup>48</sup> List of trade goods needed at Okkak for the year 1787, Mor. Mss., p. 54434.

<sup>49</sup> ND 15/12/85. See Helge Kleivan, The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 48.

<sup>50</sup> HD 4/7/85, 2/9/86.

The Moravian stores carried all the articles that the southern traders could provide by 1787,<sup>51</sup> so the travelling salesmen were not filling any economic need, and there was no necessity for Eskimos to continue going south. The Eskimos who returned with trade goods probably catered to that group of Eskimos who preferred to do their trading without having to submit to a sermon; and those who visited the south were drawn there by the promise of an easier life. They apparently got seal's flesh for nothing,<sup>52</sup> and reported that European goods could be had very cheaply - including fishing sloops, "so extremely cheap, that one can hardly conceive, how it be possible."<sup>53</sup> The southern traders were permissive; one Eskimo told the Hopedale missionaries that the other Europeans were better than they, "for they suffer us to live according to the pleasant customs of the Esquimaux."<sup>54</sup> The south, too, seemed more exotic; in 1788, Nukakpiak arrived in Hopedale with "a huge pigtail set with pearls and ribbands and a painted coat of raindeer skin, which he had bought of the Land Indians in Aivertok."<sup>55</sup> The settlers in Hamilton Inlet seem to have been drawing off much of the trade that formerly went to more southerly posts. Eskimos who had been there said that

their master is called Makko - By what we could guess with some degree of certainty - the Europeans in Aivertok are Frenchmen. ... They promised the poor Esquimaux every imaginable good. The Esquimaux likewise say that they pray and kneel much - repeating constantly Jesus and Mary -

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<sup>51</sup>There are no store lists extant prior to 1787.

<sup>52</sup>HD 12/8/91. Presumably from netted seals.

<sup>53</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Aug. 25, 1790. PAC A 568.

<sup>54</sup>HD 4/6/87.

<sup>55</sup>HD 13/8/88.

signing themselves with the Cross - and that they are not so full of levity as the more southern colony. ... Mr. Makko says he will build two houses, one for the Esquimaux and one for the Land Indians. He had given these Visitors all kinds of goods to carry on a traffic with them, and the Esquimaux give him a very good character.<sup>56</sup>

Tales of the south drew Eskimos from the northern areas,<sup>57</sup> but the worse affected of the mission settlements was Hopedale. Two fairly large groups left the area in 1787 and 1788,<sup>58</sup> and the missionaries watched their congregation dwindle away. In December 1788, on the fourth anniversary of the first baptism at Hopedale, the Brethren noted that in all, twenty-four adults and nine children had been baptised, and thirty-three had been admitted as candidates for baptism; of these, only ten adults and one child remained. Apart from four who had gone to Nain, the rest were mostly in the south.<sup>59</sup> "How widely different their [the Eskimos'] course is from the beginning, that many of them have moved to the south, others returned to their former heathen connection, and the few that are left with us falling every now and then a prey to sin, and at best in a lukewarm state."<sup>60</sup>

The movement of the 1780's culminated in a third large "migration" to the south. In the autumn of 1790, the Okkak missionaries reported that several emissaries from the south were trying to persuade the Eskimos to go there, promising food, bread, and peace.<sup>61</sup> In the summer of 1791 over a hundred people left the Okkak area, joined by some families from Nain and

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<sup>56</sup>HD 13/8/88.

<sup>57</sup>e.g. OD 19/8/87, ND 1/8/88, HD 12,26/8/88.

<sup>58</sup>HD 21/7/87, 15/8/88.

<sup>59</sup>HD 12/12/88.

<sup>60</sup>HD 3/3/90.

<sup>61</sup>OD 28/10/90.

Hopedale,<sup>62</sup> "their hearts bent on nothing, but how to procure large boats, and get enough to eat and drink, which they hope to find with the Europeans in the South."<sup>63</sup> About twenty-two baptised adults, eleven baptised children, and eight candidates for baptism passed through Hopedale going south, and Turner reckoned that more had gone in 1791 than in any year since the mission began. Fewer went from Hopedale than from the other stations, but it had been suffering a steady drain for some years.<sup>64</sup>

/ Many of these Eskimos returned during the next few years to all three stations, bearing a "bad account" of their experiences, and in 1794, the news that many had died of food poisoning in Sandwich Bay - "most of the baptised who left our congregation at Hopedale some years ago."<sup>65</sup> Five boats from all stations set off south in 1795, but the fear of disease led all these but one to turn back.<sup>66</sup> There were no more large scale movements south, but contact with southern settlers did not suddenly cease. There are references to boats returning, for instance, to Hopedale and Nain in 1797.<sup>67</sup> In 1800, Eskimos from the south brought a "putrid fever" to Hopedale,<sup>68</sup> and there are complaints from the missionaries that the people were being drawn south by the people there giving them bread, especially a Frenchman, "very assiduous in drawing the Esquimaux to his place."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Nain to S.F.G., Sept. 16, 1791, PA I:88. Hopedale to S.F.G., Oct. 7, 1791. PA I:91.

<sup>63</sup>HD 19/7/91.

<sup>64</sup>Turner to Moore, Sept. 6, 1791. PAC A 568.

<sup>65</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Oct. 10, 1794. PA I:256. ND -/8/92.

<sup>66</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Aug. 21, 1795. PA I:349.

<sup>67</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Sept. 18, 1797. PA II:133. Nain to S.F.G., Aug. 26, 1797. PA II:128.

<sup>68</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., July 26, 1801, PA III:7.

<sup>69</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 9/12/99, 28/4/1800, III:240-1, 258.

These complaints refer either to the Aivertok traders, or to the European settlers who were moving up onto the northern coast by the last decade of the eighteenth century. The settlers provided a convenient alternative to the mission store, and especially at Hopedale, their presence was a threat to the policy of containment. Three Europeans spent the winter of 1790-91 in "Marrovik Bay," and sold the Eskimos rum, treacle and flour,<sup>70</sup> and the following winter there were two houses in Kippokak, although only one of these was occupied.<sup>71</sup> By the winter of 1796-97, there were four settlers in Kippokak, three at "Marrovik," and one at Adlavik; two of these men had married Eskimo women.<sup>72</sup> The coast south of Hopedale was evidently attracting a scattered winter settler population, but it was by no means permanent, and some winters the missionaries could report that there were no settlers near the station.<sup>73</sup>

Settlers first arrived in the Nain area in the autumn of 1799; two Englishmen wintered at Nukasusuktok but had little luck netting seals or trapping. The Eskimos were not attracted to them, and the Nain missionaries doubted if they would return.<sup>74</sup> One of these Englishmen, Griffin, who had an Eskimo wife, arrived near Okkak the following autumn with one George Jennings. They built a hut in the woods, well within the mission boundaries, in spite of Moravian protests. The Eskimos were drawn by the offer of cheap tobacco and large blue handkerchiefs with white dots. Eskimos coming from the north

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<sup>70</sup>HD 20/12/90.

<sup>71</sup>HD 18/1/92.

<sup>72</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Sept. 18, 1797. PA II:133.

<sup>73</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Oct. 3, 1803. PA III:250.

<sup>74</sup>Nain to S.F.G., Sept. 17, 1800. PA II:469.

visited them, and the missionaries were appalled when they heard that the settlers were inviting them south, and giving credit. The "free way of entering the hut, eating and drinking "contrasted sharply with Moravian practice. In all, the pair got about ninety fox skins through barter and trapping, as well as blubber and sealskins, and in June 1802 they went south "well satisfied."<sup>75</sup> The settlers reappeared in the autumn and decided to winter at Uivak. Once again, this was on mission land, but there was nothing that the missionaries could do except read out the proclamation containing the land grant, which had no effect. The missionaries saw two families of converts go to live at Uivak and coldness and indifference to the Word grew. When the settlers left Uivak in 1803, they did not take with them their seal nets and gear as they intended to return; however, they never came back, much to the relief of the brethren.<sup>76</sup>

The mission failed to provide a complete substitute for the southern trader and settler, and their continued attraction for the Eskimos was a severe set back to the Moravian goal of a settled, Christian, regulated community. This policy was, in one sense, an attempt to stop the drain of local resources to the south, and was a partial failure because the missionaries made available to the Eskimos not so much those articles which the latter wanted, as those which the mission thought they ought to have. There were certain articles which the Eskimos wanted, and which the mission did not stock, or could not supply in sufficient quantity or at a sufficiently low price. The mission at times would not, or could not, meet all needs.

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<sup>75</sup> Okkak to S.F.G., Sept. 3, 1802. PA III:111.

<sup>76</sup> Hasting to Moore, Aug. 30, 1803. Wolff to Moore, Aug. 20, 1803. Hasting to Moore, Aug. 28, 1804. PAC A 568. Okkak to S.F.G., Aug. 16, 1803. PA III:241.

The matter of guns had been discussed above,<sup>77</sup> and this was undoubtedly a major reason for the journeys south in the 1780's. Another attraction was the availability of wooden boats. These the missionaries were willing to provide at a price - seventy pieces of whalebone in 1773<sup>78</sup> - which James Hutton thought too much.<sup>79</sup> At first the missionaries seem to have encouraged the Eskimos to return to using skin-covered umiaks instead of wooden boats. Three skin boats were built at Nain between 1771 and 1773 in the hope that the Eskimos would take up the idea, and see that they could have a boat cheaply without having to go south to steal one.<sup>80</sup> In this endeavour the Brethren were not successful; there was little prestige attached to an umiak, and although kayaks were still built and used, the umiak fell into relative disfavour. Of the fifteen boats at Nain in July 1773, for instance, only two were umiaks.<sup>81</sup>

It is not clear how many boats the mission produced for the Eskimos, nor how many requests were received. Boat-building was time-consuming, and the mission had few hands to spare.<sup>82</sup> There was the additional problem of finding suitable wood locally, and sawing it into boards which, being knotty and of twisted grain, tended to warp or snap.<sup>83</sup> A saw mill was constructed at Nain, and subsequently at the other settlements, but this had to produce more than boat timber. Each summer, with few exceptions, the missionaries

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<sup>77</sup>Above, pp. 132-133.

<sup>78</sup>ND 3/7/73.

<sup>79</sup>Hutton to U.E.C., June, 1777. Benham, Hutton, p. 516.

<sup>80</sup>Brasen and Haven to Governor of Newfoundland, 1773.

<sup>81</sup>ND 16/7/73.

<sup>82</sup>ND 25/2/73.

<sup>83</sup>ND 3/6/73.

were busy extending, repairing, or replacing their premises; they were working at the production of articles to sell to the Eskimos in the smithy and workshop; and when time allowed, they would help the Company's agents deal with their produce. Furthermore, carpenters skilled enough to construct boats were not always available for each station, or were otherwise employed. Approximately half of the thirty-eight men who arrived in Labrador between 1771 and 1806 are listed in the Church Books as carpenters or joiners, but it would have needed still more to have produced an adequate supply of boats.

Before starting to build a boat, the mission would strike a bargain with the Eskimo making the request, and would insist that he deposit payment before work began.<sup>84</sup> This attitude was far more severe than that of the southern traders who were not hindered by any ideal above that of a profit, and the movements south were as much a response to the demanding principles of the mission as they were to its failure to meet all economic wants. As the Eskimos became used to the presence of the missionaries, so they ceased to regard them as out of the ordinary, and became more conscious of the demands that the mission made. They had not anticipated the mission attack of their traditional way of life and the continual interference of the missionaries in religious, economic, social, and personal matters. Whether attracted to a mission station by trade or curiosity, the Eskimo was always given a sermon; and to settle there was to submit to a strict and strange code of behaviour. There were no direct or immediate benefits to be gained from moving to the mission station, except the long-term benefit of economic

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<sup>84</sup>e.g. ND 1/3/73, 2/5/75, 24/4/77.

security, since the mission would not allow anyone to starve. The Eskimo could expect no presents, and no food unless it was absolutely necessary. In contrast, the permissiveness of the southern traders was a large part of their attraction. Further research could perhaps establish how this Moravian failure affected the development of southern Labrador; it certainly impeded the success of the mission in the north.

The mission, however, did have the overwhelming advantage of being both convenient and permanent, and it was this advantage which enabled it eventually to succeed. The missionaries were instructed in 1771 to "look upon your abode in the Country as an Advantage to [the Eskimos],"<sup>85</sup> and the latter were aware of the benefits that were available. "I am glad and thankful," said one man, "that Europeans are here from whom we can have such things as we want."<sup>86</sup> Such expressions were not well received by the missionaries; but they allowed the Eskimos to store articles at the stations, sharpened their knives,<sup>87</sup> made tools and did repairs for them. The Brethren, of course, did this work in part to earn money towards their own support. But their social services, which included the dispensing of medicine, gave them a role among the Eskimos which the latter could more readily understand than the religious object of the mission.

This role of being a convenient trading post, an adjunct rather than a centre of society, was not what the Moravians had planned for themselves. They saw themselves as active agents of change bringing nomadic bands

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<sup>85</sup> Instructions to our dear Brothers and Sisters .... 1771.  
Mor. Mss., p. 3613.

<sup>86</sup> ND 2/5/73. See also ND 19/1/73.

<sup>87</sup> e.g. OD 28/10/77.

into settled communities. To the Moravian mind, indeed, nomadic Christianity was a contradiction in terms, since it was essential to have fellowship, instruction, control, and regularity. A basic problem in Labrador was how to produce a viable economic base for such a community. In this context, as well as in that of evangelisation, it was important to stop the Eskimos' journeys south, which not only drained away local resources but also prevented their most efficient exploitation and use. Local resources would have to form the economic base of the community, since it was financially impossible for the mission to provide subsistence of the settled Eskimos. Besides, the mission had no desire to unfit the Eskimo for his environment, and believed that nothing was "more detrimental to their minds and bodies than to indulge their natural propensity to idleness, and especially to pay them as it were for hearing and receiving the Gospel, by giving them food for attending the meetings."<sup>88</sup>

The mission saw, however, that even if local resources were to remain the basis of the economy, the creation of settlements would mean a major adaptation of the traditional economic pattern. Eskimo movement had to be reduced to a minimum, yet at the same time available resources had to be exploited more actively, and there could be no waste. The mission house was to be a living example to the Eskimos of correct economic behaviour. Haven put the idea forcefully to Eskimos at Okkak -

that ye have no such house, nor victuals to eat, is owing to your own sad neglect and idleness; for when ye have some, ye continue eating and sleeping: and do nothing till all is gone. In the Summer ye ramble about, and think not about a

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<sup>88</sup>ND 5/4/91.

house till the ground is hard frozen .... Learn of us; we work winter and summer, and our dear heavenly Father careth for us, that we suffer no want; learn to know him, and ye will then learn to work orderly, to eat orderly, and ye will be provided with enough.<sup>89</sup>

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Your whole mind is set only on getting much to eat without any trouble; and then eat till you are swelled; then to sleep; then eat again till you are ready to burst, and then sleep again, for several days together in this manner, and then you begin to grow lascivious, and run after women, and shout, and grow wild like beasts.<sup>90</sup>

The basic task was to try to introduce regularity in economic as in other behaviour; to inculcate the idea of steady, daily work in place of the old habit of alternately gorging and starving -

We take pains to represent to them, that Almighty God has appointed six days ... for labour, and the seventh for rest, which rule, they see, we strictly observe. But we find it will be some time before we can bring them to observe this.<sup>91</sup>

Steady work involved more than an attack on what the missionaries viewed as the national vice, idleness. The hunting and work taboos, which tended to discourage active resource exploitation, had to go, and the produce of the hunt had to be more carefully stored and husbanded. From the beginning the missionaries did their best to persuade the Eskimos to lay up store in summer against winter, and provided space at the mission stations where the converts at least could deposit blubber, or dried fish and meat. The Brethren had a "moral certainty" that when the Eskimos became "inclined to receive our advice in laying up provision ... there is a sufficiency on this coast to be acquired, so they will have no occasion to suffer as they do now for want of provisions."<sup>92</sup> Some Eskimos took this advice and assistance from the start,<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>OD 7/12/76.

<sup>90</sup>OD 24/3/77.

<sup>91</sup>ND 19/3/80.

<sup>92</sup>ND 4/1/74.

<sup>93</sup>e.g. ND 28/7/72, 14/9/75.

but the constant references to the problem - "We cannot speak too often to this indolent people about providing for winter"<sup>94</sup> - suggest that the habit of preserving food supplies for the winter was slow in taking root. The idea of storing food was not new to the Labrador Eskimos, but the mission was demanding a more systematic approach, and that a far larger volume of food be preserved. There were several factors working against the accumulation of an appreciable surplus. In the first place, the climate was not favourable to the preservation of food; the summers and autumns are uncertain, often foggy and wet, which makes the drying of fish and meat difficult, and the absence of permafrost means that frozen food cannot be safeguarded from sudden winter thaws.<sup>95</sup> Secondly, the storage, rather than the immediate consumption of large amounts of food went not only against the Eskimos' festive grain, but also against the tradition of sharing. Since the communal sharing of food, especially in times of shortage, has never died out in Labrador,<sup>96</sup> it is probable that that which was stored was the surplus after sharing had taken place. In any case, the missionaries lamented that those who had taken the trouble to store food, usually converts, felt obliged to share it with improvident heathen.<sup>97</sup> They could not persuade the converts to adopt European customs in this respect, and could only "do our utmost to

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<sup>94</sup> ND 17/10/81.

<sup>95</sup> Alaskan Eskimos are able to store meat in cellars dug into the permafrost. This information from Mr. H.A. Williamson.

<sup>96</sup> See S. Ben-Dor, Makkovik: Eskimos and Settlers in a Labrador Community (St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), pp. 52-3.

<sup>97</sup> ND 25/10/82.

see that they use their stores during the winter in a thifty and oeconomical manner."<sup>98</sup> When fairly large settlement populations developed in the early nineteenth century, the missionaries began to exert a strict control over the Eskimo storehouse, giving a compartment to each family, and letting the Eskimos have the key three times a week.<sup>99</sup>

The social customs of the missionaries' flock may have militated against the creation of a large food surplus, but this did not prevent the Brethren from encouraging the Eskimos to greater effort, in the hope of a larger harvest and a sizeable surplus. It is surprising to note, though, how few technological innovations were introduced by the mission in the early period, and how much it relied on increased activity within the traditional economic framework. The missionaries brought seal nets with them in 1771, and even went to the trouble of locating suitable berths,<sup>100</sup> but they were rarely used. There are scattered references to lending seal nets to Eskimos<sup>101</sup> but each time the attempt was a failure. During the abortive attempt to exploit the whale fishery at Okkak in 1793, Captain Fraser set seal nets at Pakkarvik, but without success, since the nets were old and rotten.<sup>102</sup> It was not until 1799 that the S.F.G. decided to send out new seal nets, with twine for more,<sup>103</sup> and it is probable that this decision marks the beginning of the regular use of seal nets in northern Labrador;<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>ND 1/11/79.

<sup>99</sup>"Extracts of Diaries received from the settlements ... on the Coast of Labrador ... relating to ... 1805 and 1806." PA IV:106.

<sup>100</sup>ND 7/10/71, 10/10/71.

<sup>101</sup>e.g. ND 17/11/86.

<sup>102</sup>OD 29/10/93, 2/11/93.

<sup>103</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, 9/12/99, III: 240.

<sup>104</sup>See Kleivan, Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 49.

they were certainly in use at Okkak by 1805, and probably at Nain before that date: "If we are as successful as hitherto in getting seals with nets, we are certain that about 200 Esquimaux might find their subsistence in this place [Okkak], should so many be willing to move hither to hear the Gospel."<sup>105</sup>

Apart from helping the Eskimos to acquire metal instruments, there is no record of any change in the method of hunting the whales which were an important part of the local economy at Okkak. The main concern of the Okkak missionaries was that the Eskimos should be back from the caribou hunt and fully prepared before the whale season began. If in good caribou years the Eskimos lingered inland, there was always the danger of being too late for whales.<sup>106</sup> It was particularly important that the chief harpooner returned in time, for until he arrived no preparations were made. In 1779, for instance, Moses the harpooner did not come back until November 8th, and the hunt did not begin until the 12th, about two weeks later than in 1778.<sup>107</sup> "Their indolence and carelessness are, at times, almost intolerable to us," commented the exasperated diarist; they must realise that if they have no whale by winter, their distress will be without remedy - except, and here was the rub, from their benighted heathen relations to the north.<sup>108</sup>

The caribou hunt was one of the mission's greatest problems. Converts were out of mission control for the summer and mixed with heathen or backsliders, which might do grievous damage to the newly awakened soul. From the economic point of view, however, the hunt was necessary, in order to

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<sup>105</sup> Okkak to S.F.G., Aug. 18, 1806. PA IV:76.

<sup>106</sup> Okkak to S.F.G., Sept. 16, 1789. LA 4.

<sup>107</sup> OD 8, 12/11/79.

<sup>108</sup> OD 12/11/79.

obtain skins for clothing, sinew for sewing, and subsistence for the summer. The mission was concerned that the hunters brought little meat out to the coast with them to store for the winter, and that by the time of their return, they had missed the best of the fishery. In good caribou years much meat had to be left inland and fetched in January or February, or families would stay inland until they had finished their store.<sup>109</sup> This was unsatisfactory for the mission, which wanted the converts to return to the stations as quickly as possible, with a good store which could be deposited in storehouses rather than in inland caches which might well be depleted by foxes or wolves.<sup>110</sup> The Brethren considered various ways to solve the problem, and in 1777 the Nain missionaries asked the S.F.G. for a

Carriage to which they could put their dogs to go with the Esquimaux up the Country where they go Deer hunting in Summer and thereby assist them in bringing their Rain Deer home and provide for Winter Store; ... it would give an opportunity to our Brn. to attend the Esquimaux during their hunting season and preach to them the Gospel.<sup>111</sup>

This improbable machine was actually ordered, and a member of the Board of Trade insisted on paying for it.<sup>112</sup> Even if sent it was never used. In a discussion of the matter in 1779, the Okkak diary mentions the impracticability of going inland in a wagon, especially when the length of the journey was considered,<sup>113</sup> and the report of William Turner, who went inland in the summer of 1780,<sup>114</sup> must have made the impossibility of the whole scheme abundantly clear.

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<sup>109</sup> e.g. ND 16/2/87, 15/2/75.

<sup>110</sup> e.g. ND 26/1/80, 18/2/87.

<sup>111</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, 20/1/78, II:43.

<sup>112</sup> S.F.G. Minutes, Committee, 23/6/78, II:49.

<sup>113</sup> OD 8/11/79.

<sup>114</sup> ND 30/7/80.

The mission could only find a partial solution, which was to try to diversify the summer economy by encouraging the Eskimos to fish. Trout and cod were abundant, and the Eskimos were encouraged to catch and dry as much as possible against the winter. The missionaries set an example by using nets at all the stations, and they hoped the Eskimos would copy them. Eskimos certainly did adopt the use of nets,<sup>115</sup> although it was probably a slow process, as they had to buy or hire them from the mission store, and there were more exotic and prestigious articles on which the Eskimos preferred to spend their "money". Fishing was, after all, women's work. Converts were told they would "do well" to stay on the coast in the summer,<sup>116</sup> the missionaries no doubt expecting that they could exchange some of their fish for caribou skins, and later, each family going inland was instructed to leave one man on the coast to fish,<sup>117</sup> but it is not clear if this advice was taken. It would seem that an increasing number of Eskimos did stay on the coast, but the summer caribou hunt did not die out until the codfishery became of commercial importance. In the early period there was no attempt to start a commercial fishery, although the matter was discussed in the early 1790's.<sup>118</sup>

The only technological innovations that can be attributed directly to the Moravians are seal and fish nets. Wooden boats and guns came in spite of them, and it is impossible to say how far the yield from natural resources increased through their use. Guns probably created more waste in the form of wounded animals which escaped, or of large kills which could not be fully

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<sup>115</sup> e.g. HD 13/7/86.

<sup>116</sup> OD 31/8/78.

<sup>117</sup> OD 20/7/87.

<sup>118</sup> Above, p.121.

utilised. In any case, the Moravians' basic task was to rationalise the traditional economy as far as possible, in order to adapt it to settlement needs, and this involved an attack on taboos. The missionaries considered them to be irrational and wasteful of time, as well as a manifestation of superstition and heathenism. Tuglavina said that these customs had been "introduced many ages ago by a very great man who had put to death a great many people, when they did not observe what he had commanded them,"<sup>119</sup> and the Brethren reckoned that he had so contrived matters "that they may have days of idleness."<sup>120</sup> After a death, for example, work would cease for three or four days,<sup>121</sup> as it did also after a seal was taken, unless the hunter went to another place;<sup>122</sup> "thus being one day successful, they must remain three days idle, without attempting to go and prosecute their good luck."<sup>123</sup> While the men were out whaling at Okkak, the women would sit on the benches of their houses doing nothing,<sup>124</sup> and the missionaries were glad when this custom soon fell out of use.<sup>125</sup> Women and whales had to be kept apart; in 1788, the Hopedale Brethren offered the converts the use of the mission boat in which to go whaling, but they would not use it as women would be needed as oarsmen, and if the whales perceived them, the Eskimos said, they would go away.<sup>126</sup> The mission considered the taboos relating to the division of land and sea animals particularly foolish. No seal meat could be eaten while caribou skins were being tanned and made into clothes, and, ideally, this work was to be completed before the ice was thick enough for the seals to

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<sup>119</sup>ND 20/3/78.

<sup>120</sup>ND 18/12/76.

<sup>121</sup>OD 28/8/77.

<sup>122</sup>ND 20/3/78.

<sup>123</sup>ND 19/3/80.

<sup>124</sup>OD 17/11/76.

<sup>125</sup>OD 15/11/77.

<sup>126</sup>HD 13/11/88.

make breathing holes. If the men whose clothes were finished went out and caught seals before the women had finished sewing, they could not bring the seals home.<sup>127</sup> For four days after catching a caribou, a hunter could not go after seals,<sup>128</sup> and anyone who caught a seal in the cod fishing season had to give up fishing.<sup>129</sup> In the whaling season, green wood could not be cut.<sup>130</sup> A woman might not eat seal meat while suckling a boy, and could use only caribou sinew to sew her son's clothes.<sup>131</sup> All these taboos militated against the six-day week, and the rational, systematic exploitation and use of natural resources; the Eskimos were told to abandon these "vanities," and to eat what they could whenever and wherever they found it,<sup>132</sup> but the taboos hung on throughout the period under consideration here.

The attempts of the mission to create a food surplus, dictated by the religious goal of the settled, civilised community, were faced with many obstacles - the nature of the natural resources available, social custom and tradition, and taboos all stood in the way. All three stations, indeed, found that economic difficulties arose from having a wintering population on mission land which had not stored enough food to last until spring. Nain was especially badly placed both for the storage of food and for the supplementing of food supplies during the winter, since it was far from good hunting grounds,<sup>133</sup> and it was some time before a sizeable winter population developed there. The mission refused to hand out dried fish or pease unless

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<sup>127</sup> ND 18/12/76, 8/11/77. OD 3/13/78.

<sup>128</sup> ND 18/12/76.

<sup>129</sup> OD 10/9/84.

<sup>130</sup> OD 12/11/78.

<sup>131</sup> OD 19/11/83. ND 27/7/84.

<sup>132</sup> ND 18/12/76.

<sup>133</sup> See above, p. 91.

it was absolutely necessary, and emphasised that each family was to provide for itself, so "that they might not depend on us ... and ... not come to us merely for the sake of getting something to eat."<sup>134</sup> It was a rare winter when the food surplus stored at the mission was sufficient, even with the addition of game caught during that season, to make the settlement economically viable.

The missionaries blamed this fact on the Eskimos' congenital failing, laziness. An insufficient food store was, in their eyes, to be attributed to the fact that the Eskimos had not worked hard enough in summer, and had failed to hunt in winter time when stored food ran short. The mission failed to recognise that life at the settlement, with its multitude of religious meetings,<sup>135</sup> tended to encourage inactivity, and that they themselves thought poorly of men who went out to hunt instead of attending important religious festivals.<sup>136</sup> In March 1782, it was noted at Nain that most of the Eskimos, although hungry, were doing little about it. When their children cried they came to the missionaries to ask for food, and it was only when none was forthcoming that they went hunting or fishing.<sup>137</sup>

There was an expectation on the part of the Eskimos that the mission would provide, arising from the teaching that once a man knew the Saviour, he should have no need to be concerned about food. This doctrine must have seemed to contradict that of self-help, and probably caused some mental confusion.<sup>138</sup> The converts may also have interpreted their conversion and

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<sup>134</sup>ND 17/11/71.

<sup>135</sup>See below, pp. 183-184.

<sup>136</sup>e.g. OD 6/1/94.

<sup>137</sup>ND 8/3/82.

<sup>138</sup>e.g. ND 9/3/82.

move to the mission station as the joining of a new kin group, and would therefore have expected their brethren in the mission house to share their food with them. In 1783 the Nain missionaries thought it "a pity that the heathen are in general more [grateful] than the baptised, the former look on our donations [of food] as a favour, but most of the latter think it to be their right."

The missionaries could not, indeed, deny all help. They dried the fish they caught in summer especially to give to the hungry in winter, and there are numerous references to the distribution of this store,<sup>139</sup> together with pease sent over by the S.F.G. When there was a severe shortage, it seems that the mission literally gave food away, with an admonition to be sparing, and to take "regular and sufficient meals" rather than to "eat day and night till [you] have devoured every crumb."<sup>140</sup> Wherever possible, employment was provided for converts at mission or store for which the payment was food.<sup>141</sup> Employment could not be created for everyone, however, nor could the mission afford to give lavishly; so at times food and necessaries had to be obtained from the store on credit. A spell of bad years or bad luck could result in a debt which could not easily be discharged, and in 1802 the missionaries applied to the S.F.G. for permission to remit all debts caused by distress, and in future, to help the Eskimos in time of need or famine without charging. These debts were apparently the cause of

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<sup>139</sup>e.g. OD 3/9/77.

<sup>140</sup>ND 11/2/78.

<sup>141</sup>e.g. HD 21/2/87, HD 20/2/91.

some friction between the Eskimos and the store brethren. The S.F.G. Committee maintained that any appearance that the missionaries were drawing the people to them by trade must be avoided, and that every means must be used to suppress idleness. Thus it was decided that the House Conference at each station should decide how much of each debt should be remitted, according to the character of the debtor. Christian charity, they felt, dictated that debts caused by genuine affliction should be remitted; but distress caused by idleness should be treated more strictly.<sup>142</sup>

Regulations concerning debts meant that the mission had come to terms with the fact that a settled Eskimo community could only come into being at the price of mission charity. The missionaries had been demanding what was virtually impossible: that the Eskimos exchange a nomadic, fluid way of life which was geared to the relative availability of natural resources, for a more settled and rigid way of life, a foreign importation, which demanded a base of resources that were more plentiful, and more regularly available than those of Labrador. For this reason, the settled community in Labrador became a seasonal institution, only functioning to full effect between Christmas and Easter; a compromise had to be found between the movement necessary to hunt and fish, and the stability needed for civilised Christian living. For the settlement to exist, even on a seasonal basis, considerable changes had to be made in the traditional economic pattern in order to create a sufficient food supply, but the settlement itself, paradoxically, by restricting Eskimo mobility, made the accumulation of a

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<sup>142</sup>S.F.G. Minutes, Committee, [Nov. ?] 1802, III;364.

surplus even more difficult. The settlement, though, was more than an economic ideal; the move to mission land demanded of the Eskimos not only a change in their food-gathering habits, but also changes in religious and social practice. The attempted rationalisation of the traditional economy was only part of the process of changing a culture.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE SETTLED COMMUNITY - RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The conversion of the Eskimos was the missionaries' first and most urgent task. { The adoption of Christianity, however, meant more than a change of heart, more than the abjuration of an old system of supernatural belief in favour of a new one. It implied the adoption of a new kind of economic and social life which took the form of the settled community. } Christianity was essentially a community affair and the mission houses and the settlements they gathered round them in Labrador were attempts to transplant the Moravian City of God into alien surroundings. { Although only eight of the missionaries who came to Labrador between 1771 and 1810 were born Moravians, they had all passed through a Moravian settlement, and were imbued with its ideals. The principles they taught were those of the ordered community - thrift, hard work, regularity, strict morality, the unified and stable family, the immediate resolution of disputes, thought for the future. } But their systems of authority and status were those of the church, since the ideal was theocratic. The missionaries conceived of the church and the community as one body.

The realisation of this ideal in Labrador meant first an attack on the traditional religious system, and the presentation of Christianity in such a way as to make its superior worth obvious. Secondly, the missionaries had to be able to control the selection of those wishing to winter or live in the vicinity of a mission station, and in this context,

the land grants were thought to be vital; they enabled the mission to keep undesirable Eskimos as well as white traders at a distance.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, (if the community was to survive, the missionaries had to maintain a close control over the social and spiritual life of the converts,] who were kept, as far as was possible, as a caste apart from the heathen. Complete segregation, however, was never possible, nor was it in some ways desirable. The heathen had to come to the mission station to trade and the converts had to leave it to gather food. Moreover, while the purpose of the mission was the conversion of all it could not withdraw with its flock into total isolation.

The missionaries gradually acquired a general picture of the aboriginal religious they had come to destroy. They received varying descriptions of the Eskimo spirit world, so that it is impossible to give a coherent account which applies to the whole coast. The Eskimos themselves seem to have had no very clear idea of their beliefs, and their confusion is reflected in the mission diaries. In July 1773, for instance, four of the Nain Brethren went hunting in Nuneingoak; while there, one of the Eskimos

related, that there was an old woman who lived within the country who presided over the Land Animals particularly Rain Deer, some of which she always sent in the way of the Innuit when they were in want of them. When they can find no deer they call out to the old Woman Kaite, Kaite (Come, come) we are hungry, of making offerings ... these [Eskimos] ... know nothing, their custom being simply to say what their wants at the time are.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>It is doubtful whether the Eskimos interpreted the actual "sale" of land as a transfer of ownership. It was probably the missionaries' use of their land which established their ownership in Eskimo eyes. See above, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>ND 2/7/73.

There were many people who spent their time hunting with her, and these, apparently, were "the Souls of departed Esquimaux." Her name was Supperguksoak, and she was the wife of Torngarsuk, who lived in the water, and to whom all sea creatures were subject. If the Eskimos needed food they asked him in the same way as the old woman. An account given by Tuglavina was slightly different;<sup>3</sup> he described two women, one inland and the other, called Nercheivick, in the sea. The latter had a voice like that of a man, and was "a very large, strong woman who has her dwelling in the water and at the borders of the air."<sup>4</sup> Tuglavina was probably referring to the Sedna legend, prominent among Baffin Islanders, and not unknown in northern Labrador.<sup>5</sup> The most important spirit was undoubtedly Torngarsuk, who usually was described as living on land rather than in the sea. He was the master of the whole spirit world and supposedly had his home among the Torngat Mountains in the far north of the Labrador peninsula. Jens Haven noted in 1773 how frightened the Eskimos were of the coast between Saglek and Nachvak,<sup>6</sup> and in 1811, when two Brethren ventured into Ungava Bay, they were shown by their guide

a wide and deep cavern, in shape like the gable end of a house, situated at the top of a precipice, in a black mountain of a very horrid and dark appearance. This, he informed us, was the dwelling place of Torngak, the evil spirit.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>ND 18/7/81.

<sup>4</sup>The Rev. F.W. Peacock, at present Superintendent of the Moravian Mission, was told by an old Nain resident, the late Isaac Ritch, that Supperguksoak lived in the sea and controlled land animals, while Torngarsuk lived on the land and controlled sea animals.

<sup>5</sup>See Hawkes, Labrador Eskimo, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup>Extract of the Voyage of the Sloop George . . . ., 27/8/73.

<sup>7</sup>B. Kohlmeister and G. Kmoch, Journal of a Voyage from Okkak on the coast of Labrador, to Ungava Bay . . . . (London: S.F.G., 1814), p. 45.

Besides these major spirits, there were two sorts of minor spirits: the inua, spirits of objects and places, and the tornait (singular, torngak), who were disembodied spirits controlled by Torngarsuk.<sup>8</sup> The tornait were the familiars of the angakut, who were the intermediaries between the Eskimos and the spirit world. They specialised in the curing of disorders in man or nature and were feared and respected for their ability to control mens' lives. Women could also have familiars, and were called illisetsut (singular, illisetsok).<sup>9</sup> The missionaries mention a lesser kind of "conjuring" practiced "any who please," probably meaning the chanting of incantations referred to in the diaries as "Heathenish songs."<sup>10</sup> There are various descriptions of the appearance of tornait; "like a grown person, in a Rein-Deer-jacket and spotted breeches;"<sup>11</sup> "he appears like a man; but when he comes near me, he is next to nothing, has no size."<sup>12</sup> Angukualuk told the Hopedale missionaries how his parents had said that

their familiar spirit or Torngak lived in the water. If I wished to consult him, I must call upon him as the spirit of my parents, to come forth out of the water, and remember this token, that I should observe in some part of the house a vapour ascending, soon after which, the spirit would appear and grant what I asked. Some years ago ... I tried this method ... and called upon the Torngak, when I really thought I perceived a small vapour arising, and shortly after the appearance of a man in a watry habit stood before me.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See Hawkes, Labrador Eskimo, pp. 127-132.

<sup>9</sup> ND 5/11/72.

<sup>10</sup> ND 5/11/72.

<sup>11</sup> ND 21/1/81.

<sup>12</sup> ND 1/2/82.

<sup>13</sup> "Extracts of Diaries received from ... Labrador; chiefly relating to ... 1805 and 1806." PA IV:119.

In his trance, the angakok, with the help of his familiar, would find out where the seals or caribou were, or, in time of distress, find out what taboos had been broken. Once before the caribou hunt, an illisetsok

fell into a trance, when her soul took a tour through the inland parts, where she saw a vast quantity of Rein Deer. Upon this the Esquimaux went to the inlet as directed by her, where they saw and got many deer.<sup>14</sup>

The missionaries recognised that the angakut often had personal qualities, apart from their spiritual skill, which distinguished them from other Eskimos. Like Tuglavina they were usually good hunters, which added to their prestige, and possessed forceful and comparatively volatile personalities. Kemingjunga, the angakok at Parnertok during the winter of 1771-72, was "polished and overbearing ... and of a more lively disposition."<sup>15</sup>

"Persons of this sort are subject to many changes and are very little to be depended on."<sup>16</sup> They were dangerous to the mission not only because of their influence, but also because they were thought to represent the forces of darkness and evil. The Brethren did not always distinguish between Torngarsuk and a torngak, but, to them, both were synonyms for the Devil: "Torngak or Satan was a Liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, and the Angekoks ... were his servants who deceived the Innuits continually."<sup>17</sup> After his journey inland in 1780, Turner spoke of "that oppressing Spirit, and powre of darkness which is to be felt about [the angakut, which] makes it very hard for a Br. to come through and that is what I was afraid of."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>ND 5/11/72.

<sup>15</sup>ND 12/11/71.

<sup>16</sup>OD 22/9/80.

<sup>17</sup>OD 17/12/83.

<sup>18</sup>Turner to LaTrobe, Sept. 16, 1781. PAC A 568.

Karpik of Arvertok gave the Hopedale missionaries a bad scare in March 1788; he took a key from a Brother, looked at it, hung his head,

and began to bluster. The Brn. who were nigh him felt a degree of anxiousness and a Power of Darkness. He raised himself up and asked whether we wanted to see Torngak? Fearing he had thoughts of Conjuraton ... for he was quite set upon it, we told him the time for the meeting was near, though the bell was not yet rung. We rang it soon after. He would not go out of the room ... but at last he went out. Upon this we immediately assembled, sung some verses and prayed our dear Saviour to ... protect us ... against the malignant Devices of the Devil.

The same evening, Karpik visited again, and as the sun set a strong wind arose. Karpik asked who had caused it, Torngak or Jesus, but got no reply. "Remarkable is it ..., that when Niviarsina [his wife] visited us the day following, she said: With you the weather is perfectly calm, but with us it blows very hard."<sup>19</sup>

The Brethren thus saw themselves engaged in a crusade against the Devil as personified in the angakut and institutionalised in the aboriginal religion. There was no room for compromise with the latter, and a sharp distinction had to be maintained between Christianity and existing religious conceptions. Helge Kleivan has implied that the identification of Torngarsuk or Torngak with Satan was a deliberate piece of mission strategy, designed to undermine "the obvious tendency by the Eskimos to create a hybrid religious system."<sup>20</sup> The early missionaries were not so sophisticated; they sincerely believed that the traditional religion was the active work of the Devil, and that it was their duty to fight it.

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<sup>19</sup> HD 1/3/88.

<sup>20</sup> The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 70.

The initial reaction of the Eskimos to the new teaching was, of course, to try to assimilate it into their old system of belief, and to interpret Christianity in terms of their traditional concepts.<sup>1</sup> The missionaries were at first regarded as angakut; they read from books and manuscripts, and it was concluded that "they talked by the means of Torngak;" moreover, they could "speak that, which is not known by another," and therefore "had Torngak."<sup>21</sup> When Haven began to sing verses in Nachvak in 1773, the Eskimos thought he was invoking his torngak.<sup>22</sup> But when it became clear that the missionaries were servants of a spirit completely distinct from Torngarsuk, the Eskimos began to regard Jesus as a possible alternative, but still essentially the same species of spirit. Jesus entered the Eskimo religious world as another powerful spirit, who might be used besides Torngarsuk, but who need not necessarily replace him. The Eskimo spiritual horizon broadened to include the new Jesus. Millik's wife, for instance, was an illisetsok, and her husband wondered if she had seen Jesus while in a trance.<sup>23</sup> He also told the missionaries that he "loved Torngak, and would love the Saviour too."<sup>24</sup> The diaries often record similar remarks, and lament that the Eskimos thought "they can turn to Jesus and still make use of their wicked customs."<sup>25</sup> Haven was once present at a ceremony to ensure fine weather for the following day. A man lay on the floor, and

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<sup>21</sup>HD 1/3/88.

<sup>22</sup>Extract of the Voyage of the Sloop George . . . . 4/9/73.

<sup>23</sup>ND 21/3/73.

<sup>24</sup>ND 5/3/73.

<sup>25</sup>HD 31/12/84.

one of their bows was laid across his legs and tied fast to his left leg. A woman sat on his right side and laid his right leg over his left by which the bow and the string moved. The moving of the string was taken as an affirmative answer. They were sometimes at a loss to determine whether it was Torngak or Jesus that moved the string, though all saw the old woman do it .... We must excuse them as they are entirely confused and at a loss to whom they shall address themselves. Our Saviour they know not yet, and they are very unwilling to part with their Torngak.<sup>26</sup>

The basic mission line of attack was to ridicule and defy the angakut, and thus show them, and all the other Eskimos as well, that missionaries could never be overawed. The minions of Satan had to be fought and overcome by direct means. The self-confident Jens Haven was the best practitioner of this method. One winter he was with some Eskimos who had failed to get out to a dead whale, and in the evening "an old wicked fellow" said that his torngak moved him, and he would show reason for such bad luck. He first indirectly accused the missionaries of violating taboos connected with whales, but when this was disproved, shouted that there was one person who should not go to the whale, and pointed at Haven. "Upon that I stood up, stared the Conjuror in the face, and prayed the Lord to stop his mouth; he became confused, stammered and would not speak one word more."<sup>27</sup> On the voyage north in 1773, Haven met the famous angakok Aweinak, of whom he had heard, in Naparktok Bay; Haven recognised him at once and

said to him, are you not Aweinak? He was frightened and said, do you know me? I said, yes, I know you pretend to be a great conjuror, and that you are a murtherer of men .... He was very much shocked.

Haven preached, and

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<sup>26</sup>ND -/2/73.

<sup>27</sup>ND -/2/73.

then I turned to the Murtherer and said hear Thou my words. The first man among you that shall shed the blood of another man shall himself be put to death; as to what is past, that is over and past, but now forgive one another ... The Murtherer had nothing to say in his defence but the People spoke very ill of him .... I then said, ye have heard his words, forgive him and love him, but if He behaves ill again let me know.

To the other Eskimos he said,

I cannot but wonder excessively that you are so afraid of such an old thin little man who has no teeth in his head, one of them replied, Thou thyself art but a little man; but thy thoughts are strong and thy spirit is unconquerable.<sup>28</sup>

The last retort sounds more like Haven than a Naparktok Eskimo, but the exchange illustrates the approach, crude but effective.<sup>29</sup>

In spite of their conviction that Torngarsuk was the Devil, and that there was a potent force of darkness to be seen at work in Labrador, the missionaries also tried to show that Torngarsuk was a fraud, and that the angakut were tricksters, whose conjurations were neither necessary guarantees of success in the hunt, nor even genuine. At a winter camp near Nain people came to Millik's wife to ask her if there would be seals on the ice the next day.

First Millik took her aside and spoke with her. On her return she cried out with a voice that seemed to come out of her stomach, on which Millik cried "What says the spirit." On which she began to converse with the people ... about the weather and seals, every now and then bellowing out with a frightful voice .... The conclusion was that all the men should go out in the morning to catch seals, an advice very proper as their provision was almost spent.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Extract of the Voyage of the Sloop George .... 13/8/73.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. above, pp. 71-72.

<sup>30</sup> ND 4/1/74.

The missionaries observed with some satisfaction that in fact no seals were caught. This kind of performance was to them chicanery, and they fixed especially on the point that the angakut usually performed in darkness -

all these Sorcerers Tricks must be done in the dark, without any light in the room ... this is a great and useful argument for us to prove to the people that they are only lying tricks .... And as the Esquimaux have in general a great aversion to darkness, of which they are horribly afraid, we can the more easily make them averse to such a Spirit and his works.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast, Christianity was presented as the religion of light. Thus on one occasion Haven represented the after-life as two dwellings: on the right, that of light and the Saviour; on the left, that of darkness and evil spirits to which the Eskimos would go if they persisted in their heathenism.<sup>32</sup> It was made clear that in their time of ignorance, before the missionaries came, God had winked at their sins. But now that they had heard they would undoubtedly pass into darkness and be condemned if they rejected the Gospel.<sup>33</sup> The missionaries preached hell-fire sermons to some effect; the Kivallek Eskimos were apparently "very moved" when Haven told them that

When the Lord shall come in his brightness, and with thunderings, and with numberless voices, then will ye, who would not follow him here, cry out with great terror, O ye mountains cover us ... and ye will say, O that we had received the Word! But then it will be too late.<sup>34</sup>

Since the maintenance of taboos was a major factor in the power of the angakut, the Brethren had to demonstrate to the Eskimos that their observance was, and always had been, unnecessary. By surviving at all in Labrador,

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<sup>31</sup>OD 24/1/79.

<sup>32</sup>ND -/2/72.

<sup>33</sup>ND 6/1/77.

<sup>34</sup>OD 10/1/77.

with complete disregard for taboos, the missionaries were, of course, making this point clear. The example of the converts must have been even more striking, and the Arvertokers certainly recognised that converts could break taboos with impunity when they brought caribou skins to be tanned at Hopedale in the seal-hunting season.<sup>35</sup> This did not prevent the angakut from maintaining at the same time that taboo violation would bring misfortune. Karpik at Arvertok declared that the connection of the Eskimos with the Europeans had made the whales shy - "after he has used all his witchcraft and devilish practices in vain, he wishes to convince the Esquimaux that we are the reason of their little success."<sup>36</sup> The same occurred at Okkak in the early years; when the missionaries acted contrary to taboo,

then the Heathen said - Now is Torngak angry, and will send us no more whales or seals ... and made a great uproar. When, after that, several people died at Okkak, these Heathen said, These died because they had forsaken Torngak.

The falsity of such a claim had to be pointed out -

This autumn [1781], Tuglavina told us, he would go to Arvertok and catch whales .... There he as well as the others invoked the evil spirit ... but they got no whales, and so few seals that they now hunger. Then came sickness among them, and they called on the Evil Spirit ... but the hour of death came and 6 died and one ... killed himself for pain. Can you say how that happened; there were at Arvertok no believing Europeans or believing Innuits, and they all followed Torngak and his rules, and yet they are without food and several died.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> HD 21/2/87.

<sup>36</sup> HD 28/11/84.

<sup>37</sup> ND 9/3/82.

The missionaries could also undermine the position of the angakut in Eskimo society by taking over many of their functions. They did not claim to be able to deal with natural disorders - food shortages, or an absence of seals - but they were healers, and did appear to have some control over life and death, although they would have said that it was the Lord working through them. The mission always had at least a few men with medical knowledge and their services were regularly sought by the Eskimos. The Brethren expected some payment for their trouble - except from widows - but they appear to have charged less than the angakut.<sup>38</sup> Medicine was given on the understanding that the patient was not to take out an insurance by calling in the angakut as well. At Nain in 1776, the Eskimos were told that

if they used or caused sorcery to be used, our medicines would do them no good and we would not meddle in the cure, but if they used our medicines orderly, and begged our Saviour to help them, they certainly would be cured if He found proper.<sup>39</sup>

If an Eskimo taking mission medicine was suspected or known to use sorcery as well, the Brethren had no hesitation in cutting off their help until repentance was shown.<sup>40</sup> There could be no mixture of the old and the new. It was, of course, important that the new ways should be seen to be successful, particularly when the Brethren were called in to cure an important and influential man. In March 1777, the Nain missionaries were called to help Segulliak, an angakok and Tuglavina's brother. Waiblinger found that Segulliak had a rupture,

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<sup>38</sup>ND 9/10/72, 15/11/76.

<sup>39</sup>ND 15/12/76.

<sup>40</sup>ND 25/3/81.

and having no wish to meddle in such an important cure if it was going to fail, consulted the lot. With permission granted, he dealt with the rupture and took Segulliak back to Nain, where he lived in the mission house until completely cured. The Eskimos were very impressed, "and told one another of the wonderful event."<sup>41</sup>

It was in times of sickness, however, that the angakut could make something of a come-back; sickness was supposed to be caused by evil spirits, and the old habits reasserted themselves strongly. This was especially the case when the medicines given by the mission were slow to act.<sup>42</sup>

[The Eskimos] are too firmly habituated to these juggling ways to believe that they can be cured without them. Yet they now begin to give their approbation to medicine if they at least come and will have something. They call it Aninarsuit that is Means for Pain; some call it Arngoak, that is an Idol or Charm, a thing that shall help or make well: in this view they tie a string or a Bit of European Cloth round their Neck, Arms, Legs or Body. But this last we discountenance.<sup>43</sup>

It took time for the Eskimos to become accustomed to mission methods, to bleeding, medicines, and enemas,<sup>44</sup> and when out of easy reach of a mission station and its healers they would often revert to the old ways, rather than do nothing at all.<sup>45</sup>

By the very fact of providing an alternative to the traditional religious system, conveniently linked with a trading post, the mission broke the monopoly of the angakut. This in itself was a blow to their prestige, made more effective by the mission's policy of defiance and scorn, and the

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<sup>41</sup>ND 30/3/77.

<sup>42</sup>OD 13/9/90. Hopedale to S.F.G., Sept. 18, 1797. PA II:133.

<sup>43</sup>OD 5/7/78.

<sup>44</sup>OD 6/11/76, 3/2/94.

<sup>45</sup>e.g. ND 20/10/81. There are numerous other examples.

spotlight pointed at every facet of the traditional system that was uncertain or burdensome. As early as 1780 the Okkak missionaries could report that the angakut were losing

more and more of their power and influence, one after another of the people having their eyes open to see their deceit. Many, even some of the heathen, are glad and thankful that we are here, if it were but on this account that they need not, unless they chuse it, be blindfoldly led about at the will and pleasure of the sorcerers.<sup>46</sup>

In spite of the provision of an alternative to the angakut, and the attack on their status in society which could lead to the Eskimos' according less respect both to them and to the system they represented, the old leaders retained much influence. They were the traditional and familiar leaders and it was obviously difficult to accept the missionaries' contention that the angakut had always been frauds, and that the Eskimos had been the victims of a gigantic confidence trick master-minded by the Devil. "The Eskimos are very stupid," commented the Okkak diary, "and know not how to abandon entirely their old superstitions."<sup>47</sup> Among the converts as well as among the heathen, there was a strong tendency to assume that the angakut had some supernatural powers in spite of what the missionaries said. So far as the converts were concerned this often applied to the period before the coming of Jesus, who in some mysterious way, had defeated Torngarsuk and rendered the angakut powerless. A convert who remarked that "formerly our sorcerers used to do many wonders" was quickly reprimanded.<sup>48</sup> The Eskimos had been told that they had immortal souls which hovered in the air after death, and they wondered how the angakut, wrong in other matters, could have been right in this. The missionaries answered that all thinking men were taught by

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<sup>46</sup>OD 20/11/80.

<sup>47</sup>OD 31/12/83.

<sup>48</sup>OD 17/12/83.

Nature that there was a God, and that they had immortal souls; the angakut had not been unique in discovering that fact, but they could not say how souls found rest - this was why God had sent the Moravians.<sup>49</sup> If converts were doubtful about the total fraudulence of the angakut, reluctance to abjure the old ways must have been even stronger among the heathen.

There was much in the new religion, and in the way it was applied, that seemed incomprehensible and uncertain. The traditional religion was essentially active and connected with the environment. It was more satisfactory to ask the spirits for seals than to wait for the Lord to provide. Torngarsuk might help the Eskimos by providing game, or fine weather, but the missionaries' religion could neither guarantee success nor improve material well-being. Haven faced this problem at Okkak in 1776; the Eskimos of the area listened to the missionary,

and find it profitable for them that the Saviour has paid for their sins, that they may not go into the place of darkness ... but would much rather there was more profit for the body through the knowledge of him, and that they might have abundance of food ... and they often ask whether, in case they leave off worshipping Torngak ... and worship Jesus Christ, whether He, as more powerful than Torngak, can procure more food than he ... one has need of great prudence to answer it properly. If they were answered Yes, and they should not get food enough according to their fancy, they would be ready to tell us to our faces, that we were lyars; or that the Saviour does not hear. My [Haven's] answer therefore ... is - Learn first to know the Saviour [learn from us] ... and our Saviour would provide for you, that ye should want for nothing that is necessary to you.<sup>50</sup>

When a boatload of Uivak Eskimos came to ask Haven to pray with them for a whale, he was in a quandary. If he prayed, and then they caught nothing,

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<sup>49</sup>OD 16/12/79.

<sup>50</sup>OD 29/10/76.

bad results might follow; but if they were successful, then they would "apply to us in their bodily wants as if we were to be their Conjurers or Sorcerors." The Eskimos would not understand a refusal to pray for a whale, for "how can we tell them that the Saviour is their only Redeemer, Helper, and Preserver, and yet refuse to call on him to help them?" Haven got out of an awkward situation with some ingenuity; he described to the Eskimos how a believer could do nothing without Jesus, but that even so, it was possible for men, like them, to pass years without thinking of him. To begin relations with Jesus by asking for a whale was not the wisest action and he might not think it proper to grant their request. Although he was author of all, he did not always give men what they wanted. Hoping that the Uivakers had understood his point, Haven then prayed, asked the Saviour to give the Eskimos a whale, so long as it was his will and would be good for them. The Uivakers naturally objected, asking how it could be good not to get a whale. Haven could only reply that Jesus knew all things, and it might be that success in the whale hunt would make them "light minded" and unreceptive to the Word.<sup>51</sup>

It was difficult to impress upon the Eskimos that although Jesus was all-powerful, he would not give them more than was sufficient for them - indeed, that he might not send enough, out of love for them, in order to bring them to their senses. A man asked a missionary why, when he had prayed to Jesus only, he had got fewer seals than the previous year; he was told that since he had had sufficient, he should be content - the Lord had provided.<sup>52</sup> Under these circumstances, a change to Christianity can hardly have seemed very advantageous.

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<sup>51</sup>OD 9/11/76.

<sup>52</sup>ND 1/2/76.

"Christianity often came to represent to the Eskimos the direct opposite of happiness and self-expression."<sup>53</sup> The missionaries opposed all aboriginal games and dances on the grounds that they were sensual, excessive, and manifestations of heathenism, encouraging "Fighting, Levity, and Wantonness."<sup>54</sup> To them it was only just if misfortune followed the festivities in a play-house; at Nachvak in 1780, for instance, the people had done nothing for many days except

play, eat, drink, and Sin, until all their provision was consumed, and a sickness laid hold on them. (Here we might justly cry out: Do ye thus requite the Lord for his Benefits o foolish people and unwise?).... The whole tribe of Conjurors present howl and roar in the most hideous manner. The sick cry piteously for pain and the fear of death. Their relations make loud complaints. At last the Dogs join in the universal howling, so that the hills resound.<sup>55</sup>

The Eskimos found it hard to understand the mission attitude towards their sports, thinking it strange that Jesus should not want them to be happy. The mission definition of happiness as an interior peace which had nothing to do with physical gratification was a difficult concept to put across. In January 1777, a play-house was built near a dead whale at Nukasusuktok not far from Nain. As usual on such occasions, large numbers of Eskimos congregated there and Lister went to visit them. He was asked if it was not right to build a play-house and to be merry, and replied

It is very right to be cheerful in feeling our Saviour in the heart. Sikkulliak asked if our Saviour did not like that they should act as they pleased? I said - No, his will is that ye should be converted ... he went on and said we believe in Jesus and have our Custom ... and be merry. I

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<sup>53</sup>Kleivan, Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 71.

<sup>54</sup>OD 25/3/78. Cf. F.W. Peacock, Some Psychological Aspects of the Impact of the White Man on the Labrador Eskimo (Unpublished, 1947), p. 190.

<sup>55</sup>OD 25/3/80.

answered ye cannot believe in Jesus and at the same time follow your old heathenish customs .... Then they replied shall we look dark and dejected and then in that dark fit kill one another? I said we will hear nothing of Murthers. They then said, Will Jesus that we should look dark at one another? I said, no, He will have you seek your pleasure in him only ... that will not cease to all eternity. They all answered, we believe in Jesus and will therefore be merry and sport together. I said ye cannot believe in Jesus and follow the Devil. They then replied who has said that we did not believe. I said I said so and ye have heard my Brethren say the same thing of you ... ye cannot believe in Jesus without feeling him in your hearts. They said, that is very strange, and all the men went directly into the Sports house.<sup>56</sup>

The missionaries could not actively prohibit such sports as took place away from the stations - "When they get together in their own places, it is, out of sight, out of mind."<sup>57</sup> They could only use their influence against them, hinting, as the Okkak Brethren did, that play-houses were "a grief to Jesus Christ," and that believers did not build them but rejoiced in the Lord.<sup>58</sup> Such hints did not, however, prevent the Eskimos remaining at Kivallek and Uivak from carrying on in their own way as late as 1794.<sup>59</sup> On one occasion the Hopedale missionaries did manage to prevent the building of a play-house at Arvertok by simply sending a convert with the message that the work was to cease. There was some opposition but the Eskimos soon complied.<sup>60</sup> No games or dances were allowed on mission premises. The sports usually held before the caribou hunt were stopped at Nain in 1776,<sup>61</sup> and when in 1791 some Eskimos from Kivallek came to Okkak to "play a game at ball upon the ice on our premises ... a missionary went out and desired them to desist as we would suffer no heathenish games here."<sup>62</sup> The Brethren saw sin everywhere,

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<sup>56</sup>ND 19-25/1/77.

<sup>57</sup>ND 25/1/77.

<sup>58</sup>OD 26/9/77.

<sup>59</sup>OD 14/2/94.

<sup>60</sup>ND 28/2/85.

<sup>61</sup>ND 24/7/76.

<sup>62</sup>OD 7/1/91.

and it is understandable that the Hopedale converts began to "play and dance" because, as they told the missionaries, "they had no other pleasure."<sup>63</sup>

A sombre mission in a sombre climate; not only did it clamp down on Eskimo social and religious gatherings, but it preached a Christianity which was overwhelmingly concerned with sin and death. The missionaries compiled a comprehensive list of the predominant Eskimo sins - "Murder, violence, rage, Lust, wrath, haughtiness, greediness, tyranny, cheating one another, sloth, thoughtlessness"<sup>64</sup> - but the Eskimos themselves remained seemingly oblivious to their faults: "An Esquimaux is by nature one of the most self-righteous of beings."<sup>65</sup> The missionaries complained that often, when they talked of the depravity of man, the Eskimos would take it naturally, and say they had a cough or some other ailment.<sup>66</sup> They found nowhere "Souls <sup>Esk.</sup> really concerned and pained with a sense of their sinfulness."<sup>67</sup> While <sup>sin</sup> Eskimos could understand sin in the sense of violating a prohibition, they were not familiar with any notion of original sin; it was "to them a strange and odd discourse. They know not what to say to it. They hate to hear they are bad people, ... for they think that if they were to own that they were <sup>2</sup> good for nothing."<sup>68</sup> For this reason the candidates for baptism were told about the creation and the fall, to

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<sup>63</sup> HD 26/1/89.

<sup>64</sup> Report of the State of the Brethrens' Mission .... 1773.

<sup>65</sup> "Extracts of Diaries received from ... Labrador; chiefly relating to ... 1805 and 1806." PA IV:261.

<sup>66</sup> OD 1/11/77.

<sup>67</sup> ND 31/3/72.

<sup>68</sup> Extract of the Voyage of the Sloop George .... 28/8/73.

show them how much every human creature is spoiled by nature, and how needful it is to seek our Saviour's help. They have hitherto had but faint notions of their natural corruption, or at least would evade owning it; but ... the Holy Spirit labours to bring them ... this so necessary knowledge of themselves.<sup>69</sup>

The new religion centred around the remission of sins, and the missionaries found they had to create in the Eskimos the need which their beliefs were designed to fulfil. By concentrating on the Crucifixion and the Passion in their preaching, they hoped to bring the Eskimos to this sense of inherent sinfulness,<sup>70</sup> and so to an understanding of the concept of the Redeemer. The "bloody scenes which our Lord went through"<sup>71</sup> were described at any time in the year when there were Eskimos to hear, and the missionaries "observ'd that they were more attentive to the reading of [this] narrative ... than to the ordinary speaking."<sup>72</sup>

The religious sentimentality surrounding the Moravian version of the Passion led the missionaries to a morbid fascination with death as such. It was a welcome release from the trials and tribulations of a sinful world, and apart from conversion, the most important event in their lives. They were absolutely certain of going to join the other Christian departed in heaven, and told the Eskimos how the believer need have no fears concerning death or the life after death. To press home the point, the Nain missionaries laid out the corpses of Drachart and Waiblinger, who died within two days of each other, and allowed the Eskimos to visit. The latter remarked on Drachart's "friendly and smiling look," and did not show "that dread which otherwise they

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<sup>69</sup>ND 6/12/79.

<sup>70</sup>See above, p. 13.

<sup>71</sup>OD 1/3/79.

<sup>72</sup>ND 5/7/77.

have of coming near a corpse."<sup>73</sup> They were also astonished at the missionaries laying out their burial ground like a garden.<sup>74</sup> The Eskimos had no ceremonial to mark the various stages of life; death was to be accepted with resignation and without fuss. This characteristic is remarked upon in many writings, usually with the implication that the Eskimos did not fear death.<sup>75</sup> The missionaries, however, noted that the Eskimos in Labrador did fear death "when it comes in the slow march of sickness without the hurry, noise, heat, and fury of a Skirmish."<sup>76</sup> Since sickness was thought to be caused by evil spirits, death resulting from it would be feared, although covered with a cloak of stoicism. The Eskimos also certainly treated a corpse with awe and buried it in rough fashion under a pile of rocks. Death was a mystery, inevitable but daunting, especially as traditional ideas concerning the after-life were vague. The missionaries' presentation of the Passion at first repulsed some Eskimos;<sup>77</sup> death as resurrection, to be accepted with joy, was a new and difficult concept. But the certainty of the missionaries' predictions concerning the after-life must have made a strong impression.

The mission, then, could attack the traditional system of belief and its leaders, and could provide an alternative; but the alternative was not a replacement, in the sense that it compensated for all the needs filled by the old ways. To the Eskimo there were serious objections to Christianity - its apartness from the natural environment, its demand for a complete

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<sup>73</sup>ND 20,22/9/78.

<sup>77</sup>ND 27/6/82.

<sup>74</sup>ND 13-14/7/77.

<sup>75</sup>e.g. F. Boas, The Central Eskimo (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), pp. 204-5. Peter Freuchen's Book of the Eskimos (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1961), pp. 193-4.

<sup>76</sup>Report of the State of the Brethrens' Mission .... 1773.

rejection of the traditional beliefs, its opposition to sensual gratification, its unpleasant and strange doctrines of sin and death. In spite of these drawbacks, however, Eskimos were converted and moved to the mission stations at least for the winter. Their motives must remain a matter for speculation. The missionaries of course maintained that a conversion was the work of the Holy Spirit, and to satisfy themselves that a man's heart was genuinely moved by the Christian message, rather than by the availability of trade goods, they would consult the lot before administering baptism. Eskimos may have been drawn to the missionaries and their beliefs to escape the negative control of the angakut, and the fear which was one of their main weapons; or they may have been attracted by the Jesus figure, the personification of paternal care. There were the attractions of convenient trade and relative economic security, and the influence of the kin.<sup>78</sup> Any or all of these factors might have drawn an Eskimo to the new system and to the new angakut in the mission houses, and made him ready to accept the difficulties which conversion entailed for him. For baptism meant, ideally, the adoption of a new ideology and a new economy based on the needs of the settled community of believers, whose kinship was of the spirit and not necessarily of blood.

The converts were to be a separate and distinct group in Eskimo society, controlled and disciplined by the missionaries, and as far as

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<sup>78</sup>Cf. Hans Egede Saabye, Greenland: being Extracts from a Journal kept in that country in the years 1770 to 1778. (2nd edition, London: Boosey and Sons, 1818), pp. 210-211. Saabye lists the following motives causing heathen Eskimos to come for instruction: the influence of baptised kin, no lodging, grief on the death or murder of a friend, and escape from an accusation of witchcraft. He holds that they were not drawn to the mission by the hope of economic advantages.

possible, isolated from the heathen. In theory they were not forced to winter at the mission; the Brethren left "that entirely to their own free will, else such might expect us to provide them with food."<sup>79</sup> In practice, however, "awakened souls" and the baptised were expected to winter on mission land. The baptismal rite included promises to stay with the congregation of believers and to obey one's teachers.

We require our Baptised and Candidates ... to winter with us, in order that they might get more instructions in the Word of God; further, we should be glad to see all such winter here, who had a desire to be converted ..., but those persons who had no desire ... but kept up their old sinful customs ... these we did not invite to live with us ... yet we should love them as friends.<sup>80</sup>

Controlling the entry of heathen residents was a problem in that the missionaries could not always gauge how genuine their interest was. In the 1780's a tightening up is apparent. After a winter full of difficulties caused by the unbaptised residents, the Okkak missionaries resolved in 1781 to allow none to winter with them who were "still given to heathen ways,"<sup>81</sup> and it was proposed at Nain that only baptised and candidates should be allowed to live on mission property.<sup>82</sup> In neither case does the decision seem to have been carried into effect; there were forty-five Eskimos at Nain at the end of 1781, of whom only twenty were members of the congregation, and eighty at Okkak, of whom only forty were "awakened."<sup>83</sup> Control of residence had to take a more definite form, and in 1783 it was decided at Nain to buy

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<sup>79</sup>ND 1/11/76.

<sup>80</sup>ND 20/10/80.

<sup>81</sup>OD 3/5/81.

<sup>82</sup>ND 17/10/81.

<sup>83</sup>ND 31/12/81, OD 31/12/81.

all the Esquimaux houses already set up here and to build ourselves all for the future and treat them as our property, in order that if a congregation of converted Esquimaux should be collected here, no other person should pretend a right to purchase a spot and live here, against whom we had a reason to object.<sup>84</sup>

That autumn the missionaries helped the Eskimos build their houses, or else did the work entirely themselves, so as to establish their claim to all property.<sup>85</sup> This practice seems to have been adopted at other stations, and if the Eskimos built their own houses, then some payment would be given them.<sup>86</sup> As a result of these purchases the missionaries "might say with truth that the houses belong to us, and they [the converts] may not be allowed to suffer other heathen Esquimaux to come and live them without our consent."<sup>87</sup>

Heathen visitors as well as heathen residents could cause trouble in the community and there are a number of references in the Nain diary to building a visitors' house.<sup>88</sup> While there are few mentions of this house being used, there are many mentions of Eskimos staying overnight in the mission house, or in one of the Eskimo houses. It would seem, then, that the boarding house institution never established itself. Many of the visitors must have been kin of resident converts and would naturally stay with them, and it must have been difficult to define who had responsibility for the provision of food and fuel for Eskimos not staying with local families. Residents receiving visitors were expected to ask the permission of the mission. An Okkak convert took in the second wife of a heathen who had run

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<sup>84</sup>ND 2/10/83.

<sup>85</sup>ND 2,29/10/83.

<sup>86</sup>HD 8/11/85.

<sup>87</sup>HD 13/9/84.

<sup>88</sup>ND 21,29/11/71, 30/6/81, 18/2/87.

away from her husband as she was a relative; the Okkak man came later in fear to the missionaries when the husband threatened to kill him, and was given cold comfort, being told that his danger was a consequence "of their taking people into their houses without asking leave of us and hearing our objections; for such cases happen frequently."<sup>89</sup>

The houses built round the mission stations were of the traditional Eskimo type, built of sod and stone, and containing several families. The low, tunnel-formed entrance was abandoned at the stations, probably because the missionaries disliked crawling along them. Haven made a great fuss entering such a house in 1773 -

a pig sty in Europe is much cleaner ... we were obliged to crawl on our hands and knees 24 feet through a narrow entrance full of dogs ... they frequently licked our faces and we put our hands often in their dung. The house within is so dirty, mean and stinking that there is no comparison between it and the houses in Greenland.<sup>90</sup>

There was no question, though, of introducing single-family houses. The transition from the plural family dwelling to the European-style of house did not occur until the 1840's, with the blessing of the mission, but not at its instigation.<sup>91</sup>

Those Eskimos who lived near the missionaries were expected to completely renounce all heathen customs, to disregard the commands of the angakut, and to attend the religious meetings regularly. The regulation that was made at Okkak in 1778 is probably fairly typical of the pattern that the meetings took, although there were variations from year to year and from settlement to settlement. On alternate Sundays the baptised were

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<sup>89</sup>OD 11/11/86.

<sup>90</sup>ND -/2/73.

<sup>91</sup>See Kleivan, Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, pp. 33-43.

to pray the Church Litany and were to meet together on Friday evenings to sing together the hymn "O head so full of Bruises" and to hear a sermon on the text of the day. The candidates were to join them daily for the morning blessing and on the Sundays when there was no Church Litany they were to join them for Bible reading. Every Wednesday evening there was to be a singing hour in Eskimo and daily at 4 p.m. a public meeting.<sup>92</sup>

There were also special meetings for the instruction of the baptised and candidates; these occurred sometimes once, sometimes twice a week.<sup>93</sup> At first all met together, but in time the candidates had meetings separate from the baptised, and the latter were divided into classes by sex.<sup>94</sup> In the early years it is difficult to distinguish choir from band meetings<sup>95</sup> as both were referred to as classes. The earliest reference to the application of this traditional Moravian method to the Labrador congregations is at Okkak in 1778 when Sisters Haven and Morhardt kept meetings with the baptised women, and their husbands with the baptised men.<sup>96</sup> As the congregations grew, there were further divisions into classes of married men, married women, and widows. Such meetings were usually held once a fortnight, and the groups were never allowed to become too big.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>OD 2/9/78.

<sup>93</sup>ND 26/7/77, 1/12/79. OD 1/9/84.

<sup>94</sup>ND 3/1/86.

<sup>95</sup>See above, pp.7-8.

<sup>96</sup>OD 5/11/78.

<sup>97</sup>ND 26/12/79, 7/2/81, 5/12/81. OD 17/2/80.

The band or choir meetings were not specifically for instruction; they were to be "open and cordial"<sup>98</sup> as well as "close, confidential"<sup>99</sup> conversations; they were "to bring these people from their dark ways, to give them right principles, and to cause a free open way of conversation to be pleasing to them."<sup>100</sup> In the bands, religious problems could be discussed, but any disputes between members of the congregation were to be brought into the open and resolved - "in winter there are many things of this kind, as they live so crowded together in their winter houses, and have much idle time which occasions idle chit chat."<sup>101</sup> The move to the settled community from the flexible, fragile nomadic band generated social tensions, and at the same time made inapplicable the traditional Eskimo way of dealing with them. The missionaries reported that it was usual for an Eskimo, when angry with another, to avoid his company, and when asked about the relationship to say, "I am not acquainted with him."<sup>102</sup> Avoidance was possible and well adapted to nomadic life, where the parties in conflict could easily separate, but not to settlement life.<sup>103</sup> The missionaries encouraged the Eskimos therefore to discuss their disputes confidently within the band, or privately with a Brother. The mission attitude was, however, slow to take hold. "Confidence towards one another is something very rare among this nation;"<sup>104</sup> the Eskimos were "by nature very reserved and cautious in saying anything bad of each other."<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>OD 17/12/80.

<sup>99</sup>ND 5/12/81.

<sup>100</sup>OD 26/4/79.

<sup>101</sup>ND 28/2/81.

<sup>102</sup>OD 26/4/79.

<sup>103</sup>See Ben-Dor, Makkovik, pp. 89-90.

<sup>104</sup>HD 10/11/84.

<sup>105</sup>HD 29/6/86.

What the missionaries called "open-heartedness" was, they believed, a social virtue necessary for a peaceful settlement; but it was also a necessary religious virtue if they were to keep a check on the spiritual progress of the flock. While the band and choir meetings could give a general impression of the spiritual state of the congregation, it was the speaking that gave insight into individual hearts.<sup>106</sup> Communicants went to the speaking prior to the monthly Communion, and the whole congregation underwent these individual examinations before leaving the station in the spring and on their return in the autumn after the caribou hunt.<sup>107</sup> Although speakings were not strictly characterised as confessions, they assumed a character that was virtually indistinguishable from them. The Eskimos were expected to tell the missionaries of all their transgressions and of all the Christian rules they had broken. As Kleivan has pointed out,<sup>108</sup> this practice corresponded closely to the old form of behaviour in that the consequences of a breach of taboo could be avoided if confessed to the angakok or others of the group. In the Moravian settlement, confession to the missionary replaced this relation and carried with it the assumption that the act of confession in itself was an act of liberation from the violation.

The angakok might impose certain special taboo regulations in these cases, and in imposing church discipline the Moravians were again playing a

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<sup>106</sup> See above, p. 101.

<sup>107</sup> e.g. ND 25/10/76, OD 10/8/80.

<sup>108</sup> The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 69.

familiar role. Discipline took the form of exclusion from meetings and ultimately from the settlement. The Communicant could be excluded from Communion, the baptised from his special meetings, and so on down the scale. The aim was to make an example of the obdurate sinner to the others, and the hope was that the culprit would make amends. Before readmission, however, the excluded person had to satisfy the missionaries that he was sincerely contrite and would do his best in future to live the Christian life. Both the exclusion and the readmission were formal acts and could in certain cases be effective sanctions.<sup>109</sup>

In spite of these parallels with traditional practice, the missionaries found that the Eskimos' performance in the speakings was not all that could be desired. The Brethren relied on the individual and confessional nature of the speaking to give them knowledge not only of the convert's heart, but also of what had been going on within the Eskimo houses. It was in this way that they could hope to obtain detailed information about relapses into heathenism, for instance, and then act accordingly. The converts, however, were often reluctant to tell everything to the missionaries, in part because they did not want to lose status in mission society, and in part because they felt more in common with heathen Eskimos than with alien Europeans - "They [the converts] are but little concerned when their unbelieving countrymen know they behaved ill, but take the utmost care to keep such things secret from us, and to deny them when we ask about it."<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum, p. 32. Spangenberg, Account of the Manner in which the United Brethren preach the Gospel, pp. 94-5.

<sup>110</sup> ND 9/2/82.

Disputes between individual converts could be settled in the band but a relapse into heathenism was a sin against God, and the Brethren made full use of the information they did manage to gather in the speakings. They would call the suspect to them and present him with a fait accompli, refusing to name whoever had given the information. This was contrary to usual Eskimo practice and it is not surprising that one Eskimo in this position was "much vexed" and said, "This is not the custom of the Innuits: when they send for a person, it is either for eating or to a council, at which the adverse party appears."<sup>111</sup> In the missionaries' eyes there was no defence for sinfulness; Christian rules had to be kept distinct from Eskimo taboo.

When the missionaries suspected that there had been a large-scale relapse among the converts, without knowing who exactly was responsible, they might impose a form of discipline on the whole congregation by suspending meetings, usually the bands. They would then call the converts together and announce that all those who were still willing to follow Jesus and abjure Torngarsuk were to come to them within a certain number of days; all those who did not come would be de facto excluded from the congregation. In every case, everyone came to the missionaries and was spoken with; when the matter had been cleared up to the missionaries' satisfaction, and discipline imposed on the worst offenders, meetings would begin again.<sup>112</sup>

While adults vacillated between the old and the new, the Brethren hoped that their children would prove steadier in the faith. The children of converted Eskimos were baptised, and it was usual for them to have special

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<sup>111</sup>ND 25/3/81.

<sup>112</sup>OD 27/2/80, 2/4/80, 17/2/81, 17/4/81. ND 15/2/82. HD 21,22/2/85.

meetings, sometimes with the other children at a settlement, sometimes as a class apart. These meetings occurred once or twice a week<sup>113</sup> and from the winter of 1780-81 schools were held as well, for as long as there were enough children present to make them worthwhile. The schools usually began in November and closed in March or April. The children were taught "the fundamental articles of the Christian doctrine, in such a manner, that they not only retain them in memory, but also obtain a feeling and enjoyment of them in their hearts." They were to learn texts, hymns, verses, and how to read.<sup>114</sup> The range of ages seems to have been from about five to twelve years,<sup>115</sup> but there are reports of older youths, and even adults, attending.<sup>116</sup> Sometimes the children were divided by sex but it became usual for there to be one class for the older and one for the younger children.<sup>117</sup> The women of the mission seem never to have acted as teachers, although school only took up one hour each weekday.<sup>118</sup> At first the missionaries found it difficult to teach reading and writing; not only were the children unused to sitting still for an hour at a time, and to concentrating, but the Eskimo language had words of ten or fifteen syllables, "which they cannot comprehend at one view."<sup>119</sup> There was the difficulty, too, of the long absences of the children from the stations which meant that they would forget much of what they had learned. The missionaries found, however, that in spite of these difficulties, the children retained a surprising amount, and were usually

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<sup>113</sup>OD 1/11/78. ND 8/12/79.

<sup>114</sup>Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum, p. 33.

<sup>115</sup>OD 18/12/80.

<sup>116</sup>e.g. ND 23/11/80.

<sup>117</sup>HD 28/2/85. ND 27/11/86.

<sup>118</sup>HD 5/11/84.

<sup>119</sup>ND 29/3/89, 6/1/86.

eager to learn. At the end of the first school session at Nain they had all learned to know "the letters and to count as far as 100, which is no easy matter to them, as they have no number beyond twenty. They also learned to repeat the 10 Commandments ... and some verses."<sup>120</sup> Spelling books printed in Europe were first used in 1790-91,<sup>121</sup> and the Eskimo hymn book, introduced in 1793, was read in the schools.<sup>122</sup>

The Moravians saw their schools as an important part of their overall attack on the old religion; they hoped that instruction of the children would "tend in the rising generation to extirpate many heathenish and satanic superstitions; that thus Satan may lose his hold, and not overcome them so easily, when they are instructed in his delusions from their infancy."<sup>123</sup> Thoroughly indoctrinated by the mission, the school children would provide the future inhabitants of the settlements, but as soon as they could read, they began to serve an evangelical purpose. Once printed books in Eskimo began to appear, the children could read them to the rest of their households, and family devotions, centred for instance around the History of Passion Week (1801),<sup>124</sup> could become more formal and regular.

The close control exercised by the missionaries over their small flocks was necessary if they were to preserve the converts from harmful contact with the heathen. The baptised were as sheep among wolves, children to be paternally watched and protected against their own inclinations. Any

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<sup>120</sup>ND 29/3/81. HD 5/11/84, 25/11/85.

<sup>121</sup>ND 25/11/90.

<sup>122</sup>OD 3/12/93.

<sup>123</sup>Nain to S.F.G., Aug. 15, 1791. PA I:88.

<sup>124</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., July 26, 1801. PA III:7.

contact with the unconverted could harm the newly-awakened soul; the converts were to be reminded therefore of

the exhortations our Lord and Saviour gave to his disciples, of denying friends, brothers, fathers and mothers, wives and children. For if they should love any of their relatives better than the Saviour, they must already have fallen, and would thereby incur imminent danger of falling still more, and even losing their souls thereby. For a perverse love to their relations would certainly lead them to please them in things that are contrary to the Lord, and ultimately plunge them into perdition.<sup>125</sup>

The congregation was the new kin-group, and relationships within it were to completely replace relationships with Eskimos outside it. Thus, if the group was to be kept intact, it was important that there should be no marriage outside it: "the Children of Believers [are] very precious to us, and we would by no means be robbed of them."<sup>126</sup>

This restriction presented the missionaries with many difficulties, as, indeed, did their attempt to inculcate the Christian idea of marriage. The Moravians worked on the principle that if a convert had several wives he might keep them after baptism so long as they stayed willingly. If a heathen wife wished to go, then the husband did not sin in allowing it. However, those who had only one wife at the time of conversion were not to take any more.<sup>127</sup> Quite apart from their conviction that polygamy was wrong, since they believed that man and woman should be one flesh, the missionaries saw that it was potentially disruptive to settlement life. In a discussion of the subject in 1780, some of the baptised said, "What an unhappy life do

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<sup>125</sup> Spangenberg, Account of the Manner in which the ... United Brethren preach the Gospel ....., p. 98.

<sup>126</sup> OD 13/1/80.

<sup>127</sup> Instructions for the Members of the Unitas Fratrum, p. 36. Cf. Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964), pp. 495-6.

not those lead who have more than one wife? how many murders have been occasioned ...? but it could not be otherwise: for there were not enough women to be had, that every man could have two or three."<sup>128</sup> In spite of its attendant problems, polygamy was a traditional index of social status, and several wives were thought to be an economic necessity. In 1774, for instance, a man told the missionaries that he needed several wives to row his boat and put up his tent,<sup>129</sup> and another in 1778 explained that he had taken a second wife as his other woman was sick and he had two children to look after.<sup>130</sup>

Except for old widows, it was unusual for there to be any unmarried Eskimo women; they were usually married at about the age of ten,<sup>131</sup> and marriageable widows did not stay long single. The Moravians had the problem of dealing with those younger widows who were members of the congregation.

This is always a very trying circumstance among the Eskimos, for if a man dies, there are immediately several who want to have the widow, so that we at last do not know, where the believing Eskimos, that live together, may be dispersed .... Our first missionaries in Greenland found it easier in this respect, as polygamy is not so customary there.<sup>132</sup>

At Okkak in 1779, a convert died leaving a young widow, Maria: several strangers wanted her, and a convert was naive enough to ask if he might have her for a second wife. Then a message came from Kivallek that one Ukkalek would like her as his third wife, and that if it would make things any easier, he would put away one of his present wives. Next a boatload of

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<sup>128</sup>OD 2/1/80.

<sup>129</sup>ND 6/5/74.

<sup>130</sup>OD 3/10/78.

<sup>131</sup>OD 4/5/77.

<sup>132</sup>OD 30/4/84.

Eskimos arrived from Kangerdluksoak, and "as some of the young People wanted our Maria, we were obliged to let her sleep some nights in our bake house to prevent disorders." She was eventually betrothed to a promising single man of whom the Brethren had hopes.<sup>133</sup> There was similar trouble the next year. The missionaries were wondering what to do with another Maria, who had two children, when, like an answer to their prayers, one Attuguna of Kangerdluksoak, married to the widow's mother-in-law and sister-in-law, said that he would be converted, come to Okkak, and would take in Maria and her children. As good as his word, he arrived some weeks later. The missionaries, who had been surprisingly slow to understand the situation, now began to suspect that Attuguna's motives were not altogether altruistic - a suspicion which was confirmed when Maria came to them and said that Attuguna wanted her as a third wife and planned to elope with her to the Nain area. This, of course, could not be allowed and the missionaries found a place for the widow at Okkak.<sup>134</sup>

It was usual for a widow to return to her kin, to her father or brother, who would arrange the next marriage. In controlling the marriages of the converts the missionaries were taking over the position of the kin, a role recognised by both converted and heathen Eskimos. Sometimes the missionaries acted alone in these matters, sometimes with the kin. In 1791, one Kablunek arrived at Okkak from Saglek offering a load of blubber and whalebone for a wife, but he was curtly reminded by the missionaries that

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<sup>133</sup>OD 12/5/79, 28/6/79, 28/7/79, 27/7/79, 23/12/79.

<sup>134</sup>OD 5/2/80, 17/4/80, 21/4/80, 25/4/80, 17/5/80.

they never sold human beings, and that he had one wife already.<sup>135</sup> In another case, when it became clear that several heathen wanted a certain widow, the Brethren called her brother and on his behalf spoke to the suitor who was told that "he should not have her, he had one wife, and that was sufficient."<sup>136</sup> There are a few cases of the kin acting independently, as for example, when Boas of Okkak let his sister be taken by Uiverunna of Kivallek, as he had a large family to support.<sup>137</sup>

[Polygamy was slow in dying out even among the baptised;} "It pains us," wrote the Okkak Brethren, "that in this matter they mind not our admonitions, but listen therein more to the words of the Esquimaux. We have but 5 men at present who have but one wife, all the rest have two."<sup>138</sup> A candidate or convert who took a second wife by that act excluded himself from the congregation, and if he hoped for readmission, would have to put her away.<sup>139</sup> It is probable that the mission attitude was not understood - as one Eskimo said, having several wives meant nothing to his people, and so why did the missionaries not do as the Eskimos did?<sup>140</sup> Morality and marriage were not religious concerns to the Eskimos as they were to the Moravians, but secular matters of individual social relations, to which their attitude was dictated by tradition, and not by doctrine.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>135</sup>OD 10/4/91.

<sup>136</sup>OD 7-8/3/80.

<sup>137</sup>OD 12/10/83.

<sup>138</sup>OD 29/10/83.

<sup>139</sup>e.g. OD 23/12/94.

<sup>140</sup>OD 19/12/94.

<sup>141</sup>See W.H. Oswalt, Mission of Change in Alaska. Eskimos and Moravians on the Kuskokwim (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1963), p. 71.

The fewer contacts the converts had with the heathen, the less likelihood there would be of their becoming involved in disputes with them. When such disputes did arise, the missionaries forbade the usual practice of calling all the men together, and usually acted as arbitrators. In 1781, Tuglavina accused three baptised of plotting to murder him and demanded that a council of men be called. This was refused by the missionaries on the grounds that "Unbelievers were not be judges over Believers;" the converts were told that they must "quite leave off the old custom of calling all the men together, in order to speak of, and finish matters of this sort, as the Unbelievers had nothing to do and order in these matters."<sup>142</sup> In 1788, the Brethren arbitrated in a dispute between Tugalvina and two heathen, after preventing the former from calling all the men of Nukasusuktok to Nain, fearing that the baptised might become involved.<sup>143</sup>

In spite of all their care and protection the missionaries were unable to prevent contact between the baptised and the heathen. The converts had to leave the stations to hunt and it was during the dispersion of spring and summer that harmful contact with the heathen might most easily occur. Moreover, on their own, and far from the mission, the converts might voluntarily relapse into the old ways. Certainly after Turner's journeys inland the missionaries realised that they could not go hunting with the Eskimos, and had to rely on frequent visits so long as the people were accessible. The stationing of a Brother at Navisiorbik during the spring was considered at Okkak in 1777 but never seems to have been carried out.<sup>144</sup> There was no

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<sup>142</sup>ND 18/3/81.

<sup>144</sup>OD 16/9/77.

<sup>143</sup>ND 26/2/88.

attempt to prohibit long journeys, as seems to have been the case in Greenland,<sup>145</sup> although the missionaries did try to discourage the summer caribou hunt in favour of cod and trout fishing.<sup>146</sup> Members of the congregation were asked to give the missionaries a day's warning before leaving the station<sup>147</sup> and were encouraged to hunt together, to keep separate from the heathen, and to return as quickly as possible.<sup>148</sup> The missionaries, however, had no real control over the formation of hunting parties and were often distressed to see converts going off with heathen Eskimos.<sup>149</sup> Their fears were well founded and there was usually a grand reckoning at the speakings held in the autumn.

This danger emphasises the importance of the attempt to make the settlements economically viable<sup>150</sup> - if accomplished, it would make the converts economically independent of the heathen and remove some of the necessity for their long absences from the stations. Also, by preventing periods of famine through the storing of dried provisions for the winter, and by the efficient and regular exploitation of resources, visits to the heathen in order to eat might disappear. This would make the settled community a cohesive unit for the winter at least. It was recognised at Okkak, for instance, that if no whale were caught there in the autumn, the

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<sup>145</sup> Ostermann, History of the Mission, p. 295. The Moravians in Greenland, in competition with the Danish Lutheran Mission, seem to have been much more strict than those in Labrador.

<sup>146</sup> See above, p. 152.

<sup>147</sup> ND 2/11/76.

<sup>148</sup> ND 14/7/77, 16/4/81. HD 30/3/85.

<sup>149</sup> e.g. ND 28/7/77.

<sup>150</sup> See above, pp. 145-158.

converts would be "obliged to go to the Heathen, North of us."<sup>151</sup> Here they might not only join in lascivious festivities and games, but, worst of all, they might join in a séance held by an angakok. In such situations, the converts would "soon grow uneasy, and fear falls upon them, and if they let the old Fancies return upon them in which they have been bred up, they loose awhile their trust in our Saviour."<sup>152</sup>

So long as the sheep could not be kept apart from the goats, the former were advised to walk boldly and to make no secret of their conversion,<sup>153</sup> but to walk in groups, as then their chances of escaping spiritually unscathed were greater. The unbaptised certainly recognised that the converts were a special group, and relations between the two were by no means always friendly. The Brethren saw that "the Baptised were often mocked by the others,"<sup>154</sup> especially at times when the meetings were suspended, and the heathen would at times tell the missionaries if any of the baptised relapsed into the old ways.<sup>155</sup> It was noticed too that "the heathen take a peculiar pleasure in provoking the baptised to fight, and then laugh at them."<sup>156</sup> In the face of all this provocation, the Eskimos were told to turn the other cheek.<sup>157</sup> The antagonism was not only social; the angakut closely watched the converts' performance at hunting and if they were unsuccessful made a great "noise", ascribing failure to the converts' abandonment of "the Customs of their Nation."<sup>158</sup> There were cases of the heathen

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<sup>151</sup>OD 12/11/79.

<sup>152</sup>OD 24/1/79.

<sup>153</sup>OD 24/2/79.

<sup>154</sup>ND 20/10/80.

<sup>155</sup>OD 17/4/81. ND 9/2/82.

<sup>156</sup>OD 24/2/84.

<sup>157</sup>OD 16/10/79.

<sup>158</sup>OD 10/6/80.

deliberately misleading the baptised in order to get the advantage in the hunt. In December 1783, for instance, the Kivallekers told the Okkakers that since the new ice was too thin for sealing, they should wait for three days; the next day, however, it became known that the men of Kivallek and Uivak had been out on the ice and were trying to cheat the converts.<sup>159</sup> A similar occurrence was reported at Hopedale in 1790 when "the Arvertok people went to catch seals on the ice, but deceived our people by pretending they could not go. Thus the latter got nothing, and those of Arvertok were pretty successful."<sup>160</sup>

This kind of opposition seems to have been spasmodic and is probably most accurately interpreted as a series of attempts by the heathen to undermine the separate nature of the convert group. By making life unpleasant for the converts the heathen were encouraging them to return to the old traditional ways. The converts themselves had no inclination to cut themselves off from their fellows and continued to share game and feast with the unbelievers. It called for special comment in the Hopedale diary when, in 1784, Karpik of Arvertok refused to give a piece of a newly caught seal to a convert, saying,

You dont treat us any more with any feast etc and therefore you shall have none of my seals. This circumstance is the first of the kind in Labrador, and as we know that the feasting of the Esquimaux proves nothing but a snare to our baptised and candidates, for which reason we have prevented it, we are glad that by this means, that Connexion between our people and the Arvertok heathen will begin to cease, and the great hurt done thereby to the believers be diminished.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>159</sup>OD 14/12/83.

<sup>160</sup>HD 11/12/90.

<sup>161</sup>ND 17/11/84.

The baptised were usually invited by the heathen to join them at play-houses and other games, and the temptation was often hard to resist, for the mission provided no substitute for physical overindulgence.<sup>162</sup> Indeed, among the heathen there seems to have been less resentment against the converts than against the missionaries, who were the root cause of the disruption of the old ways. The resentment was, of course, most usually voiced by the angakut who tried "to persuade the Nation that **the Devil**, who was properly **their master**, did **punish them for having received us**."<sup>163</sup> At Arvertok, Karpik led a strong resistance to the Hopedale mission, telling the Brethren on one occasion, "This is my land and I am resolved not to quit it, but to remain in your neighbourhood: and you have cut down the wood, and thus dried up the springs; but you are not my commander, and I will watch your baptised."<sup>164</sup>

In 1786, Karpik and the Arvertokers made a determined attempt to reassert uniformity with the convert group. A council lasting three hours was held at Arvertok, to which all the baptised went. There the converts were made to confess all they had told the missionaries of "their heathenish ways and sinful practices" during the winter, and were made to promise that they would never again say anything about such matters, since it was "all alike, if they themselves liv'd in sin and vices if we [the missionaries] only heard nothing of it."<sup>165</sup> However, the mission was able to recover control. In 1789 all the baptised were called together and were asked not only

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<sup>162</sup>e.g. OD 7/1/91.

<sup>163</sup>OD 10/6/80.

<sup>164</sup>HD -/3/91.

<sup>165</sup>HD 12/4/86.

to leave off feasting and playing with the Arvertokers, but also to break the "impious bond" made with the heathen three years before. At length, the Brethren obtained an undertaking from each convert that he would break this promise, and avoid all "unnecessary Familiarity with the Heathen and especially with Karpik, who has ... complete Tyranny over them, by making them believe, that if they did not do the wicked things he had seduced them to, he would by his magic get the Torngak to kill them."<sup>166</sup>

The missionaries were on the horns of a dilemma; they were not going to make rice Christians out of the Eskimos by feeding them to stay at mission settlements, and so the converts must hunt for themselves. Yet if they hunted, they had to leave the congregation and would probably come into harmful contact with the heathen. The greatest possible segregation of the baptised from other Eskimos was desirable, but economically impossible. Moreover, for different reasons, both the converts and the missionaries wished to maintain contact with the heathen - the former because they could not at once throw off kinship ties and completely abjure their old habits, the latter because they aimed to evangelise all Eskimos, and because they needed the trade the heathen had to offer. Thus the complete segregation of the converts never occurred, and the congregations were composed of Eskimos who found themselves caught between two sets of rules, two ideologies, two social patterns. The one they could not completely forget, the other they could not completely accept, and it is not surprising that the congregations of the early years were small, and their members often the cause of grief to the missionaries.

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<sup>166</sup> HD 10/3/89. See also Kleivan, Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 73.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE PROGRESS OF THE SETTLED COMMUNITY AND THE REVIVAL OF 1804-1805

The first baptism on the Labrador coast did not occur until 1776, although the missionaries had been closed to baptising one man at the end of 1774. This was Manuina, who with his family has spent much of the winter of 1771-72 at Nain. Late in 1774 he fell very ill at his winter camp on Satorsoak and Haven and Jensen went to him, with permission to administer baptism if they thought fit. They decided at length not to do so; Manuina had no idea of the meaning of the sacrament and although the people in the house called on Jesus, they were still heathen. Manuina was bedecked with bird claws and the missionaries believed he could not be baptised in this "trumpery." Moreover, "the first baptism amongst this people should be administered with becoming respect so as to create an impression on all who were present and not appear to them as a form or custom."<sup>1</sup> After long talks with Manuina, Haven laid his hand on his head and prayed and a few days later Lister and Frech went to sing and speak with him.<sup>2</sup> He died on January 12th, 1775, and the missionaries believed that the Lord would care for him.<sup>3</sup>

In October 1775, one of the Eskimos from the Satorsoak camp, a young angakok named Kingminguse, was admitted as a candidate for baptism with the approval of the lot.<sup>4</sup> As he had caught plenty of caribou the previous summer Kingminguse went back inland. However, a sled from his

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<sup>1</sup>ND 25/12/74.

<sup>2</sup>ND 29/12/74.

<sup>3</sup>ND 12/1/75.

<sup>4</sup>ND 21/10/75.

camp late in January brought the news that Jesus was a constant topic of conversation there, and after his return to Nain in February, the lot gave permission for his baptism.<sup>5</sup> On February 18th Kingminguse was called before the elders of the mission and told of this decision. He declared his renunciation of the traditional beliefs and gave his promise not to forsake the congregation of believers, nor to disobey his teacher. The consecration of the chapel, built in the summer of 1773, had been postponed until there should be a baptism and so the next day, the baptism of Kingminguse followed the service of dedication. Appropriately, he was given the name of Peter, and was "quite overpowered" by the ceremony. Other Eskimos present were "much moved;" "Akbick, a rough kind of man, said with emotion, 'I felt someting within me (probably a divine awe) and I also long to be baptised.'"<sup>6</sup>

This baptism certainly caused a stir among the Nuneingoak. Peter left Nain for Kernertok where he declared that he would no longer be called ~~Kingminguse~~ and the Brethren who went with him reported that the Eskimos there were roused and interested. Even Tuglavina and Mikak came to Nain to tell the missionaries that they wished to be converted.<sup>7</sup> In 1776, for the first time in Labrador, Easter was celebrated at Nain in the traditional Moravian manner with the playing of French horns and the dawn service at the burial ground; this service, almost as much as the baptism, had a "singular effect" on the Eskimos and helped maintain the esthusiasm and interest started in February.<sup>8</sup> In July there were about two hundred Eskimos

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<sup>5</sup>ND 25/1/76, 15/2/76, 17/2/76.

<sup>6</sup>ND 19/2/76.

<sup>7</sup>ND 26/2/76, 8/3/76.

<sup>8</sup>ND 7/4/76.

at Nain and Peter continued an exemplary convert, testifying in Eskimo meetings. The lot approved the taking of three more candidates for baptism, Peter's wife and another married couple.<sup>9</sup> However, Tuglavina had already fallen by the wayside; he abandoned Mikak and took another man's wife and the missionaries "were obliged to tell him that he could have no fellowship with us, nor come to our house, till he should be changed in earnest."<sup>10</sup>

The religious enthusiasm of the first half of 1776 evaporated during the summer months, and Peter's career from this time shows the many problems that faced a convert. Being the first Eskimo to be baptised, Peter's position was perhaps more difficult than that of subsequent converts, but his problems were essentially the same. In August he went inland to hunt caribou, and when his wife fell sick, called in the angakut Tuglavina and Kannigak to cure her. Peter confessed this relapse to the missionaries on his return to the coast<sup>11</sup> but did not choose to winter at Nain. The Brethren were distressed, "but yet we were scrupulous of giving him any positive Directions on that head, for if he should follow our Directions, and not procure his Sustenance, he might impute it to having followed our Advice."<sup>12</sup> When they saw Peter again, in January 1777, they were glad to find that he "had kept close to our Saviour,"<sup>13</sup> but that summer he fell once again. In spite of the missionaries' admonition to

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<sup>9</sup>ND 20, 27/7/76.

<sup>10</sup>ND 10/5/76.

<sup>11</sup>ND 25/10/76.

<sup>12</sup>ND 1/11/76.

<sup>13</sup>ND 7/1/77.

stay away from the heathen during the caribou hunt, he went inland with Tuglavina. The Brethren feared the worst - "any connection with this man may prove hurtful to our people" - and their fears were justified.<sup>14</sup> Exactly what happened is not known, but late in November the missionaries spoke with Peter, "who during the hunting season had quite gone from his heart and had taken such courses that we were obliged to tell him that we could not acknowledge him as our brother or admit him to the meetings of the believers."<sup>15</sup> Although Peter did not go inland in the summer of 1778, he was not able to convince the missionaries of true contrition until August 1779, when he was readmitted to the classes of the baptised.<sup>16</sup>

In Peter's case, readmission did not mean that he had managed to exorcise the old Adam. The familiar pattern soon reappeared; he wintered at Nain in 1779-80<sup>17</sup> but went inland the following summer.<sup>18</sup> On his way back to Nain in the autumn and during the winter there he began to "conjure" over the sick, though the missionaries did not find out about it until March 1781.<sup>19</sup> In consequence Peter had to ask for pardon openly in the meeting of baptised and candidates. His wife fell sick again the following summer and once more Peter had recourse to magic, although he did his best to hide the fact from the missionaries. As the sickness worsened, so did his reliance on the old ways increase, and the mission withheld all help until Peter broke down and confessed.<sup>20</sup> His behaviour after this incident seems to have been

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<sup>14</sup>ND 14/7/77, 28/7/77.

<sup>15</sup>ND 29/11/77.

<sup>16</sup>ND 27/7/78, 21/8/79.

<sup>17</sup>ND 6/11/79.

<sup>18</sup>ND 1/8/80.

<sup>19</sup>ND 8,9/3/81.

<sup>20</sup>ND 23/8/81, 3,6,14/9/81.

satisfactory until the winter of 1782-83 which he spent at Nukasusuktok. This was the winter following Tuglavina's return from Chateau Bay with a gun and an invitation from the "commander" there for the Eskimos to visit him.<sup>21</sup> Peter became infected with the general restlessness, and after telling the Brethren that he felt nothing of Jesus, left for the south in the summer.<sup>22</sup>

Peter spent two winters in the south<sup>23</sup> and returned to the north in the summer of 1785. He told the Brethren that he had virtually ceased thinking about Jesus and he seems to have resumed his trade as an angakok. Two missionaries had a long talk with him in October 1786 when Peter said that he was afraid to come back to the congregation; when he saw others, baptised after him, continuing in the faith, he was ashamed.<sup>24</sup> This conversation may have been the occasion for Bishop Spangenberg to write "a touching private letter ... imploring him to return to the Lord ... On hearing it read to him, he remarked that all was true that was written there."<sup>25</sup> However, Peter seems never to have humbled himself, and a report in 1792 that he was at Nukasusuktok, "sunk in heathenism,"<sup>26</sup> is the last reference to him in the mission records.

The difficulties of Peter's position were too much for him: the loss of his position in the native society, and the desire to regain it by practicing as an angakok; the inability to stay with the new ways in times of stress or when far from the mission; the temptations offered by the

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<sup>21</sup> See above, pp. 132-133.

<sup>22</sup> ND 25/3/83.

<sup>23</sup> ND 27/7/84, 6/9/84.

<sup>24</sup> ND 28/10/86.

<sup>25</sup> History of the Mission of the Church of the United Brethren in Labrador for the past Hundred Years, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> ND 13/4/92.

southern traders; the difficulty of humility, of coming back to a congregation of which he had been the first but lost sheep. The steady convert was the exception rather than the rule; most were unable to renounce the past completely and "their roving turn," which was "a great hinderance to any steadiness, requisite to recollect themselves and turn to the Lord."<sup>27</sup> Peter was an orphan<sup>28</sup> but most converts had family connections with the heathen by which too they were "frequently led astray."<sup>29</sup>

The ties of kinship were one reason why the Eskimo congregations remained so small in size until the early nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup> People might be touched by the Gospel, but "they are still so attached to their large family connexions that they cannot so soon disengage themselves at present."<sup>31</sup> Indeed, most of the factors causing converts to vacillate and relapse can be used to explain the slow progress of the mission congregations - the attraction of the south, the economic, ideological and social demands of the mission, the continuing power of the angakut, the unwillingness of the Eskimos to admit that the old ways had been bad and fraudulent. It is not surprising therefore that the missionaries found it difficult to maintain their faith in the ultimate success of their enterprise.

The Labrador mission had been sanctioned by the lot, which gave the missionaries the assurance that they were fulfilling a part of the Lord's plan. They came, too, in the belief that the Lord always sent his servants into an area prepared for them in advance: "Wherever the brethren find an entrance with the Gospel among the heathen, there they are by God's grace

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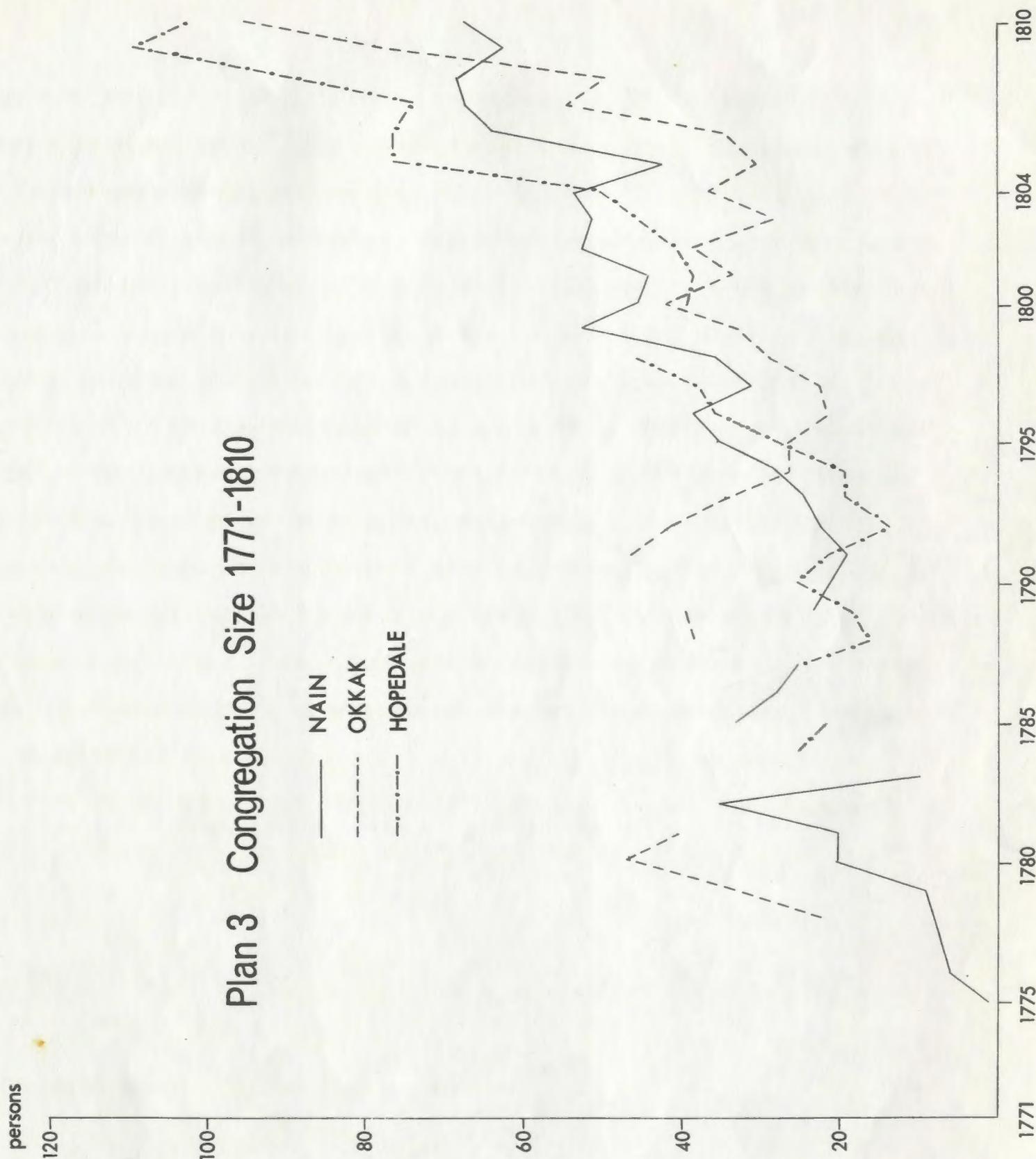
<sup>27</sup> OD 4/8/91.

<sup>28</sup> ND 18/2/76.

<sup>29</sup> Okkak to S.F.G., Aug. 19, 1794. PA I:247.

<sup>30</sup> See Plan 3, p. 207, and Appendix IV, p. 238.

<sup>31</sup> ND 28/3/85.



Plan 3 Congregation Size 1771-1810

already prepared to receive it."<sup>32</sup> In Labrador the missionaries' certainty of success was put to a hard test; in the first seventeen years they baptised only ninety-eight adults and forty-two children,<sup>33</sup> and at no time before 1790 did a congregation consist of more than forty-seven members of whom many were usually children. Yet even the smallest success was enough to reassure the Moravians that "our Saviour has thought of peace towards these poor heathen; doubtful as the prospect of their conversion may at times appear."<sup>34</sup> Their spirits could be raised by a Christmas Eve Lovefeast, for example, when the congregation would assemble in their new caribou skin clothes - "At such occasions we too take fresh courage that the dear Saviour will fulfill His purpose with these people after all."<sup>35</sup> But their courage had to be consciously maintained, and the fear of failure was often at the back of their minds, only to be quickly stifled with the thought that the Lord could not let them work in vain, and that they must submit to his mysterious purposes -

The Nations rage and devils roar  
The slaughtered Lamb we'll still adore.<sup>36</sup>

The missionaries viewed their little flock with sadness; not only was it full of backsliders, but there was very little evidence of true religion. The Eskimos remained incorrigably materially minded -

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<sup>32</sup> Spangenberg, Account of the Manner in which the ... United Brethren preach the Gospel . . . ., p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Turner to LaTrobe, Sept. 8, 1790. PAC A 568.

<sup>34</sup> ND 31/12/77.

<sup>35</sup> OD 24/12/93.

<sup>36</sup> Appended to Hopedale Diary for 1783-84.

When they are pinched with hunger they are so tame ... you may wind them round your little finger. Then they are all set upon Conversion. But let them have enough to eat, and they can be as proud and haughty as any Nation in the World.<sup>37</sup>

They had "no care for the Gospel, until by a succeeding scarcity of provisions they are cured of their wantonness."<sup>38</sup> It was difficult for the missionaries to know which was worse - the difficulties of a food shortage, which at least made the Eskimos more receptive to the Gospel, or the difficulties of plenty, when there were fewer ears to hear, and a great tendency towards sinful diversions.

Moravian Christianity was a religion of the heart; and although hard hearts might be softened temporarily by hunger, the more usual complaint was that the heart never entered into the Eskimos' religious activities. They thought, apparently, that "much depends on knowing a great deal, though they are often told that is not the point."<sup>39</sup> It was much more important that the potential convert's heart should be moved by the Holy Spirit than that he should know doctrine, and so the missionaries were distressed that "Many of the Esquimaux take pains to learn hymns, and when they have done this and can sing them, they imagine they are then all they ought to be, and can't conceive why we do not think in the same manner."<sup>40</sup> Early on the missionaries noticed that the Eskimos liked to sing and Christianity was taught them largely by means of hymns and verses.<sup>41</sup> The schools, for instance, concentrated on the memorisation of verses and hymns, which can

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<sup>37</sup>ND 30/6/88.

<sup>38</sup>ND 31/12/77.

<sup>39</sup>OD 3/2/78.

<sup>40</sup>ND 20/12/78.

<sup>41</sup>ND 11/10/71, 12/1/72. Hutton to Hillsborough, 1772. LA 5.

only have strengthened the tendency to assume that learning was all that was necessary to become a Christian - especially as "by the word praying they properly mean singing."<sup>42</sup> Realising that the schools might be at fault, the missionaries prayed that "all ... might not only learn these things by rote, but experience the power thereof in their hearts."<sup>43</sup>

Cold hearts were not very forthcoming in bands or speakings. The Eskimos were "all very friendly and confident but as soon as they are led to things of the heart, one finds nothing or very little with most of them;"<sup>44</sup> "they are not apt to make the enquiry."<sup>45</sup> Hence, perhaps, the importance which the missionaries placed on tears. If an Eskimo wept, it was surely a sign that the Holy Spirit had melted an icy heart. "This does not come of itself among the Esquimaux," noted the Okkak Brethren in 1778, "but the Holy Ghost is certainly at work on such a soul."<sup>46</sup> In the winter of 1778-79, Okkak was "awakened," and Rhodes, on a visit from Nain, said

'This is the first time that I see gentle Tears on the Cheeks of all the Esquimaux in the meeting, during the 7 years I have been in Labrador.' God be praised, this is no vanity here, especially when we converse with them in private, when it is sometimes not possible for us to refrain from weeping with them.<sup>47</sup>

Compared to Wesleyans, the Moravians were "still brethren," but they were not undemonstrative; weeping was the one outward manifestation of religious emotion they allowed themselves in an age when tears were not uncommon.<sup>48</sup> In

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<sup>42</sup>OD 23/9/77.

<sup>43</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Oct. 3, 1803. PA III:250. Cf. Kleivan, Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 80.

<sup>44</sup>OD 22/11/93.

<sup>45</sup>ND 20/12/78. See above, p.

<sup>46</sup>OD 30/8/78.

<sup>47</sup>OD 15/2/79.

<sup>48</sup>Knox, Enthusiasm, pp. 410-411.

shedding "gentle tears" the Eskimos were probably copying the missionaries, and since in religious matters the Eskimos knew "how to dissemble better than one would imagine,"<sup>49</sup> weeping was probably an unreliable indicator of spiritual progress.

It is not surprising that the missionaries looked eagerly for any sign of the work of the Holy Spirit during the long years when enthusiasm was exceptional, and "remarkable lukewarmness and indifference towards our Saviour"<sup>50</sup> the general rule. They were instructed in 1771 to look on every "spark of Grace ... as of the utmost importance, and follow the Track close,"<sup>51</sup> and were perhaps ready to see such sparks when there were none. One Brother admitted as much when he wrote that it was

not to be denied that we committed many mistakes, though with the best intentions, in our treatment of individuals. They became candidates for baptism and were admitted in some cases to the Holy Communion without having been truly awakened. We are ready to allow, that they had often strong religious feelings and convictions ... but solidly awakened they were not. It may be asked, why we did not take more pains to ascertain their true state of heart, and all we can reply is that we did not rightly understand the matter, that we were working in a kind of twilight or dawn. We knew indeed, how the grace of God had wrought in ourselves, but we were ignorant, to what extent a heathen might be affected by a real awakening and mourning on account of sin and the enjoyment of the love of Jesus in the heart; for we had never seen and conversed with a thoroughly converted Eskimo. Many a time we were made anxious by the duplicity and relapses into sin of the baptised, and our Saviour knows best, what distress and perplexity were thereby occasioned us, little as we were able, with all our care and watchfulness, to prevent what we so greatly deplored.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>HD 29/6/86.

<sup>50</sup>Okkak to S.F.G., Nov. 19, 1792. PA I:160.

<sup>51</sup>Instructions for our dear Brethren and Sisters .... 1771. Mor. Mss., p. 3612.

<sup>52</sup>History of the Mission ...., pp. 29-30. PA XVII:69.

The Brethren were assuming, in other words, that conversion would take the same form among Eskimos as it would among Europeans, forgetting that the latter had been raised in a Christian atmosphere, and even if they were not deeply religious, were at least familiar with Christian doctrine and practice. The Moravian doctrine of conversion as a sudden and complete experience<sup>53</sup> might fit a European context, but not that of Labrador, where the ideas of Christianity were so strange and new.

Not understanding the time needed for the Eskimos to adjust to a new ideology and way of life, the missionaries were obviously impatient for results, and admitted Eskimos to the congregations who were not completely changed by conversion. However, they did have, in theory, a check in the form of the lot. Those who were baptised were "pointed out" by the lot since only the Saviour could really see into their hearts,<sup>54</sup> and how the Moravians rationalised the failure of the lot to point out "solidly awakened" converts is not known. The Lord cannot have been mistaken - probably the Moravians thought that in their blindness they had not understood that the conversion of an Eskimo would be a gradual process, and that the lot had been pointing out those whom the Holy Spirit had begun to awaken.

While the use of the lot could only increase the missionaries' perplexity at their slow progress, it was in part responsible for the small congregations. It prevented the missionaries from baptising as they thought fit, often with regard to candidates of long standing and good record. It also must have made the missionaries' choice of converts seem curiously

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<sup>53</sup>See above, pp. 16-17.

<sup>54</sup>OD 18/12/78.

capricious to the Eskimos. There are several references to "great emotion" among the candidates when some of their number were selected for baptism; those left out were sometimes upset, sometimes angry. They wished to be baptised, why should they not be so?<sup>55</sup> Refusal of baptism may have driven some families away from the stations and back to their heathen kindred, since it would have seemed inconsistent for the missionaries to preach the doctrine of the availability of salvation to all men, and then refuse the means of salvation in an arbitrary manner to many.

The realisation of the Moravians that they should have been prepared for a gradual process of change during the early years came in the nineteenth century, after they had at last achieved success. Their basic mistake before 1804 was the failure to recognise the immensity of the changes demanded of the Eskimos and the expectation that the changes could be made fairly quickly. The mission saw in its own system the only sensible, rational and civilised way of life; that the Eskimos failed at once to concur was due in part to the machinations of the Devil, and in part to the Eskimos' stupidity<sup>56</sup> and laziness. They were to be pitied and to be shown by example and through sermons that they had been living under great delusion. Surely, the light must then break; no rational man could fail to see the superior worth and the evident truth and rightness of Christianity as practiced by the Moravians. There was little attempt to bridge the cultural gap between the mission and the Eskimos; there could be no compromise, no attempt to explain Christianity in any but western concepts. Christianity was a total way of life and thought, a sacred body of truth, that must infallibly be accepted, although at times the prospect seemed dim.

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<sup>55</sup>e.g. OD 18/12/78, 22/9/79, 21/11/79.

<sup>56</sup>OD 31/12/83.

The missionaries' divine self-confidence, as much as their concept of conversion, made them unappreciative of the time that adjustment would take from the heathen nomadic band to the Christian settled community. The transition could not be an easy one, since the mission was, in fact, a causing and aggravating economic and social dislocation in traditional Eskimo society. The traditional economic pattern had been upset to some extent before the arrival of the mission by Eskimo contact with European fishermen and traders in southern Labrador.<sup>57</sup> The Eskimos of Arvertok, and those of Nuneingoak and Kivallek to a lesser extent, had become accustomed to travelling to the south in the summers, and new prestige symbols had been introduced in the form of wooden boats and iron goods. They had been introduced also to the concept of dealing with a trader, which had a further disruptive effect, since "as soon as an individual begins to sell his products to a trader, he must unavoidably break with traditional socio-economic obligations."<sup>58</sup> The availability of European goods, and the developing need for them, could lead to competition between Eskimos for merchandise attractive to a trader and undermine traditional concepts of sharing. The Moravians brought the trader to the Eskimos' metaphorical doorstep and thus stimulated and reinforced an existing economic change. It is interesting to find examples of Eskimos in the 1790's finding a dead whale, and wanting the bone for themselves, failing to inform the other members of their camp.<sup>59</sup> Obviously, a new attitude towards saleable articles was beginning to develop, although the old pattern concerning food remained.

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<sup>57</sup> See above, pp. 28-33.

<sup>58</sup> Kleivan, Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 42.

<sup>59</sup> OD 13/5/91, 20/1/94.

The trader could cause some disruption in traditional habits of economic cooperation and, so long as there was contact with the south, there was disruption in the usual seasonal pattern of resource exploitation; but a far greater shock was given to Eskimo society by the creation of fixed settlements. By reserving the right to choose who lived with them, the missionaries neglected

All the traditional ideas which normally determined patterns of co-residence and social solidarity .... 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 neighbour and as a partner in economic activities.<sup>60</sup>

By bringing into existence a special and distinct Eskimo group of converts, the mission was breaking up the cultural solidarity of Eskimo society. Ideally, the converts followed a different, more rational economy geared to the needs of settlement, and were supposed to organise life as a group apart. More than this, they were a separate kin-group, which followed, or was supposed to follow, a different set of social and religious rules. Since the segregation of the converts was by no means perfect, the differences between them and their heathen countrymen were not always clear-cut and obvious. They were distinguished, however, by their comparatively close alliance with the missionaries, their new seasonal pattern, and the lip-service at least which they paid to an alien set of social and religious values. Neither the heathen nor the baptised were satisfied that such differences existed, and at times acted as if they did not; but the influence of the missionaries was such that the converts were made conscious of their being a group apart and so their effect of dislocating society as a whole was maintained.

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<sup>60</sup>Kleivan, Eskimos of Northeast Labrador, p. 29.

The broad cultural consensus was broken, indeed, from the time that a mission station was built and a few converts collected around it. The situation could never be stabilised because of the evangelical nature of the mission, which was an aggressive alternative to the old system, always seeking new converts and trying to discredit the angakut and all they represented. The mission could not provide any impressive economic advantages for its adherents, besides the proximity of a trading store, but

What the Moravians did have ... was the resolute conviction that only through their form of Christianity could eternal salvation be realised. They were absolutely certain of their deity's power; they were precise about what constituted good Christian behaviour; and they were willing to help each individual Eskimo toward salvation. Positive attitudes of this nature must have profoundly impressed the Eskimos, for they knew that their old belief system did not always succeed. The forceful Moravian arguments against sin and the threat of eternal hell were probably powerful weapons in the missionaries' spiritual kit.<sup>61</sup>

The Moravian approach to evangelisation was diverse and well organised, in contrast to the individual and competitive rearguard actions fought by the angakut; it was persistent, permanent, and based on the absolute certainty that they were doing God's will and preaching the only truth.<sup>62</sup>

The missionaries were developing uncertainty among the Eskimos with regard to the traditionally accepted standards and values, and at the same time, building up a group that was in, but not of Eskimo society, over which they had a high degree of control. The mission, therefore, developed

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<sup>61</sup>Oswalt, Mission of Change in Alaska, p. 79.

<sup>62</sup>See Oswalt, Mission of Change in Alaska, pp. 71, 101, 153.

and fostered anomie in Eskimo society in the period before 1804, by creating a state of social disorganisation in which old groups, as well as formerly accepted standards and values, broke down. The search for a new cultural consensus first took the form of the heathen attempting to undermine the apartness of the convert group, but it was the mission, by its permanence and its influence which was to reestablish social uniformity.

The "Sifting Season" gradually ended after the last significant movement to the south in 1791.<sup>63</sup> The mission at last began to gain ground during the 1790's, culminating in the "revival" of 1804-1805, as if the Eskimos unconsciously felt that social solidarity would have to be reestablished, and that since to fight the mission was a losing battle, the only solution lay in the acceptance of the Moravian system. In this period, too, a generation was growing up to whom the mission was part of the accepted scene, and who were familiar with Christian doctrine and practice through attendance at the mission schools. They had also been instructed in the "delusions" of Satan<sup>64</sup> and probably had less respect for the angakut than their parents. The mission attack had in any case been effective in emphasising the unreliability of the angakut, and during the 1780's there are mentions of them excusing their failure by saying that they had lost their torngak, or that he had fled up country.<sup>65</sup> The lesser angakut were

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<sup>63</sup> See above, pp. 135, 139.

<sup>64</sup> Nain to S.F.G., Sept. 16, 1791. PA I:88.

<sup>65</sup> e.g. OD 2/8/84.

forced out of business by the mission, but it was not until the 1790's that the missions' more powerful opponents either died, or accepted the new ways.

Uiverunna, the leader of the Kivallek group, maintained an obdurate opposition to the Okkak mission throughout the 1790's, and probably seriously impeded the work of evangelisation in the area. But Tuglavina, that "great disturber of the peace of the Mission, and seducer of many converts,"<sup>66</sup> came to Nain in 1790 and was given permission to live there.<sup>67</sup> Although he relapsed into bad habits during the autumn of 1792, he repented, and was received into the congregation on Christmas Day 1793, on the condition that he put away his second wife whom he had taken after his baptism in Chateau Bay ten years previously.<sup>68</sup> After this, in spite of some harassment from his "heathen acquaintance," Tuglavina stood firm; he became a communicant in 1795, and died in October 1798, "in the most gentle manner, attended by the missionaries with prayer and the singing of suitable hymns."<sup>69</sup> Mikak came to Nain to die in 1795, and even she made a suitably edifying departure.<sup>70</sup> At Arvertok, Karpik continued to oppose the Hopedale mission until November 1799, when

A remarkable atmospheric phenomenon ... made a singularly deep impression on his mind. Almost beside himself with terror he hurried to the brethren at Hopedale, roused the Eskimoes from their sleep, and cried out in great anxiety:

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<sup>66</sup>An Account of Tuglavina's life, PA I:254-6.

<sup>67</sup>ND 15/11/90.

<sup>68</sup>ND 25/12/93.

<sup>69</sup>"Extracts from the last Diaries received from the Coast of Labrador," (1798-99) PA II:435.

<sup>70</sup>"Account of the Esquimaux Mikak," PA II:170.

'Let us all turn to the Lord with our whole heart, and be converted.' With thankful hearts the missionaries embraced the opportunity to show him his sinful condition in the sight of God, and direct him to the Saviour.<sup>71</sup>

From this time onward, Karpik was no enemy to the mission, which had gained a valuable and influential ally.

In spite of the fact that the mission was beginning to gain the upper hand by the mid 1790's, the size of the congregations remained small, and their spiritual condition often poor. This was especially true at Okkak, once the most successful station, but now making the least progress. Given the large population of the area, the opposition of Uiverunna, and the busy trade carried on with Eskimos from the north, the Okkak converts were the least protected of all the congregations. The Okkak reports mention year after year that the flock was constantly relapsing into heathenism, and that the work of evangelism was slow, and bore little fruit. The task of the missionaries there was made no easier by the numerous epidemics that broke out. Such illnesses eventually became common to all the stations, but in the eighteenth century they seem to have been most usual at Okkak. In 1790 the Brethren wrote that "of late years ... in the last half of August and beginning of September there are epidemical disorders of different kinds rife in this country."<sup>72</sup> The prevalence of sickness encouraged the converts to revert to the old ways, and discouraged heathen from moving to Okkak. For instance in 1805, a group of Nachvak Eskimos refused to come to

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<sup>71</sup>History of the Mission...., pp. 30-31. A letter from Hopedale in 1800 (Hopedale to S.F.G., Oct. 8, 1800. PA II:473.) mentions "a singular appearance in the sky" in January, 1800. It is not clear whether this is the same phenomenon which so impressed Karpik.

<sup>72</sup>OD 1/9/90.

Okkak partly on the grounds that some people died of disease there every summer - "this we could not well contradict."<sup>73</sup>

Although Nain was not a good hunting place, it was fairly well insulated from heathen Eskimos to the north and south, and the missionaries there had<sup>only</sup> to deal with the obdurate unbaptised in the immediate area of the station. Once the wanderings to the south began to stop, and Tuglavina came to live at Nain, the mission began to make slow but fairly steady progress. An epidemic which lasted from December 1796 to March 1797 caused a set-back<sup>74</sup> but on the whole the missionaries could report that they were making headway, and by the winter of 1798-99, there were only a few families of heathen left in the neighbourhood; these decreased significantly when in December 1800 the angakok Sigsikak came with his "whole numerous family" from Nukasusuktok to Nain.<sup>75</sup>

Of all the congregations, it was that at Hopedale which seemed to be the most promising during the 1790's and the early 1800's. During the 1780's the missionaries had despaired of Hopedale, and some at least had been willing to close the mission there,<sup>76</sup> but subsequent events were to vindicate William Turner's faith that the Saviour would "never suffer all to be lost, that is baptised there into his Death."<sup>77</sup> From the winter of 1791-92 the Hopedale missionaries were reporting favourably on their small flock and with greater enthusiasm than those at Nain. The number of

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<sup>73</sup>"Extracts of Diaries received from ... Labrador; chiefly relating to ... 1805 and 1806." PA IV:126.

<sup>74</sup>Nain to S.F.G., Aug. 26, 1797. PA II:127.

<sup>75</sup>Nain to S.F.G., Sept. 11, 1799. PA II:327. Nain to S.F.G., Aug. 15, 1801. PA III:12.

<sup>76</sup>See above, pp. 118-120.

<sup>77</sup>Turner to Moore, Sept. 9, 1790. PAC A 568.

heathen in the immediate neighbourhood was not large and was concentrated within easy reach of the mission at Arvertok under the sway of Karpik. The atmospheric phenomenon that startled him also upset the Arvertokers, who interpreted the "Fiery rays and balls" as announcing the end of the world - "nor did we pretend to contradict them, but took that opportunity to represent how needful it was to be prepared."<sup>78</sup> This event started a "manifest work of God and His Spirit" among all the Eskimos under mission influence to the extent that they attended meetings in preference to going out to hunt. The awakening continued throughout the following two winters (1800-1801, 1801-1802), and was "more manifest than ever" in 1803.<sup>79</sup>

Eighty Eskimos wintered at Hopedale in 1803-04, an unprecedentedly large number for that station. At the end of December 1803, Kohlmeister preached a sermon on the text "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke XIX:10.) which had a great effect on a young widow "of bad character."

Immediately after the meeting she hastened to a solitary glen, and, falling on her knees, cried aloud to Jesus .... She received on the spot an assurance, that her sins were forgiven her, and, returning home, she related to her companions, with tears of joy and gratitude, what God had done for her soul.... This account, and the happiness which beamed in her eyes, made a powerful impression on three other women who lived with her, and who had never before heard of such an experience. They were all greatly moved, and were likewise awakened to new life, making the same joyful experience as the poor widow.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Oct. 8, 1800. PA II:473.

<sup>79</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Oct. 3, 1803. PA III:250.

<sup>80</sup>"Memoir of Br. Benj. Gottlieb Kohlmeister," PA VII:249. Published separately (London: S.F.G., 1845), p. 17.

These women had only been baptised about a year, but their example was sufficient to begin a religious movement which by February 1804 had assumed the character of a "general and powerful awakening" which spread throughout the settlement.<sup>81</sup> Many came voluntarily to the missionaries to confess their sins; the church was full, and in every house families prayed, sang, and wept:

it was, indeed, a Pentecost, such as the Labrador Missionaries had never before witnessed, when, after thirty-three years of patient waiting, the promises of God began to be fulfilled, according to the Daily Word which cheered them, when they first set foot upon this coast: 'Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of Thy inheritance.'<sup>82</sup>

When the Eskimos returned to Hopedale in the autumn of 1804 after the dispersion of spring and summer, the missionaries found that there had been no slackening in the religious enthusiasm, and that the "work of the Holy Ghost" had progressed, especially among the women. During the winter of 1804-05, the Eskimos had "both in the morning and evening, prayer and singing in all the families; and both then and on other occasions they edify each other in a manner, that moves us [the missionaries] to tears of gratitude."<sup>83</sup> In December, Karpik was baptised by the name of Thomas, and "The ferocious and terrific [sic] countenance of this late monster of iniquity [was] now converted into a mild, gentle aspect."<sup>84</sup> In February 1805,

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<sup>81</sup>"Extract of the Diary of Hopedale on the Coast of Labrador," (1803-4) PA III:336.

<sup>82</sup>Memoir of Kohlmeister, p. 17. See also History of the Mission...., pp. 31-32.

<sup>83</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Sept. 10, 1805. PA III:458.

<sup>84</sup>"Extracts of Diaries received from ... Labrador; chiefly relating to ... 1805 and 1806." PA IV:126.

while the heavenly fire was still burning bright, two young Nain Eskimos named Siksagak and Kapik arrived on a visit. The former had separated from his baptised wife, and intended to take her back to her mother who lived in Hopedale. However,

on their arrival ... both were arrested by the power of the Lord, and convinced that they were lost and hell-deserving sinners. They heard the conversations of their converted countrymen with surprize; and the prayers of Siksagak's mother ... pierced him to the heart .... Now these two wild youths, who but lately had made a mockery of the tears shed by such as were moved and affected by the gospel, began themselves to weep and mourn their own lost condition .... They now returned to Nain .... Immediately on their arrival they came and related to us [the missionaries] with an ingenuousness and sincerity never before known among Esquimaux, how the almighty power of Jesus had awakened them.<sup>85</sup>

The testimony of these two men caused an awakening at Nain similar to that at Hopedale and the Eskimos came spontaneously to the missionaries to confess their sins amid a welter of tears. From Nain, the movement spread to Okkak; in May, June and July, Nain Eskimos visited Okkak and going from tent to tent described all that had happened to them during the winter. Once again, the pattern repeated itself; the missionaries saw

all the people now living on our land come of their own accord, and with many tears of contrition, declare their determination to part with everything that would separate them from Jesus. Nor are they satisfied, till they have wholly unburdened their consciences of those things which torment them.<sup>86</sup>

Some Okkak Eskimos were so affected by the revival that they decided to move to its fount at Hopedale, and in the summer of 1805 three families, joined

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<sup>85</sup>Nain to S.F.G., Aug. 31, 1805. PA III:450.

<sup>86</sup>"Extracts of Diaries received from ... Labrador; chiefly relating to ... 1805 and 1806." PA IV:126.

by four from Nain, moved south.<sup>87</sup> Such a situation was unprecedented in Labrador and the Nain Brethren spoke for all the surprised and thankful missionaries when they wrote:

Thus our waiting upon the Lord has not been in vain, and the want of faith, which sometimes made us almost despair of success, has been put to shame. The Lord himself has kindled a fire, by which the hard hearts of the Esquimaux, harder by nature than the rocks they inhabit, and colder than the frozen ocean around them, have been melted and softened .... Thus the many prayers offered up, and tears shed, by our Brethren and Sisters in Labrador, on account of the Esquimaux nation, begin, after 34 years, to show fruit; and we now often encourage each other, to pray our Saviour to give us the needful grace, strength, and gifts, to declare the gospel unto them, and so to fill our hearts with His love, that we may lead and serve His sheep, so as to promote their growth in grace, and in His love and knowledge.<sup>88</sup>

The revival of 1804-1805 was not an isolated occurrence and did not die out as suddenly as it had arisen. In time, of course, "the excited feelings calmed down, but the fruits of the Spirit's work remained unaltered; the congregations increased in grace and knowledge, as well as in number."<sup>89</sup> Along the coast, up to and including the Okkak area, a new cultural consensus was established. In a sudden emotional convulsion the Eskimos neutralised the disruptive effect of the mission by accepting its ideology and way of life, by reestablishing uniformity. The revival was a total rejection of the old ways, symbolised at Nain by the women bringing their ornaments to the missionaries; "They did this quite of their own accord, for we never begin to

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<sup>87</sup>Hopedale to S.F.G., Sept. 10, 1805, PA III:458.

<sup>88</sup>Nain to S.F.G., Aug. 31, 1805. PA III:450.

<sup>89</sup>History of the Mission . . . ., p. 34.

find fault with their dress."<sup>90</sup> Some heathen still remained in the vicinity of the mission stations but their position had become as isolated as that of the converts in the earlier years and it was only a matter of time before they either came to the mission, moved to the north, or died out. The Okkak missionaries still had much contact with heathen Eskimos but by the winter of 1805-06, only Uiverunna was left at Kivallek, trying desperately to regain his position by saying that he had power to kill by means of his torngak.<sup>91</sup> Further south, there were groups of heathen at Nukasuktok, Ukkusiksalik (Davis Inlet), and Kippokak, who seem to have maintained some connection with traders and settlers in Hamilton Inlet or further south. These groups caused no trouble to the mission, which became more concerned with consolidating its success with the vast majority of Eskimos.<sup>92</sup>

It is not very fruitful to speculate on why the revival happened exactly where and when it did. The most that can be said is that it was more likely to begin at Hopedale or Nain than at Okkak, and that it coincided with a period when the journies to the south had largely ceased, when a new generation of Eskimos was growing up, and when the disruptive effect of the mission was becoming acutely felt. That the mission took over thirty years to achieve success can be explained by the failure at first of the reservation policy, which was designed to keep Eskimos in the north, and the novelty of

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<sup>90</sup>"Extracts of Diaries received from the Brethrens' settlements on the Coast of Labrador." (1806) PA IV:271.

<sup>91</sup>"Extracts of Diaries ...." (1806) PA IV:285.

<sup>92</sup>Nain to S.F.G., Aug. 12, 1809, PA IV:449. Hopedale to S.F.G., July 25, 1810, PA V:49. Nain to S.F.G., Sept. 26, 1811, PA V:128.

the ideas presented. In all spheres, the missionaries were demanding a great adjustment on the part of the Eskimos, not realising that it would have to come gradually. By constant evangelisation, by a persistent attack on the old ways, by controlling the supply of European goods and services, the missionaries were able to maintain control over small convert groups and to disrupt the traditional social uniformity. Their actions and their words together discredited the old religion and created a state of insecurity and uncertainty among the unconverted Eskimos, which could only be resolved when they too accepted the Moravian system.

The mission, then, virtually created a state of affairs which made its ultimate success certain. The Moravian ideal of the settled Christian community was realised; but in a form which was a compromise with local conditions, and which was different in some ways from the European model. In Labrador, the settlement became a seasonal institution. The Eskimos were focussed around the mission stations but were villagers only for the winter months, so long as a sufficient food surplus had been stored to allow them to stop hunting and devote their attention to the religious meetings and festivals provided by the mission. From the point of view of the mission, this was not an ideal arrangement since it prevented the Eskimos from receiving continual religious instruction, and upset educational plans. But so long as the mission maintained the principle that the economic basis of the settlements was to be derived as far as possible from local resources, and so long as it wished to preserve the Eskimos as Eskimos, no other arrangement was possible.

With the establishment of the Moravian theocracy in northern Labrador in the years after 1805, the Eskimo reservation which the mission had wanted from the beginning came into existence. In this situation the missionaries became patriarchs and the mission became the Church, more concerned with preserving the status quo than with continuing the process of change begun in 1771. But these generalisations go beyond the scope of the present study; in the early years, the mission was a conscious agent of change which succeeded eventually in imposing its way of life on most of the Eskimos whom it could reach. The missionaries, with their ethnocentricity and their explanation of all events in religious terms, did not really understand what they were in fact doing; but it was sufficient for them that the Lord had called them to Labrador, and that it "pleased the Lord ... to burst these bars and fetters by which [the Eskimos] were led captive by Satan at his will."<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>Okkak to S.F.G., Aug. 16, 1805. PA III:444.

## APPENDIX I

### THE 1752 MISSION HOUSE<sup>1</sup>

Most modern maps and Moravians place Nisbet Harbour near the village of Makkovik, where a mission station was founded in 1895. This southerly location for the 1752 mission house is at variance with most of the eighteenth century evidence, which points to a location further north, in the region of modern Hopedale.

Both Goffe's account of the voyage, and the diary of the four missionaries mention Davis Inlet - about whose locality there seems never to have been any doubt. This in itself would seem to establish a northerly location, as the mission house was built in a bay to the south of the Inlet. From Goffe's account, it seems that the distance was about 10 leagues; after the disappearance of Ehrhardt, he managed to sail to Nisbet's harbour from the Davis Inlet area in 6½ hours. Goffe's letter of Nisbet gives the latitude of the settlement as 55°30' north, a latitude mentioned in other letters dating from 1752.

There is other eighteenth century evidence which supports a northerly location. The Argo, which was on the coast in 1753, exploring between 55° and 56° north, reported finding the house,<sup>2</sup> and Goffe's account of the 1753 voyage of the Hope implies a location near Davis Inlet. In 1770, the missionaries travelling north noted when passing Arvertok (near modern Hopedale), that this "appears to be the very place where our Brethren in the year 1752 set up their house, but the people on board [i.e., the Eskimos] knew nothing of it." In his Memoir, referring to his voyage south from Nain in 1775 to

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter II.

<sup>2</sup>Extract from the Pennsylvania Gazette, November 15, 1753, printed in C.F. Hall, Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. xxxix.

to find a site for a new station, Jens Haven says that he "penetrated beyond Old Hopedale."

Given the fact that the latitudes given by Goffe cannot be taken as completely accurate, it is not possible to pin-point the exact site of the mission house. There is a sketch map in the London Archive of the Moravian Church which marks Nisbet Harbour, but it is undated, and so rough as to make exact location impossible. All that can be said is that the house was probably situated in one of the fiords between Davis Inlet and modern Hopedale.

There is one piece of evidence that might support a southerly location. In September 1774, some Arvertokers came to Nain, and were asked about the mission house. They said that it had been built at "Machovik" on "the continent," and that "Machovik lies between Arvartok and Aivartok," that is, between Hopedale and Hamilton Inlet.<sup>3</sup> It is hard to believe that Goffe's latitudes were so inaccurate as to read 55°8' north for 55°30' north, and that he could be mistaken about the location of Davis Inlet. J.W. Davey<sup>4</sup> has offered a possible solution. From maps of 1795 and 1808, he maintained that "'Makkovik' and the present Hopedale were identical ... or at all events in close proximity to each other ... while 'Nisbet Harbour' is placed by these authorities in the same neighbourhood." The inference is that the tradition became attached to the southerly Makkovik after the northerly place-name had fallen out of use.

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<sup>3</sup>ND 10/9/74.

<sup>4</sup>Fall of Torngak, Appendix, p. 285.

Traditions at Davis Inlet and Makkovik each claim the mission house for their respective areas. While the weight of the evidence points to the northerly location, only archaeology can finally clear up the argument.

APPENDIX II

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ESKIMO POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION IN NORTH LABRADOR

The table given below shows various estimates of Eskimo population made in the eighteenth century. The first column is taken from Roger Curtis, Remarks upon the Northern Coast of Labradore, 1773;<sup>1</sup> the second from Jens Haven, A Brief Account of the dwelling places of the Eskimaux to the north of Nagvak . . . .;<sup>2</sup> the third from Haven's journal of the Voyage of the Sloop George from Nain to reconnoitre the Northern parts of Labradore . . . 1773;<sup>3</sup> and the fourth from various estimates found in early mission diaries.

TABLE 4 - 18TH CENTURY POPULATION ESTIMATES, ARVERTOK TO NACKVAK

	Curtis, 1773	Haven, 1773	Haven, 1773	Other Estimates
Arvertok	270			140
Nuneingoak	100			200
Nuasornak <sup>a</sup>				
Kivallek	360		300	
Napartok	70		140	
Kangerdluksoak	345		120	
Saglek	140		100	
Sugviluit <sup>b</sup>	40			
Nullatoktok <sup>b</sup>	30			
Nachvak	60		80	
	1415	1340		

<sup>a</sup>Mentioned only by Haven.

<sup>b</sup>Mentioned only by Curtis.

<sup>1</sup>CO 194/31, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>1773. LA 5.

<sup>3</sup>LA 5.

Concerning the population north of Nachvak, the estimates are even more vague. Haven in the Brief Account reckoned that there were ten more places between Nachvak and Hudson Strait. He estimated their population at about 1,660, making the total for the whole coast north of latitude 55° in the region of 3,000. Curtis listed the following places:

Cummucktobick (Komaktorvik)	-	30
Kidlenock (Killinek)	-	30
Toogeat	-	30
Congerbaw	-	30
Ungabaw	-	30
Ivevucktoke	-	30
Igloo-ookshook	-	30
		30
Total		210

Curtis' total for the whole northern coast is therefore 1625. It should be noted that Curtis himself went no further north than Kivallek, and Haven no further than Nachvak. It is probable, therefore, that both included information about Ungava Bay and that their estimates should be reduced. The places listed by Curtis after Kidlenock (Killinek) do not refer to the coastal region, and his total estimate may be reduced by 150 to 1475. According to Haven, the average number in each place north of Nachvak was 166. Ten places is certainly too many between Nachvak and Killinek; four being more likely, his estimate can be reduced by 996 to 2004.

All the estimates given in the first three columns of the table were made in the summer, at the time of maximum Eskimo dispersal, and were based on the number of boats or houses seen. They cannot be taken as accurate counts, and the mission records do not allow for more accurate calculation, as they do not often include the whole place group, being more usually concerned with the camps in the immediate vicinity of a station and the Eskimos

actually living on mission land. With such unsatisfactory evidence, it is impossible to do more than take Curtis' estimate as an approximate minimum and Haven's as an approximate maximum, and place the population of the coast between Cape Aillik and Killinek at between 1400 and 2000.

There has been some dispute concerning the southern limit of Curtis' estimate. The most southerly group mentioned he called the "Ogbucktoke." E.W. Hawkes<sup>4</sup> located this group in the Straits of Belle Isle, and E.S. Burch<sup>5</sup> in the Hamilton Inlet. Curtis' chart, however, clearly places the "Ogbucktoke" in the Arvertok (Hopedale) region, and there can be no doubt that on the 1773 voyage, Curtis was concerned to examine the northern rather than the southern coast.

There is little information from which to hazard a guess at the Eskimo population from the Hamilton Inlet south. There appear to have been about 300 Eskimos in Hamilton Inlet at the end of the eighteenth century, but no other figures are available.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The Labrador Eskimo, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup>The Traditional Labrador Eskimo, (Unpublished A.B. Thesis, Princeton, 1960), p. 65.

<sup>6</sup>W.H.A. Davies, "Notes on Esquimaux Bay and the Surrounding Country." Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Vol. IV. (1843), pp. 70-94.

## APPENDIX III

TABLE 5 - PERSONAL DATA OF THE LABRADOR MISSIONARIES ARRIVING BEFORE 1810

The information in the following table is derived from the following sources:

- (1) The Appendix to F.L. Kölbing, Mission der evangelischen Brüder in Labrador (Gnadau, 1831).
- (2) Catalogus der Missionare in Labrador, Mor. Mss., p. 15195 - 15250.
- (3) The Okkak Church Book, in the archive of the Moravian Mission at Nain, Labrador.

Name	Birth	Nationality <sup>a</sup>	Arrival in Labrador	Age on arrival	Left Labrador	Age on leaving	Years in Labrador	Date Married	Children <sup>b</sup>	Died <sup>c</sup>
Brasen, Christoph	1738	D	1771	33			3	1771	1(2)	1774 N
Brasen, Maria	1739	G	1771	32 (See Frech, Branagin)						
Drachart, C.L.	1711	D	1771	60			7			1778 N
Frech, Theobald	1740	G	1771	31			21	1776	2	1792 O
Frech, Maria (Brasen)										
Haven, Jens	1724	D	1771	47	1784	60	13	1771	2	1796
Haven, Mary	1742	E	1771	29	1784	42	13			
Jensen, Stephen	1724	D	1771	47			29			1800 N
Lister, Christian	1750	E	1771	21	1788	38	17	1778	2(1)	1803
Lister, Johanna	1750	G	1778	28	1788	38	10			
Morhardt, Andreas	1740	G	1771	31	1804	64	33	1779		1820
Morhardt, Johanna	1753	G	1779	26			12		3(1)	1791 N
Morhardt, Eva	1749	G	1793	44	1804	55	11	1793		
Neisser, Joseph	1745	G	1771	26	1781	36	10			1794

(continued)

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Name	Birth	Nation- ality <sup>a</sup>	Arrival in Labrador	Age on arrival	Left Labrador	Age on leaving	Years in Labrador	Date Married	Children <sup>b</sup>	Died <sup>c</sup>
Rhodes, James	1735	E	1771	36	1797	52	26			1802
Schneider, Johann	1713	G	1771	58			14	1749		1785 H
Schneider, Elizabeth	1721	G	1771	50			26			1797 H
Turner, William	1743	E	1771	28	1793	50	22	1784	2	1804
Turner, Sybilla	1748	G	1784	36	1793	45	9			
Wolfes, Joachim	1722	G	1772	50	1779	57	7			1792
Beck, Johann L.	1737	G	1773	34	1797	60	24	1775	2(1)	1802
Beck, Anna Regina	1750	G	1775	25	1797	47	22			
Lehmann, Gottfried	1747	G	1774	27						1774 N
Liebisch, Samuel	1739	G	1775	36	1783	44	8	1775		1809
Liebisch, Anna	1741	G	1775	34	1783	42	8			
Andersen, Sven	1746	D	1775	29			41			1816 H
Branagin, James	1733	I	1775	42			19	1793		1794 O
Branagin, Maria (Brasen, Frech)										1797 N
Waiblinger, C.J.	1709	G	1776	67			2			1778 N
Krügelstein, David	1743	G	1780	37	1793	50	13	1784		1794
Krügelstein, Maria	1749	G	1784	35	1793	44	9			

(continued)

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Name	Birth	Nationality <sup>a</sup>	Arrival in Labrador	Age on arrival	Left Labrador	Age on leaving	Years in Labrador	Date Married	Children <sup>b</sup>	Died <sup>c</sup>
Schmidtmann, Georg	1748	G	1781	33			43	1786		1834 N
Schmidtmann, Anna			1786				1		(2)	1787 N
Schmidtmann, B.G.	1753	N	1791	38				1791	1	
Wolff, Johann	1753	G	1781	28	1814	61	33	1791		1814
Wolff, Rachel	1752	G	1791	39	1814	62	23			
Parchwitz, C.G.	1744	G	1782	38			32			1814 N
Towle, Samuel	1757	E	1782	25	1791	34	9			1824
Burghardt, Christ.	1743	G	1784	41			28	1784		1812 N
Burghardt, Sophia	1746	G	1784	38						1814
Rose, Christian	1746	G	1786	40	1794	48	8	1786	2	1805
Rose, Anna	1748	G	1786	38	1794	46	8			
Hasting, John	1762	G	1786	24	1817	55	31	1800	2(1)	1836
Hasting, Maria	1770	G	1800	30	1817	47	17			
Kohlmeister, B.	1756	G	1790	34	1824	68	34	1793	4	1844
Kohlmeister, A.	1762	G	1793	31	1824	62	31			
Müller, Friedrich	1762	G	1794	32	1829	67	35	1798		
Müller, Elizabeth	1771	E	1798	27						
Kmoch, J.G.	1770	G	1797	27	1831	61	34	1812		
Nissen, Jacob	1760	G	1797	37	1821	61	24	1797	1(1)	
Nissen, Catherine	1762	G	1797	35						

(continued)

TABLE 5 (continued)

Name	Birth	Nation- ality <sup>a</sup>	Arrival in Labrador	Age on arrival	Left Labrador	Age on leaving	Years in Labrador	Date Married	Children <sup>b</sup>	Died <sup>c</sup>
Reimann, J.W.	1767	G	1797	30			3			1800 H
Schmidt, Johann	1766	G	1797	31	1806	40	9			
Christensen, T.	1756	G	1798	42	1816	60	18			1821
Martin, Johann T.	1759	G	1798	39			23	1798	2	1821 N
Martin, Anna	1767	G	1798	31			19			1817
Meisner, J.S.	1770	G	1798	28	1838	68	40	1804	1	1839
Meisner, Anna	1777	G	1804	27						
Sturman, Samuel	1776	G	1802	26				1816		
Kunath, Adam	1779	G	1804	25				1818		
Shaw, Henry	1775	E	1806	31	1813	38	7			

<sup>a</sup>G - German, D - Danish, E - English, I - Irish, N - Norwegian.

<sup>b</sup>The figures in brackets represent stillborn children, and those which died before the age of eighteenth months.

<sup>c</sup>N - died at Nain, H - died at Hopedale, O - died at Okkak.

## APPENDIX IV

TABLE 6 - CONGREGATIONS AND WINTERING POPULATIONS, 1771-1810

Year <sup>a</sup>	NAIN			OKKAK			HOPEDALE			Total congregation <sup>b</sup>	Total wintering.
	Congregation <sup>b</sup>	Others wintering.	Total	Congregation <sup>b</sup>	Others wintering.	Total	Congregation <sup>b</sup>	Others wintering.	Total		
1771											
1772											
1773											
1774											
1775	1										
1776	6										
1777	7										
1778	8			22							
1779	9?	28	37	33	68	111				42	148
1780	20			47	75	122				67	
1781	20	25	45	40	44	84				60	129
1782	35	47	82								
1783	10	25	35	36	45	81					
1784							25	38	63		
1785	33	32	52				21	40	61		
1786	28	26	54	40	63	103			59		216
1787	25	27	52				25	27	52		
1788				38	60	98	16	18	34		
1789	23			39	40	79	18	18	36	80	
1790	21	31	52				25	22	47		
1791	19	30	49	46	11	57	21	17	38	86	144
1792	22	38	60	41	23	64	13	19	32	76	156
1793	24?	41	65	34	11	45	19	10	29	77	139
1794	28	40	68	26	17	43	19	9	28	73	139
1795	35	28	63	26	22	48	27	11	38	88	149
1796	38	26	64	21	31	52	35	9	44	94	160

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Year <sup>a</sup>	NAIN			OKKAK			HOPEDALE			Total congregation <sup>b</sup>	Total wintering.
	Congregation <sup>b</sup>	Others wintering.	Total	Congregation <sup>b</sup>	Others wintering.	Total	Congregation <sup>b</sup>	Others wintering.	Total		
1797	31	24	55	22	36	58	37	12	49	90	162
1798	35	23	58	28	37	65	45	16	61	108	184
1799	52	28	80	32	31	63					
1800	45	31	76	41	49	90	39	27	66	125	232
1801	44	23	67	33	35	68	38	33	71	115	206
1802	52	27	79	38	38	76	40	38	78	130	233
1803	51	19	70	28	25	53	45	35	80	124	203
1804	53	29	82	36	36	72	50	27	77	139	231
1805	42	22	64	30	39	69	76	49	125	148	258
1806	63	22	85	34	22	56	76	42	118	173	259
1807	67	45	112	54	48	102	74	37	111	195	325
1808	68	34	102	49	59	108	91	42	133	208	343
1809	62	29	91	77	114	191	109	38	147	248	429
1810	67	48	115	96	110	206	102	34	136	265	457

<sup>a</sup>The figures in the table are taken from the Memorabilia which were entered in the mission diaries for December 31st of each year. These entries usually contained statistics of the congregations, and those who were wintering on mission land at that date.

<sup>b</sup>The figures for the congregations include baptised children, candidates for baptism, and those who were excluded and under church discipline. It should be noted that the Nain figure for 1785 includes thirteen baptised and candidates who were wintering at Nukasusuktok. All the figures include a large number of children. See Plan 3, p. 207.

APPENDIX V - BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES.<sup>1</sup>

- (a) In the Matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula. Joint Appendix, 12 Volumes. London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd., 1926. (BD)

These volumes contain a collection of documents relating to the population and administration of Labrador, used in the proceedings before the Privy Council to determine the western and southern boundaries of Newfoundland-Labrador.

- (b) London. Public Record Office. Colonial Office Records (CO). Most of the available material relating to Newfoundland and Labrador is in series 194.

- (c) Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Moravian Church Archive. All manuscript material once kept in the Labrador mission stations is now deposited in this archive. The collection consists of station diaries, correspondence, church books, reports, maps and plans, covering the whole mission period to the present day. This material is on microfilm (52 reels) available at the Public Archives of Canada and the Memorial University of Newfoundland (Mor. Mss.).

- (d) London. Moravian Church Archive.

- (i) Documents relating to the Moravian Church in England. Diaries, Minute Books. These are not on microfilm. (LA Mss.).

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<sup>1</sup>See Abbreviations above, p. x.

- (ii) Uncatalogued material relating to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. Minute Books, Account sheets, loose correspondence, Ship's Company Papers. This material is all on microfilm deposited at the Memorial University of Newfoundland (LA).
  
- (iii) Uncatalogued material relating to the Labrador mission. Station diaries, reports, correspondence, and maps, in German and English. This material is on two sets of microfilm, one (PAC A 548-572) deposited in the Public Archives of Canada and at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, the other (LA 1-5) only at the Memorial University of Newfoundland.
  
- (e) Nain, Labrador. Mission Archive. The vast bulk of material in this archive has been removed to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Apart from the Okkak Church Book and some maps and plans, very little relevant to the early period of the mission remains.

Only diaries in English have been used in the preparation of this thesis, and their locations on the microfilm are given in the following table.

	1771-2	1772-3	1773-4	1774-5	1775-6	1776-7	1777-8	1778-9	1779-80	1780-1	1781-2
Nain (ND)	LA-5 PAC A 558	LA 5 PAC A 548		LA 5	LA 5 PAC A 548	PAC A 548	PAC A 548	PAC A 558	PAC A 548	PAC A 548	PAC A 558, 559
Okkak (OD)						PAC A 559	PAC A 559	PAC A 548, 559	PAC A 549	PAC A 549	
	1782-3	1783-4	1784-5	1785-6	1786-7	1787-8	1788-9	1789-90	1790-1	1791-2	
Nain (ND)	LA 5 PAC A 549	PAC A 549, 559	PAC A 549	PAC A 549, 559	PAC A 549	PAC A 550			PAC A 549, 550	PAC A 559	
Okkak (OD)		PAC A 550			PAC A 550				PAC A 550		
Hopedale (HD)			PAC A 550, 559	PAC A 559	PAC A 559	PAC A 550	PAC A 550	PAC A 550	PAC A 550	PAC A 559	

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