ARCHITECTURAL CHANGE AND ARCHITECTURAL MEANING IN MORAVIAN LABRADOR

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Architectural Change and Architectural Meaning in Moravian Labrador

by

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Abstract

This thesis studies change and meaning in the extant Moravian mission architecture of Labrador. It studies the built environment constructed by the Moravian Church between 1752 and the 1990s. It discusses the history of the church and traces the development of architectural styles from Europe to Labrador. It demonstrates how architecture is linked to issues of power, ideology and order, and how the buildings are used as political and social symbols. The thesis concludes by explaining a major shift in the way these architectural symbols were used and created in the twentieth century.

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Chapter One

Introduction

On Friday, July 21st, 1995, Henry Boase and I left the Hopedale Lodge by boat for Double Island. It was a little after 7:00 am. Before I had arrived in Hopedale I had never heard of Double Island, or Uviluktok as it is also known, which lies between an hour and an hour and a half boat ride south of Hopedale. I had certainly never heard of the small derelict Moravian church that had been constructed there over ninety years earlier. Fred Vincent, owner of the Hopedale Lodge, had said he could arrange for someone to take me to the spot and had introduced me to Henry. Henry's grandparents had been born in the Moravian community of Hebron further north and his family had rescued the bell from the Moravian church in the abandoned settlement on Double Island years earlier.

This trip was our second attempt. Two days before, Henry and Fred's son, Allan Vincent, had tried to take me to Double Island. That trip had started in rain and had ended in disaster, with a dead engine, several hours adrift in a small boat, and a long wait before two Inuit men checking salmon nets had chanced upon us and had towed us back into Hopedale. Henry, who had said no more than four words throughout the entire escapade, summed it up neatly as we had limped back into Hopedale Harbour. "This boat," he had said "is just like my wife. Cranky."

On the 21st we tried again. It was chilly and a little windy as we left, and quite

cloudy. I asked Henry if he thought it would rain. He looked at the horizon to the west and said he thought not. We headed out, and Henry, true to form, was quiet most of the way. A man probably in his early thirties, Henry crouched against the wind with a weathered blue baseball hat firmly on his head. "No one is ugly after six beers" it read in white lettering on the blue.

Less than half an hour into the trip, at a spot just before where our boat had died two days before, it got very dark. To the south east was the blackest, darkest cloud bank I had ever seen. We headed right underneath it, and the sun disappeared. With the memory of events two days earlier still fresh in mind, for the remainder of the ride I was certain we were going to be caught in a thunderstorm and die far from land. When I did catch sight of the sun, it shone through the dark clouds like a pale full moon.

Double Island appeared dimly on the horizon, and as we drew closer we could see the waves breaking on the shore. Eventually, we drew close enough for me to get my first glimpse of the Moravian Church. Double Island is actually two islands, less than fifty metres apart at their closest point. The islands' highest points

Figure 1 *Approaching Double Island*

are the ends of the islands furthest from each other and they slope down to meet at their

closest point. From a distance the two islands look like one and take on the general

appearance of a saddle when viewed from the right angle. The Moravian church sits on

the largest, lowest island, close to the middle of the "saddle". It is the only structure left

on the island, built on a gentle slope, so was immediately visible from the angle we

approached on. In the early part of the twentieth century the islands supported a seasonal

fishing community of over 100 people drawn to the spot by its naturally protected

harbour. As if by magic, just as we pulled up into the cove the black clouds started to

dissipate, blown off further to the south-east. On the rocks behind us on the opposite

island sat a large white owl, watching us. We were intruders on his territory, no doubt.

Having secured the boat Henry and I walked up to the church, which was only a

short distance from the cove. The church itself was quite small and in fairly harsh

condition. The church walls were mainly intact though the roof had started to cave in. Inside the church there had once been a centre support beam which had run the length of the church, supporting the rafters. This beam had

Figure 2 *Double Island Church, rear facade*

broken in the middle and fallen. As a result each of the six rafters had also broken in the middle, collapsing the roof into the centre of the building. At the gable ends the end walls still supported the ceiling for the time being. The floor was littered with caribou droppings.

By the time I stepped on Double Island I had been preparing for my fieldwork along Labrador's north coast for months. I had read the available information on extant Moravian buildings but nothing had really prepared me for Double Island. I was familiar with the impressive Moravian buildings of the nineteenth century: large, complex, beautiful in design and form. Suddenly, here I was faced with a Moravian church, but one completely different in style: small, simple, and devoid of the architectural ornamentation of the earlier buildings.

In many ways that trip to Double Island opened my eyes to what would become the central focus of this thesis, the stylistic change in Moravian architecture along the north coast of Labrador between 1756 and 1995. At the time, as I stood amidst rotting timbers and the detritus of a community solely inhabited by transient caribou, I wasn't fully aware of the impact the church at Double Island would have on me or of the years of work that would follow. However, only with that work behind me, am I more aware of the important role that the Double Island church plays in the regional development of Moravian architecture in Labrador.

The history of Moravian settlement and activity along northern coastal Labrador dates to the mid 1750's, and is an important part of the country's cultural heritage. E.J.

Poirier and R.M. Peck state in a 1978 Parks Canada report that the architectural design of the buildings in Hopedale and Hebron is "quite different than that of the early English colonial buildings and the early French buildings, and is quite distinctive and unique in Canada" (9). However, academic studies of these structures have been few and far between. Furthermore while studies of the architectural traditions of the Moravians in Labrador, like those of Poirier and Peck, are quick to note items of historical and architectural importance in the eighteenth and nineteenth century material, they do not address the deeper meanings these structures hold nor do they address the major changes in style that occurred in the two hundred and fifty years of architectural development along the coast. While such authors are certainly correct writing that these buildings are "quite distinctive and unique", this sort of blanket statement of worth does little to explain why they are unique, distinctive, or even worthy of further critical examination.

This thesis begins to fill that lacuna with its focus on two specific areas: Moravian architectural change as indicator of wider social change, and Moravian church architecture as a means of communicating cultural values and conceptualizing order and power relations. Building on the work of Bernard Herman, Henry Glassie and others, I understand architecture to be its own system of communication that indicates societal values. Architecture functions as a sign: the artifact acting as a text which can be read to understand deeper cultural meanings. In the words of Simon Bronner, "Folk objects provide the tangible evidence of the everyday past; they supply visible proof of the changing beliefs and customs people hold today. Patterns discovered in the objects and

technical processes of everyday life can help reveal the hidden attitudes underlying our world"(219). In studying architecture, the folklorist can uncover patterns related to social organization and structures that communicate meaning about concepts such as power, order, and ideology. Bernard Herman notes,

> The use of objects as texts, a central tenet in vernacular architecture and material culture studies, recognizes the communicative nature of artifacts. Houses are obviously shelter, but they are also statements about the nature of basic social relationships. In some instances, the architectural symbolism of wealth, taste, and authority is intentional and obvious. In most vernacular buildings, however, the textual content of architecture functions beneath the level of articulated observation ("Architectural" 225).

Herman (Architecture 42-60) argues that architectural design can convey values of domestic interaction, social distance and hierarchy, and communicate points of social intersection. He writes, "the house, barn, farm, church and village are external signs of social organization and symbolize the intricate internal ways in which people materially order their lives" (Herman Architecture 238).

One area that material culture can provide historical and cultural evidence for is that of social change. Architectural change can be an indicator of social change. In this thesis I document a major shift in architectural tradition which occurs in the building of Labrador Moravian churches beginning around 1903, and I will link alterations in style and form to wider social, economic, and theological changes.

There are many templates for this type of folkloristic inquiry. For example, I

found Thomas Hubka's <u>Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn</u> to be a useful study.
He examines the connected farm buildings of New England, roughly from 1763 to 1914,
while at the same time attempting "to link the lives of farmers to the buildings that they
made and to establish the relationship between the built form and the ideas that generated
its making" (Hubka x). Hubka discusses the concepts of permanence and change as they
are reflected in architectural design and farm layout (86-112). Warren Hofstra's study of
the relationship between architectural change and developments in the political economy
of Virginia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century also provided me with a
model.

One of the most widely respected academics to examine links between
architectural change and cultural change is Henry Glassie. Both his <u>Folk Housing in
Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts</u>, and his "Eighteenth-Century
Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Buildings" provided me with essential
framework. <u>Folk Housing in Middle Virginia</u> was particularly applicable to my research,
dealing as it does with the study of architecture over time. While my thesis does address
some of the same issues as those explored by Glassie I feel my work differs in two very
important ways. Firstly, in his study Glassie deals with domestic structures, while for the
most part the buildings dealt with in this thesis are more public buildings, and the
signature pieces discussed in each of chapters three through five are churches. Secondly,
in regard to house form I have been influenced by writers who followed Glassie, such as
Gerald Pocius, whose work underscores the importance of considering use. In particular,

Pocius's <u>A Place to Belong</u> moves away from form to a better understanding of the complex ways that form is modified and utilized.

While changes in form may be a good way of studying social change, style also provides an excellent area of focus, as it can underscore "spatial and social separations within the household and the community" (Herman, <u>Architecture</u> 43). The work of Dell Upton on the concepts of style and mode are central to this discussion. According to Upton the concept of style is pervasive in any group, providing "a context, or system of common understanding, within which the active participants of a society can operate in a coordinated manner, however imperfect that coordination might be" (<u>Holy</u> 102). Along with style comes mode, which provides an expression of "the divisions within society; it emphasizes and perpetuates old differences, recalling them to attention by clothing them in striking new garb, and it works to create new differences, casting an identifying cloak over individuals not apparently related, or set apart, before" (Upton, <u>Holy</u> 102). In many ways, the shift in architectural design studied in this thesis is one of style and mode, rather than house form.

My study draws on a literature of Moravian architecture. The two best regional studies are both focused outside of Labrador: William J. Murtagh's book <u>Moravian Architecture and Town Planning</u> and Lucien le Grange's <u>Moravian Mission Stations in the Western & Southern Cape</u>. Both are surveys of vernacular architecture specifically relating to Moravian sites. Murtagh's study is much more historical in tone than le Grange's, which is a conservation study prepared as part of a preservation action plan.

While both contain excellent information on Moravian architecture and landscape, Murtagh's is entirely American in its focus, and le Grange's deals exclusively with the western and southern cape of South Africa. Neither fully address nor consider the symbolic aspects of Moravian architecture I propose in this study.

Several other authors have looked at Moravian architecture or material culture, though none as thoroughly as Murtagh or le Grange. Few authors, however, have published their work in folklore-related journals. Three exceptions are Elaine Vardjan's 1990 paper on Moravian stars, Terry Jordan's 1984 article on Moravian log construction, and Michael Colby and Donald Graves' 1987 study of an eighteenth-century dye house in Bethlehem. Each study provides a good example of material culture studied through a folkloristic lens and provide insights into the workings of Moravian craftspeople. All of these works deal with American sites, mostly in Pennsylvania or the Carolinas.

Canadian studies have been almost entirely descriptive. One exception is by the late Superintendent of the Labrador Moravian Mission, F.W. Peacock, in his short 1983 article "Organization and Architecture of Moravian Settlements." Other Canadian work has either been in the form of site specific governmental reports (Gillis; Hale; Poirier and Peck; Taylor and Wright) or personal narratives (Hettasch; Martin; Bailey).

Outside of material culture studies, there is a wealth of information on the Moravian faith contained within Moravian church history. The Moravians themselves kept amazingly detailed church records, and the microfilmed Records of the Moravian Mission in Labrador (1764-1944) are a fantastic source of information on the church's

activities along the coast. While much of this information is in German, the Periodical

Accounts Relating to the Foreign Missions of the Church of the United Brethren,

published from 1890-1961 by the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel

among the Heathen are in English. The Periodical Accounts contain annual reports of the

mission stations, combined with letters and editorials on mission work in Labrador and

around the world, and represent a gold mine of research data. Rev. F.W. Peacock, former

Superintendent of the Labrador Mission, was also very active in recording the history of

the Labrador church.[1] Finally, considerable historical research has also been done by

academics outside of the Moravian church, such as James Hiller, Richard Zerbe

Cornelsen, and particularly by Hans Rollmann at Memorial University.[2] Other scholars,

such as Thomas Sovik and Alice M. Caldwell, have researched the important role that

instrumental and choral music played in Moravian tradition, an aspect of Moravian

society which had a profound impact on the life and ritual of the church in Labrador.

One thing stands out in all of these studies, but in the architectural studies in

particular. Extant Moravian structures are NOT fully addressed and discussed, and in

many instances not even mentioned. For example, the entire settlement of Double Island

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[1]

For the writings of F.W. Peacock, see "Moravian Mission"; Moravian; "Moravian
Church"; "Erhardt"; "Old Water"; "Organization"; Peacock and Jackson.

[2]

See Hiller, "Moravian"; Hiller, "Foundation"; Hiller, "Moravians"; Zerbe Cornelsen;
Rollmann, "Shamanism Textual"; Rollman, "Shamanism"; Rollmann, Unorthodox;
Rollmann, "Man"; Rollmann, "Brasen".

escaped me in my first bout of documentary research, and subsequent searching after my

fieldwork yielded precious little information. Individual buildings in communities all

along the coast - the garden sheds, out buildings, boat houses, and particularly the dead

houses, provide excellent clues into the functioning of architecture within daily Moravian

life. Dead houses, which provide an excellent means of examining social relationships

and the link to architecture, had fully escaped the work of previous researchers.
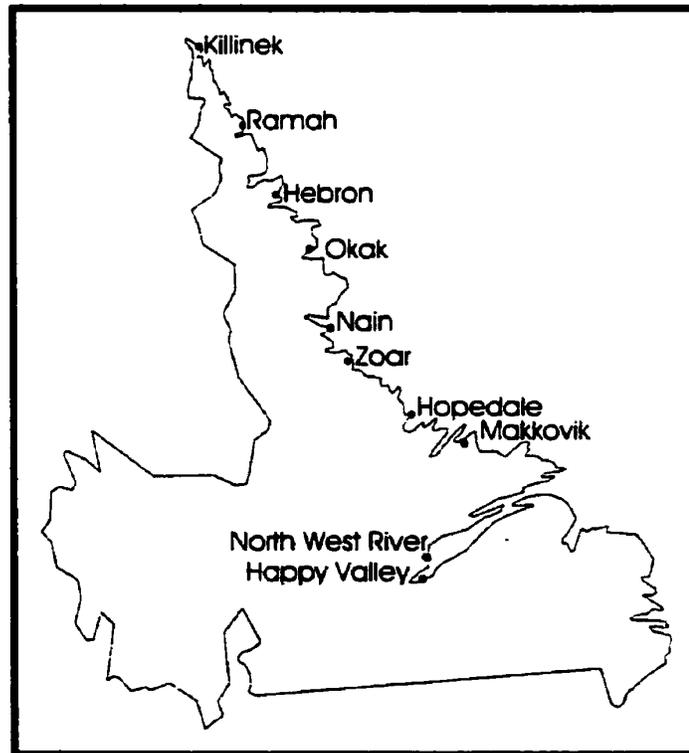
Figure 3 *Map of Labrador*

My goal in this thesis was to go beyond the documentary record already created

and in the folkloristic tradition of Glassie, Herman, Upton, Pocius and others to look at

the architecture itself. Field work was carried out in July and August of 1995, and was

conducted largely to provide a body of architectural data to work from, filling the gaps of previous work done largely by Parks Canada, and in Hopedale by Beaton Sheppard and Associates. Field research was carried out in coastal Labrador in all communities where Moravian settlements were historically located, namely Happy Valley-Goose Bay, North West River, Hopedale, Double Island, Zoar, Nain, OKaK, Hebron, and Ramah. I excluded two communities, Port Burwell/Killinek and Makkovik from the study because of time and financial restrictions, and due to the fact that little original architecture remains. The Makkovik church, for example, has been destroyed by fire twice, and the current church is a modern building. Luckily, information on the one remaining early twentieth century Moravian building in Makkovik, now the White Elephant Museum, was available from the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, which has designated the building as a Registered Heritage Strucutre. Port Burwell, or Killinek, located at the northernmost tip of Labrador, is extremely isolated, and it was not possible for me to include the community in my fieldwork due to its remoteness.

For practical reasons, much of my field work was conducted from Hopedale and Nain. No form of public transportation exists between Nain and many of the abandoned mission stations, so Nain also served as home base for my work in these communities, which were accessible only by boat.

In the end I studied, mapped, and photographed a total of thirty-six buildings in seven communities: Happy Valley, North West River, Hopedale, Double Island, Nain, Hebron, and Zoar. I took photographs of building foundation ruins in two more

communities, Ramah and OKaK, although I did not take detailed measurements in these two places due to time and travel constraints. Where possible I conducted interviews with local ministers and members of the Moravian lay community in Happy Valley, North West River, Hopedale and Nain.

As with any research project this one faced limitations. Work on my thesis posed some interesting problems, the most immediate being the pressures of doing architectural fieldwork in northern Labrador. These included, but were not limited to, physical access to remote sites, faulty boat engines, extreme isolation for days on end, sea sickness, rain storms, windstorms, polar bear sightings, omnivorous mice, personal injury, limited travel funds, dead camera batteries, bureaucracy, capricious airline schedules, and the ubiquitous Labrador mosquito and black fly.

I focus on extant buildings and there remains much else that folklorists, historians, and theologians can explore concerning the Moravian presence in Labrador. The English language Periodical Accounts mentioned earlier are a valuable source of late nineteenth to early twentieth century material on many facets of life in Labrador and were consulted wherever possible. Unfortunately, the copious records and diaries kept by the missionaries themselves are a remarkable resource that remained inaccessible to me due to the fact they are largely written in German.

However, while the German language records contain information that would have been useful for this thesis, they were not essential. This work is primarily a folkloristic study of material culture, not a thesis in Moravian history or religious studies.

I argue that the object of this study, the extant buildings themselves, can and do, in many ways, speak for themselves. In some instances, the study of material culture can even reveal patterns not reflected in historical texts, or underscore meanings hinted at in other media. Williams and Young wrote,

> ...artifacts, such as vernacular structures, may be said to have a life of their own - an appeal to the senses that is far different from that of words on a page. Some scholars of material culture have even argued that, although objects are often the physical embodiment of ideas held collectively by society, as well as indices of individual motivation, they also provide better historical and cultural evidence than words (45).

In order to better understand the buildings that remain, it is important however to have a basic understanding of the factors that led to their construction and the development of the Moravian faith itself. Chapter Two is an introduction to the history and development of the Moravian Church. It traces the establishment of the Moravian Church in mediaeval Europe through the development of the Moravian missionary movement in the early eighteenth century and provides a basic history of Moravian missions in Labrador. The chapter also offers an introduction to the origins and history of Moravian architecture up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The extant buildings I documented in Labrador present a varied mix of different styles, forms and ages, ranging from very simple outbuildings such as garden sheds to the large early nineteenth century churches. In examining the material, it became apparent that the architecture could be sorted by date of construction into one of three

chronologically arranged periods or phases, which correspond roughly to the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Buildings from each phase show similar design considerations, form and patterns of use. For clarity's sake I opted to pick one architecturally representative example from each period, and to use that particular building as a springboard to discuss the primary social and usage issues for each phase.

In each case I chose to examine a church building. This choice was largely due to the fact that churches were the only type of structure which provided good extant examples from each of the three phases. Furthermore, using a similar structure from each category enabled me to show how a similar type of building manifested architectural change.

Chapter Three deals with the first phase of Moravian architectural construction along the coast of Labrador. It starts with a discussion of the 1782 Hopedale mission building, the only surviving structure from the earliest period of Moravian settlement on the coast. The building stands today as the oldest datable timber frame structure in Atlantic Canada. The chapter shows the building's stylistic roots in the vernacular architectural styles of Central and Eastern Europe. It concludes with a discussion of its erection and its links with British colonial expansion into northern Labrador.

Chapter Four discusses what could be termed the classical period of Moravian architecture in Labrador, the nineteenth century. This period saw the development of a typically "Moravian" style of architecture, a style that could be applied to buildings of various forms and types of construction. Its pervasive conventions shaped the

characteristic look of Moravian buildings. In turn, the mission buildings themselves became symbols of the temporal and spiritual position of the church. And, as it represents a move from pioneering efforts to the total religious, social and economic control of the coast, the architecture demonstrates a massive turn in style to the large, ornate and impressive building complexes of Hebron and Hopedale.

Chapter Five deals with an architectural stylistic shift evident in twentieth century Labrador Moravian churches. The chapter begins with a description and discussion of the Inuit-built Uviluktok (Double Island) Church and then considers the closure of Zoar Station and the destruction and rebuilding of the Nain Church. I explore this shift in architecture in terms of both architectural design and use in Moravian Labrador.

In Chapter Six the focus shifts from strictly ecclesiastical architecture. I felt that limiting this thesis to the study of Moravian church architecture would exclude a significant portion of the architectural corpus - namely the non-church buildings which were just as important to the daily life and work of the Moravian settlements. As mentioned previously, much of the earlier architectural studies of Moravian sites have overlooked smaller buildings such as garden shed, boat houses, outbuildings and the like. I felt that it was imperative to include a representative example of this type of architectural design, and in doing so to explore the ways in which these much simpler buildings speak to the same larger cultural issues as the large church structures. Chapter Six therefore is a case study that examines a series of simple buildings called dead houses built in three communities in Labrador by the Moravian Church between 1861 and 1994.

Drawing upon the concepts examined in previous chapters, I look at the construction of these structures and discuss their relationship to other examples of Moravian architecture, their place in ritual life, and their communicative functions within the community.

In this thesis I argue that from the very first Moravian structure erected on Labrador soil in 1756 to the most recent constructions of the late 1990s, Moravian architecture in Labrador has functioned as a marker of social control, of religious order, and of Moravian identity. Through an examination of large church buildings and the smaller dead houses, my purpose is to show how the evolving building traditions can be read as important signposts of past and present social and religious trends. The next chapter starts this journey by introducing the builders of the mission structures: the Moravians themselves. It provides an overview of their history and the development of their religious order, and an introduction to the spirit that moved the hands which wrought such fantastic structures along the Labrador coast.

Chapter Two

A Short History of the Moravian Church

When one walks into the calm, austere sanctuary of today's Labrador churches, the turbulent history of the faith is not immediately evident. However, to fully appreciate the buildings that the Moravian Brethren established along the coast of Labrador, it is first necessary to understand something of the complex history of this religious organization which predates much of mainstream Protestantism.

The current Moravian Church, or Unitas Fratrum, takes as its spiritual founder the Czech religious reformer Jan Hus, born in the village of Hussinetz in 1369. Hus completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Prague in 1393, and earned his master's degree in 1396. He was made a lecturer in 1398, dean in 1401, and finally rector of

Figure 4 *Jan Hus Memorial, Prague, photo by Rhona Buchan, 1995.*

the university in 1402 (Schattschneider 18).

According to biographers such as Schattschneider and Hutton, there were two major influences on Hus's life and work up to the point where he was made rector of the

University of Prague. The first was his interest in the writings of the English reformer John Wyclif, who had died in 1384. Wyclif believed that the orders of the Pope were not to be obeyed without question when they went contrary to the Scriptures (Schattschneider 18). Wyclif's work, together with Catholic liturgical reforms which started in the Czech areas of Eastern Europe in the second half of the fourteenth century, were to have a profound influence on Hus. Combined in Hus' own works, these would eventually form the roots of Moravian Church doctrine and practice.

The liturgical reform of the Catholic Church mentioned above began with the restoration of preaching in the vernacular language, "and the frequent, at least weekly, reception of communion by the laity. By the end of the fourteenth century, the movement had come to include other reforms such as reading the liturgical pericopes in the vernacular and the growing use of popular hymnody" (Holeton 46-47). Other important reforms included the restoration of the eucharistic chalice to the laity, communion for all the baptized, and the development of adult confirmation of baptism (Holeton 47-57). The development of adult confirmation in the Czech regions during this period was "the first, and for a long time was the only, way by which Christians could consciously re-profess their baptismal faith" (Holeton 57).

The second major influence on Jan Hus was a much more immediate one: his acceptance of a preaching position at Bethlehem Chapel in Prauge. The building had been built in 1391 by Czech nationalists who had stipulated that any sermon given in the chapel had to be given in Czech instead of in Latin. Interestingly, that same year, 1391,

marked the beginnings of organized insurrection against the Catholic Church in Bohemia (Sovik 35). It was in 1402 that Hus was ordained as a Catholic priest, and was chosen to be the preacher in Bethlehem Chapel (Schattschneider 18). It was here that Hus came to the attention of the Czech nobility, including the Queen, who became a regular worshipper (Schattschneider 18-19).

From his pulpit, Hus began to rain down criticisms on the Catholic Church. He criticised the vices of the clergy, calling for a greater purity of life, and stating that adulterous priests were not fit to give sacrament. He declared that Christ was the true head of the church, and that the Pope was not to be obeyed unless he taught the truth. He preached that the Pope did not hold the keys to heaven, and that humankind could only be forgiven by God Himself. Hus spoke out against the selling of indulgences, the Church practise of selling remission of punishment for souls in languishing in purgatory even after sacramental absolution. Hus stated that those who sold indulgences were the servants of Satan rather than Christ. He brought out a new translation of the Bible, and made the study of it popular, saying the Bible itself was the only standard of faith, and not the Church (Hutton 8).

For his work and words, Hus was burned at the stake on 6 July 1415, and his death sparked the sixteen year Hussite War. The dispute was fought between the Catholic League and the Hussite League, formed by the Bohemian people insulted by the death of their hero (Schattschneider 22-26). The Hussite League contained numerous distinct parties and was fronted by two main groups. Known as the "Ultraquists" and the

"Taborites" both of these parties within the Hussite League were Czech nationalists and

Protestant, although with significant differences. Of the two groups, the Ultraquists were

more moderate. Their only major difference from the Catholics was their insistence on

the use of the chalice in communion (Schattschneider 25). In 1419 the Ultraquist party

established the first national church to be independent of Roman authority, the Czech

National Ultraquist Church. This church included the austere Protestant sect known as

Jenota Bratrská or the Unitas Fratrum (Sovik 35). This sect would eventually become

what was known as the Moravian Church. The second group, the Taborites, named after

Mount Tabor, were more militaristic and in favour of wider church reforms.

Largely consisting of the Ultraquists and the Taborites, the Hussite League was

joined by other sects in their fight against the Catholic League. The other sects that

joined with the Hussite movement were smaller in size, possessed more radical

philosophies, and did little to effect a consolidated move against the more organized

power of the Roman Catholics. The Chiliasts, for example, believed that the end of the

world was near. They looked upon themselves as "instruments of the Divine

displeasure" and awaited a sign from heaven to begin a general massacre of their fellow

citizens (Hutton 11). The signal never came. Another group, known as the Adamites,

believed in a return to the simple habits of the Garden of Eden, where clothing was not

required (Hutton 11). A third group, the Waldenses, was a minimalistic faith, trying to

follow as nearly as possible the example of Christ and the Apostles. Like the later

Quakers, the Waldenses were a pacifistic Protestant group who looked upon all war as

pure murder, and refused to take oaths of allegiance to any state (Hutton 11-12).

Against the varied Hussite groups stood the Catholic League, with the power and weight of the Holy Roman Catholic Church and German and Hungarian royal households behind it. With the organization and power of the the Hussite movement split among its various groups, the Hussites were unable to act as any great military challenge to the much better established Catholic League. The one very notable example was the Taborite movement. The Taborites were led by a blind general named John Zizka, certainly one of the most romantic figures in the early history of the faith. It was Zizka who formed the peasantry into a disciplined fighting force, arming them with lances, slings, iron-pointed flails and clubs. Zizka also used wagons on the battlefield, creating movable barricades, and made a special study of the use of gunpowder in warfare (Hutton 12).[3] Deeming himself "an avenger of divine law", Zizka was killed on October 11, 1424 while besieging the Castle of Pribislau. Reportedly, he never lost a battle in his career (de Schweinitz 83-84). According to legend, his soldiers, who renamed themselves "Zizka's Orphans," carefully removed a piece of his skin and made a drum head out of it to "stir their hearts and terrify their enemies" (Schattschneider 25).[4] With their unorthodox tactics the

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[3] Zizka's use of gunpowder at this date is noteworthy, for this time period marks a European transition into "modern" warfare. The date of 1453 has been given as the beginning of mass warfare, as this was the year in which cannon were used for the first time in large numbers to breach city fortifications (Dyer 55). It is perhaps also an interesting commentary on the Moravians' acceptance of developing technologies, reflected in their later widespread use of architectural prefabrication.

[4] This grisly folk event was later immortalized in the Czech novelist Gustav Meyrink's

Taborites won victory after victory against the more conventional Catholic armies, until

they were eventually crushed at the Battle of Lipan in 1434 (Hutton 12).

Following the decimation of the Taborites at the Battle of Lipan, the much weaker

Ultraquist faction was forced to come to terms with the Catholic League. A list of

agreements, known as the Compacta of Basle, was drawn up and the Ultraquist Church

was acknowledged by the Pope as the National Church of Bohemia. With only minor

differences in the ceremony of Holy Communion, the Ultraquist Church was essentially a

Bohemian extension of the Catholic Church (Hutton 12-13).

The Church of the Brethren arose out of dissatisfaction with the Ultraquist

Church. Formally constituted in 1457, it was the result of over five hundred years of

resistance in Bohemia and Moravia against control by the Catholic Church. The new

church was established in southern Bohemia, under the spiritual leadership of Petr

Chelčický (Marsik 48). It took its name from an earlier group which had been involved

in the resistance, the Jenota Bratrská, or Unitas Fratrum.

Over the next fifty years, the Unitas Fratrum worked to sow the seeds of

dissatisfaction, making particular use of the printed word. In 1455 Johannes Gutenberg

had printed what is now known as the 42 Line Bible (also known as the Gutenberg Bible)

in Mainz, Germany. For the Unitas Fratrum, the new technology of the printing press

presented an excellent opportunity to spread their message in the language of the people

to a wide audience.

alchemical novel Walpurgisnacht, and remains a powerful symbol five hundred years
after its supposed occurrence.

By 1508 the publishing work of the Unitas Fratrum had grown troublesome to the

Catholic Church, and in that year the Catholic Church passed the Mandate of St. James.

This made the printing of new works by the Unitas Fratrum a punishable offence, and

which also demanded that all writings of the Unitas Fratrum be burned (Sovik 35).

Despite this setback, the Brethren continued to produce religious works, largely in the

Czech language. Studies of the Brethren's printing history have shown that between 1500

and 1510,

> ...the Unitas owned three of the country's five printing presses; during the
> first decade of the century the Unitas was responsible for 50 of the 60
> works printed in Bohemia-Moravia... The sect published 11 monophonic
> hymnals, a complete Bible in the Czech language, a Czech grammar, and a
> Czech speller,... [and] the only music treatises known to have been written
> by Czech Protestants during the Renaissance-Reformation (Sovik 35-36).

The use of mass printing certainly assisted in spreading the Moravian word. By

1517, the Brethren numbered at least 200,000 adherents in 400 parishes (Fletcher 270).

For the first half of the 16th century, however, the fortunes of the Brethren were mixed.

While it was a time of theological advancement, it was also a time in which counter-

Reformation forces were growing more uncomfortable with this same development. In

1546, the Smalcald War, yet another war between Protestants and Catholics, broke out in

Germany and Bohemia. By 1547 King Ferdinand was victorious and had begun his own

persecution of the Brethren (Hutton 53-54). Ferdinand oversaw the execution of key

members of the Brethren, including Czech barons like Wenzel Petipesky, beheaded on

August 22, 1547 (Hutton 54). The same year, Ferdinand issued a proclamation stating all

members of the Brethren had to either join the Catholic Church, or leave the country within six weeks (Hutton 55).

Ferdinand firmly believed that the Brethren would convert to Catholicism. However, before the six weeks were up, the majority of the Brethren had fled Bohemia for Poland, eventually finding shelter in the Lutheran Duchy of East Prussia (Hutton 56-57). In this way, the unity of the Brethren was maintained and the Brethren began the work of converting others to the faith. After the conversion of the Count of Ostrorog in Posen, Poland to the faith in 1551, the membership of the Brethren began to spread. In 1570 Protestant fervor in Poland culminated in the great United Synod of Sendomir, a banding together of various denominations to create a Protestant unity within Poland (Hutton 58-62).

As a result, the end of the 16th century was a brief golden period for the Brethren, with the Church achieving great status, power and respectability in Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia. This golden age reached a pinacle in 1609 when Bohemian nobles, largely converts to the Brethren, forced the Emperor Rudolph II to set his seal to the Bohemian Charter, which granted for the first time in the history of Bohemia full religious liberty to all Protestants (Hutton 77-79). A rule of peace and harmony ensued.

This period of religious tolerance lasted the grand total of 5 years. In 1616 Ferdinand II, a strong supporter of the Jesuits, became King of Bohemia, and almost instantly Catholic oppression of the Protestants began again. The Jesuits, with orders from King Ferdinand II, demolished several Protestant churches, used the wood as

firewood, and replaced Protestant leaders with Roman Catholic priests and services. In May of 1618 defenders of the Bohemia Charter rushed the Royal Castle in Prague, and seizing the two leading officers of Ferdinand's government, threw them out the window, 60 feet to the ground below. The same group of defenders raised an army, deposed Ferdinand II and elected Frederick, the son-in-law of James I of England, as King of Bohemia (Hutton 80-83).

Unfortunately for the Bohemian Protestants, their elected king turned out to be little more than a puppet, and the armies of the Protestant defenders of the Charter were quickly challenged by Catholic forces led by the deposed King Ferdinand II and his Hapsburg allies. The Battle of White Mountain on November 8, 1620 marked the defeat of the Czech armies and their allies by Catholic forces. The victorious Habsburgs were determined to put an end to the Czech heretics. The Hapsburgs planned to do this through various means, including,

> ...public executions, imprisonment, torture, confiscation of property and forced exile. The freedom of territorial rights was infringed by enforced centralization, Czech nationality was extirpated by Germanization, and the last remains of Czech Reformation were rooted out by the governing Catholic absolutism. The population had been reduced to half, one third of the farmland was left untilled and the whole country became impoverished (Rechcigl, "Renewal" 12).

Throughout the 1620s, intense counter-reformation Catholicism forced the Church underground, with most adherents fleeing to Poland to escape the persecution in Moravia and Bohemia (Hiller 2), though thousands also found refuge in Silesia as well as Lusatia (Rechcigl, "Moravian" 153). Churches were torn down and tombs of important members,

such as that of the blind general Zizka at Czaslau, were defiled (de Schweinitz 536).

The survival of the Brethren was greatly aided by a Moravian named Jan Amos Komenský (also known as Comenius) who lived from 1592-1672 and who recorded their history and took up collections for the underground movement, which became known as "the hidden seed" (Mainwaring 141, Marsik 48). In 1632, the Brethren in Moravia and Bohemia consecrated Comenius as a bishop, and "from 1648 to 1671 he held the office of a senior bishop and president of the Synod" (Marsik 48). He was influential not only as an organizer and historian, but also as a theologian. Additionally, Comenius was also one of Europe's leading educators, having been invited in 1641 to England by some members of the English Parliament to improve and reorganize the English education system (Hassé 13).

Comenius is often refered to as "Comenius the Chiliast" referring to "the hope in the imminent of coming of Christ" (Palouš 3). It was Comenius who imparted a millenarian outlook to the Brethren. He saw the age in which he was living as a decisive moment in world history, and foresaw that the millennium, "Christ's prophesied reign on earth, was at hand, and all men were obliged to prepare for its historical reality as rapidly and effectively as possible by reforming both themselves and their fellow human beings" (Palouš 1). Comenius was the first to syncretize a chiliastic, millenarian approach to religion with reforms to science, religion and politics, as well as "an all-encompassing plan for education" (Palouš 3). In doing so, he infused the Church with a unique sense that an age was coming to an end which would be replaced with a more enlightened era.

While chiliast in outlook, Comenius, and through him the Brethren, were also "very much concerned with reality, with the chain of day-to-day events and practical ways of dealing with them" (Palouš 3-4).

The church capital in Lissa, Poland continued amidst difficulties and persecutions until 1656, when the headquarters were sacked and burned (Hassé 13). The church bishop, Comenius, fled to Holland. Several leading members of the Brethren fled to England, including two of the grandsons of Comenius, who found sanctuary at Oxford (Hassé 14). One of these men, Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, was consecrated as Bishop of the Polish branch in 1714 (Hassé 14).

Originally a haven for the Brethren, Moravia was a place of fierce persecution in the early 1700s, and again the evangelical sect was forced into exile (Marsik 48). The sect at this point became popularly known as the Moravians, due to their period spent in Moravia. The Moravians found shelter in Germany in the early eighteenth century, under the patronage of Nicholas Lewis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf (Hiller 3). It was here, finally, that the Moravian church found a permanent home, where it could grow and develop without fear of religious persecution.

Christian David, a carpenter and later the first Moravian missionary to Greenland, was the man who led the first group of Moravians to shelter on property belonging to Nicholas Lewis in Germany. Christian David chose a spot known as Hutberg, or Watch-hill, as the site for the Moravian settlement. The Moravians changed the name of the hill from Watch-hill to Lord's Watch, or Herrnhut (Hutton 121). It was on this spot "amid the

forests of pine and beech they reared their wooden houses" (Hassé 15).

As well as being their spiritual leader, Christian David was their practical architect. After consultation with the group, David oversaw the felling of the first tree and laid out a plan for the settlement of Herrnhut that assumed the shape of a hollow square (Hutton 123). This plan was to prove to be the most common model for later Moravian settlements, both in Europe and abroad, despite Zinzendorf's personal preference for radial town plans based on the work of Roman architect and town planner Pollio Vitruvius (see Thorp). Wherever Moravian communities were erected the "physical pattern was repeated with local variations" (Darley 45). In the words of F.W. Peacock ("Organization" 25), former superintendent of the Labrador missions, "as far as was possible the missionaries had tried to create a microcosm of the world which they knew in Herrnhut, Moravianism's core and model and the architect of its expansion throughout the world."

It was also at Herrnhut that the Moravians developed their own unique pietism,[5] marked by "a deep devotion to the crucified Redeemer and an intense and strenuous demand for total surrender to his will" (Neill 237). It was Zinzendorf, the head of the Church from 1737 until his death in 1760, who gave to the Brethren its global view of

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[5] The Pietistic influence on the development of the Moravian church, particularly during the period of its renewal under Zinzendorf, can not be underestimated. It was Zinzendorf's own pietistic background that in many ways shaped the development of the Unitas Fratrum throughout the later two-thirds of the eighteenth century. For an excellent discussion of Zinzendorf and his relationship to Pietism, see John Weinlick's "Moravianism in the American Colonies" and F. Ernest Stoeffler's German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century. Don Yoder's introduction to The Picture Bible of Ludwig Denig also provides an excellent introduction to Pietism in a colonial context.

Christianity: "The World is my parish", he asserted (Gillis 457). Under Zinzendorf's

leadership the Brethren began a program of aggressive missionary activity throughout the

globe.

Part of this outward drive was due to the spirit of reform which was a crucial part

of the Moravian world-view. However, it may have also developed out of a worsening

political and religious atmosphere in Germany, which meant that the Brethren had "to

subsequently seek a more permanent home and new territory where they could exercise

their religious rights and expand their missionary activities" (Rechcigl, "Footsteps" 79;

"Moravian" 152). The first Moravian missionaries were sent out in 1732 to the West

Indies, and this was followed by work in Greenland in 1733, North America in 1734,

Surinam in 1735 and South Africa in 1736 (Sessler 17). As Rev. Walter Edmunds of

Happy Valley put it, "their goal from the very beginning was not to establish churches

where churches already were, but to take the gospel to people who... had not been

churched, had not been reached by a particular denomination" (Edmunds). Where it was

possible, the Moravian Church purchased land to form settlements, and these colonies

became societies or communities of missionaries (Sessler 17).

The closest precursor to missionary work in Labrador was the Moravian Church

mission work in Greenland. The first Moravian missionaries were sent to Greenland in

1733 (Rechcigl, "Moravian"152, Schattschneider 71) under the leadership of the

Moravian layman Christian David, the carpenter (Neill 237) and founder of the settlement

at Herrnhut mentioned above. The Moravian work in Greenland followed the example of

a Danish pastor named Hans Egede, who had worked for several years in Greenland

without converting a single Inuit. For five years, the Moravian missionaries had the same

result, until in 1738 an Inuk man named Kayarnak converted after hearing the story of

Gethsemane (Hassé 123). Kayarnak's converstion was the first of many. As missionary

work in Greenland grew, it was decided in 1747 to establish the first permanent Moravian

building in Greenland for the specific use of the Greenland missionaries. Prefabricated in

Holland, it containing a chapel and six rooms for the use of the missionaries

(Schattschneider 72). It also provided a model for architectural prefabrication work

carried out elsewhere, including Labrador.

In Greenland, the Moravian missionaries learned to speak and write Inuktitut,

started the work of translating the gospels, and became aware through their Inuit

parishioners of the heathen Inuit living in northern coastal Labrador. With their

knowledge of the Inuit language, the Moravians decided in 1752 to extend their northern

missionary work into Labrador. It was a decision that mirrored missionary work

undertaken in other parts of the globe during the same period. Unfortunately, this attempt

failed. In the words of Sidney Dicker, who was born in OKaK in 1925, "They

disappeared. They were done away with by the savages, hey?" (Dicker). The first effort

resulted in the murder of seven missionaries by the distrustful Inuit, and a further four

attempts at contact along the coast also failed ("Moravian Mission"). The sixth try, in

1771, resulted in the establishment of the first permanent mission station at Nain.

Following the establishment of Nain in 1771, the British government approved a

second Moravian station at OKaK in 1775 and a third named Hoffenthal (Hopedale) in

1782 (Bassler 147). Many of the first missionaries at these three sites were carpenters,

blacksmiths, and builders (Moravian 17). The mission house at Nain, brought from

England on the ship the Jersey Packet (Hiller, "Foundation" 84) was erected in 1771, and

surrounded by a wooden palisade (Hiller, "Foundation" 86). The mission house was

"extended and improved", and a saw mill was constructed in 1772 (Hiller, "Foundation"

90). This saw mill was of great importance in later construction efforts along the coast.

The buildings at OKaK, for example, were prefabricated in Nain (Peacock, "Moravian

Church" 12). The first OKaK building was erected, with three rooms habitable by

October 13, 1776. That autumn, the missionaries added a provisions house and a bake

house on the eastern end of the mission building (Hiller, "Foundation" 96).

The Hopedale mission building, constructed in 1782, survives today as the oldest

timber frame building east of Quebec ("Hopedale" 18). The Moravians set up the first

school in Labrador in 1791 in Nain, and by 1843, "most of the Inuit were literate in their

own language" (Bassler 144). Mission work started at Hebron in 1818 (Peacock,

"Moravian Church" 12), although at that point it was known by its Inuit name of

KangerdluksoaK (Peacock, "Organization" 25). The Moravians' first task, "was to gather

the people in one place, so KangerdluksoaK became the permanent village, renamed

Hebron. It was important to keep the Inuit close to the mission, which made it easier to

preach the gospel and promote Christianity among the Inuit" ("Relocation"). In the

winter of 1831, a "temporary building was prefabricated at the OKaK settlement and

transported by dog team" to Hebron (Peacock, "Organization" 26). The large church

building at Hebron was started at this time, but was not completed until 1838 (Peacock,

"Organization" 26).

Stations were built at Hebron in 1829-1831, Zoar in 1865, and Ramah in 1871

(Gillis 462). The mission station at Makkovik was started in 1896, primarily as a station

to minister to settlers rather than to the Inuit (Hettasch 20; Bassler 143). In 1897 a

boarding school was also established in Makkovik, which "added to the importance of

this community and drew settlers from all the neighboring bays several times a year"

(Lane 6).

The nineteenth century was truly the golden period of Moravian activity along the

northwest coast. The power and authority of the mission stations, unchallenged by either

parishioners or outside sources of authority or economic influence, effectively established

for all practical purposes, a Moravian theocracy for much of the period. Not only did the

early half of the century see the greatest number of conversions to the faith, this period

also saw the greatest bout of architectural construction along the northeast coast in its

history.

In 1900, at the peak period of its operations along the coast, "the Labrador mission

counted a total missionary staff of 37 (including missionaries' wives) and a following of a

fairly constant number of about 1,000 baptized Inuit (from an estimated population of

1,500 Inuit along the entire Labrador coast) and 200-300 so-called settlers (i.e. whites or

half-Inuit)" (Bassler 143). New missions continued to be constructed, including a station

built at Killinek on Cape Chidley in 1904 (Gillis 462), and the establishment of the church at Uviluktok, southeast of the settlement of Hopedale, in the year 1903.

The twentieth century brought a multitude of changes to Labrador, and with them, it also brought a decline in the fortunes of the Moravian Church. While new stations continued to be established well into the century, the latest being the construction of the Moravian church at North West River in the 1960s, it saw the closure of many of the old settlements. The process of mission closure actually started as early as 1894, when the Zoar mission was closed. It was abandoned by 1895, and was followed by mission closures at OKaK and Ramah. The twentieth century also saw the destruction of many of the finest older Moravian buildings in Labrador. This included the destruction of the buildings at OkaK in 1919, Nain in 1921 and Makkovik in the 1940s.

The most dramatic and profound loss to the church came in the winter of 1918-1919, when Spanish Influenza hit the coast of Labrador, an epidemic which killed more people world wide than had been killed in World War I (Peacock, "Moravian Church" 15). The Moravian communities along the coast were decimated, with Hebron and OKaK hit the worst. Of 100 people at the Hebron station, only 14 survived. In total nearly two-thirds of Hebron died, with the survivors largely comprised of Inuit who were out of the community at hunting stations ("Missionary" 39). The loss of life was incredible wherever the disease hit, and many of the communities never recovered from the losses. OKaK was the most affected, with the population dropping from 263 to 59 ("Missionary" 46). It was decided that the station would be closed, with Hebron

remaining open to serve as a link to the relatively new mission at Killinek, the northernmost station in Labrador.

The period following the Second World War also brought profound changes to the coast. In 1942 an air base was constructed at Goose Bay and a church was constructed six miles from the base by Brethren who had moved to the area to work on the construction of the base. The first service was held in the Happy Valley church on December 19, 1954, with the congregation sitting on seats without backs, a wood stove for heat, and a Coleman lantern for light (Broomfield 57). In 1957 Happy Valley became the headquarters of the Labrador mission (Gillis 462). The Moravian schools were entirely responsible for the education of the Inuit until 1946, when the Newfoundland government took over education (Bassler 143). The Newfoundland government's policy of resettlement following Confederation with Canada in 1949 brought about the abandonment of the Hebron station in the 1950s.

Another mission was established in 1960 at North West River (Gillis 462), but by that point, the pattern of Moravian settlement had changed forever. The original coastal settlements of Nain and Hopedale remained, but real community growth was to be found only in the settlements of Makkovik and Happy Valley, which both had a considerable settler and non-Moravian population.

In 1995, the Moravian Church in Labrador had four congregations, in Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, and Happy Valley, with fellowships both in North West River and

in Postville (Edmunds).[6] In 1995, Nain was the community with the largest active

Moravian population. Rev. Lawrence Junek estimated in 1995 there were one thousand

people associated in one way or another with the Moravian church in and around Nain.

He reported,

> "There are approximately about 240 confirmed in the faith. They are the
> communicants. Then you have your children, which is around 360 to 400. They
> are baptized and they are under age 15. They can be up to 500 almost. Then we
> have another approximately 400 who are baptized but never confirmed their faith,
> they are not communicants. So that runs around 1000. The rest are outsiders,
> around 100 to 200" (Junek).

The actual number of active church-goers however was much lower. In August of

1995 the average congregation size was around 60 people while the communion service

drew between 43 and 45 people. Special holidays generally attracted more celebrants.

As Rev. Junek stated, "Easter time we had 110 that were present."

The question of whether church membership in Labrador is or is not in decline is

a difficult one to answer easily. As Rev. S. Walter Edmunds states,

> Numerically the church has been growing, because people have the
> psychology of being born into a church, born of parents who were
> Moravian or are Moravian. People tend to identify themselves as
> Moravian. So to a certain extent the numbers have been growing,
> but the support of the church and the attendance at worship and
> such has been declining. We are in the process now of trying to
> find ways of reviving the spirit of the church and, if you will, not
> necessarily gaining new membership but reactivating the people
> who identify themselves as Moravians, trying to instill some sense
> of renewal in those people. It is a difficult situation because as

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[6]

A "fellowship" is established for the purposes of maintaining practices of worship in
communities where there are not enough people to support a registered congregation, but
where there are enough people who identify themselves as Moravians (Edmunds).

with a lot of organizations, the church in particular, our church in
Labrador is very old, so it has become quite common for people to
identify with it, but not necessarily claim ownership of it. So you
have a number of people in any given community in Labrador who
know the Moravian Church and know of the Moravian Church and
even identify themselves as members of the Moravian Church but
have not been active in its support or for that matter in the practice
of worship (Edmunds).

The face of the Moravian Church in Labrador continues to change to this day, a

process that will, with all likelihood, never stop. The newest church, the one in North

West River, is also the most recently lost. The church was closed in 1993 due to

declining membership, and the building itself, constructed by community labour in the

1960s, had been destroyed through neglect and rot by 1998.

In every community where the Moravians lived and worked along the Labrador

coast, they had a profound impact not only on the people, but also on the landscape, and it

is in their architecture that this impact is most apparent. Even where settlements have

long been abandoned to the winds and snows it is the Moravian attention to architectural

design that lingers in the slouched wall of a derelict building or the humped rectangle of a

nearly forgotten foundation. And it is in these wooden, brick and cut stone fossils that

something of the rich legacy of the past two hundred and fifty years of Moravian

settlement can be read. The next chapter discusses the first of these structures and the

beginnings of Moravian architecture in Labrador, a laying out of the foundation upon

which future architectural developments would be erected.

Chapter Three

Planting the Flag

In terms of architectural uniqueness, age, and associated history, the 1782 mission station in Hopedale is arguably **the** most important heritage structure in Newfoundland and Labrador. Despite the building's unique place in the architectural history of the Dominion of Canada, its links to the building styles of mediaeval Europe, and its claim to be the oldest dateable timber frame building east of Quebec, it conveys a certain architectural humility. The old mission house today sits unused, unpainted, locked up tight, and overshadowed physically by the much larger Moravian church and mission
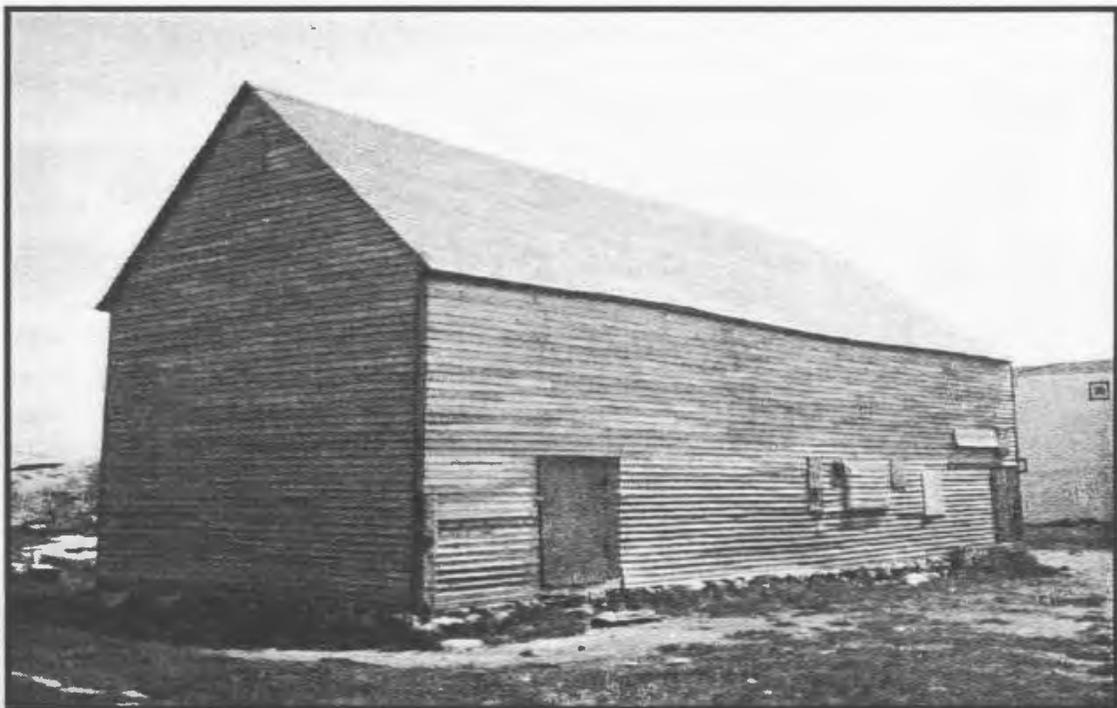
Figure 5 *1782 Mission Station, Hopedale.*

complex constructed in the mid-1800s. Approaching Hopedale from the sea, the building is hidden completely behind its nineteenth century replacement, and approaching from the land behind, the building lies at an angle to the mission, its back against a rock outcrop, like a toy house shoved aside in favour of a newer and brighter plaything.

Yet in spite of its poor cousin appearance, the 1782 mission building is the proud inheritor of the religious dramas of the Hussite wars, the years of persecution of the Unitas Fratrum, and the first fervent movements of the Brethren out into the wider world. As well, it stands today as arguably the most powerful remaining architectonic symbol of the expansion of the British Empire into coastal Labrador in the 18th century. This expansion, the first phase of European settlement along the Labrador coast, began with a failed attempt at Nisbett's Harbour, and culminated in three large land grants by the British Crown at Nain in 1771, OKaK in 1775 and Hoffenthal (today's Hopedale) in 1782. Today, the 1782 Mission building in Hopedale is the only extant architectural reminder of this phase of Labrador's history, a period which marked a radical shift in the relationship between the land and its inhabitants. European expansion into Labrador meant the beginning of a new era for the people of Labrador, politically, socially, and spiritually.

The start of mission work in Labrador meant new beginnings for the missionaries as well. Moving into Labrador from points beyond the Labrador Sea, expansion for the missionaries brought its own problems, including a lack of local building materials. Much of the material for the eighteenth century mission buildings in Labrador were

imported out of necessity. Since the inception of missionary activity in the north, the

Moravians had been importing building materials, and in some instances, entire buildings.

In 1747, for example, the first permanent Moravian building was constructed in

Greenland, itself a prefabricated structure.

On July 31st, 1752, the British ship "Hope" anchored in a good, well-wooded bay

along the Labrador coast, a bay which the crew christened Nisbet's Harbour, most likely

north of present day Hopedale. There, four missionaries unloaded a prefabricated

building they had brought from Europe, and prepared to erect the first Moravian church

mission station in Labrador (Peacock, "Moravian Church" 6-7).

Figure 6 *Nain Mission building, undated postcard, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives collection 95-062.*

As mentioned earlier, this mission failed[7], but in 1771, with the establishment of

Nain, the prefabricated buildings were ready to roll once more. The first mission house at

Nain was brought from England on the ship the Jersey Packet (Hiller, "Foundation" 84)

and was erected in 1771. The same year, the building was surrounded by a wooden

palisade (Hiller, "Foundation" 86). The first OKaK building, made habitable

Figure 7 *OKaK Mission, undated photo, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives collection 069.*

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[7]

 In an exciting discovery made in the summer of 2000, Hans Rollmann along with the
Memorial University Archaeology Unit and the Newfoundland Archaeological Heritage
Outreach Program, uncovered the foundations of the failed mission. According to
Rollmann, "measurements and artifacts identified it clearly as the house described in the
diaries" ("Man" 15).

by October 13, 1776, was prefabricated at Nain (Hiller, "Foundation" 96).[8]

Sections of the 1782 Hopedale building were also prefabricated, a process that would be repeated with other new stations along the coast. Proof of this for the Hopedale building can be found in the nature and size of the interior boards. The interior of the building is sheathed in vertical boards that measure approximately 1 inch thick, and vary‧ from 4 inches to 12 inches in width. While some lumber came from Nain, it is possible that portions were milled in Europe. Dalibard *et al.* (23-24) write,

> While the framing members may have come from Nain it is possible that the boards contained in the building were brought out from Germany or England. It seems quite improbable that trees of the size to provide 12" boards would have been found on the coast. Another point that lends credulence to the above is that the saw mill was not erected until 1840.[9] The saw marks on the boards are

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[8]The importation of entire buildings may seem unusual, but it was in fact not uncommon. John Rempel (34) argues that,

> This practice of importing at least the main structural timbers in prefabricated form was much commoner in early Canadian history than is generally supposed. Perhaps the first buildings to be shipped were dismantled houses from Ste Croix to Port Royal in 1605. When the New England troops arrived at Grand Pré to fight the French in 1710-11, they brought with them 'materials for two blockhouses'... and when New Englanders later arrived to settle in pre-Loyalist Nova Scotia, they brought with them not only tools and cherished pieces of furniture but also pre-cut and hewn timbers to build their new homes.

9

While Dalibard *et* al. are correct in dating the Hopedale sawmill to this period, the Nain sawmill was in operation as early as 1772 (Hiller, "Foundation" 90), well before the establishment of the settlement at Hopedale, and much of the preparing of interior boards for the 1782 building could have been done at Nain. Either way, sections of the building

at right angles to the boards and quite smooth, a characteristic one would not expect to find in hand sawn boards. The growth rings of the board should be compared with the framing timber for further verification of the source of the boards.

The 1782 building is a two-and-a-half-storey timber frame building, approximately 49'6" by 20'6", including a small two-storey addition/entrance area on the southern side of the structure. The building has a sharp peaked gable roof, except for the addition, which

Figure 8 *Rear view of 1782 Mission, showing addition on south side.*

has a half hip roof. It is possible that this addition was constructed sometime after the known 1782 construction date, but it was certainly not added in recent history, and most likely dates to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

The main section of the building is framed out in seven bays, each bay[10] being approximately seven feet in length. The building features diagonal brace studding, a typical feature of Germanic timber frame construction, as noted above. A 1973 architectural investigation report describes the bracing system for this building in this

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were either prefabricated, or at the very least pre-cut, elsewhere and then brought to the site ready to be put together.

10

A bay is a section of a building repeated several times, or a space or division of a wall within a building between two architectural members (beams, pillars, etc.). It should not be confused here with a bay window (Putnam and Carlson 42, Penney 14).

manner:

> The posts run the full height and are tenoned into the sill[11] and plate.[12] Girts[13] at the second floor level are tenoned into the posts and carry the ends of two of the three joists[14] per bay. The remaining joist is tenoned directly into the post. Intermediate girts, approximately mid-way between sill and second floor girts, and between second floor girts and plate are also tenoned into the posts. In general, the bracing pattern of the frame, which is Germanic in style, consists of full length braces from sill to plate. Braces are tenoned into the sill at a point close to the bottom of one post and run in a diagonal line to the plate near the adjacent post where it is fixed with a tenon into the plate. Where the brace passes the girts it is halved into them from the outside face (Dalibard *et al.* 23).

Dalibard's description of the second floor joists (*i.e.* "two of the three joists per bay") is a little misleading. Three joists per bay, with seven bays, would give a total of twenty-one joists, when in fact there are twenty-three. A more accurate description would be that each bay has two joists which trisect the girt, as well as one joist per post, with a total of eight posts. In the attic joists, there is still one joist per post, but only one joist

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[11]

The sill here refers to the horizontal timbers which form the lowest members of a frame supporting the superstructure of a building (Putnam and Carlson 403). It should not be confused here with the lowest member under a door or window, which is also called a sill.

[12]

The plate is the top horizontal timber upon which the attic joists and roof rafters rest and to which these members are generally fastened (Putnam and Carlson 337).

[13]

A girt is a horizontal member used in a braced timber frame construction. It carries the second floor joists (Putnam and Carlson 217).

[14]

A joist is a floor support beam, a heavy piece of horizontal timber to which the boards of a floor and/or the covering for a ceiling is attached. Generally, joists are laid edgewise to form the floor support (Putnam and Carlson 254, Penney 22).

per girt, for a total of sixteen attic joists. Originally the building would have had twenty

floor joists, matching the pattern of the second floor joists, covered with a wooden plank

floor. However, none of this remains.

All existing floor joists are

approximately 20 feet long, with the posts

being approximately 15 feet long. Currently

there is no source of comparable timber

anywhere in the Hopedale area. It is believed

(Dalibard *et al.* 23) that the timber for the

building's frame was felled in the Nain area,

about one hundred miles up the coast. The

framing of the building is mortise and

tenoned, and joined with wood pegs, a

feature which is also typical of later

buildings on the coast. The interior walls are

uncovered, showing the framing structure.

Figure 9 *Second floor corner, interior, showing vertical posts, plate and diagonal bracing.*

Referring to the history of wood-based building technologies, John Rempel writes

"The first fasteners were the pin or peg, the nail and the spike; advanced technology

brought in the screw, and the bolt and nut" (97). Moravian buildings in Labrador utilized

both the earliest and the latest, the peg and the bolt and nut. Sidney Dicker, who did

some interior work in the past 20 years on the Moravian Boarding School in Nain, stated

"They never used nails, they bored the holes through the wood... and just put wooden

[pegs]. They used juniper, it was the hardest wood they had over there, there wasn't much

birch. Talk about being well built." (Sidney Dicker). The Moravian half-timber

buildings in Labrador, including the 1782 building, were almost exclusively pegged, with

no nails used in the construction of the building frame. In crucial framing areas, such as

in the floor support joists, metal bolts and nuts were used. This choice of pegs over bolts

was most likely a practical one. Pegs could be manufactured readily by Moravian

craftsmen on site, while metal bolts or nuts would have been brought in from Europe.

It would seem that part, if not all, of the spaces between the lower storey posts,

girts and bracing sections were infilled with brick and mortar. Some areas are still intact,

while other sections show the remains of lime mortar staining, indicating that the brick

had been removed at some point.

There is very little left of the interior of the structure beyond its basic framework.

Interior partitions, as they now exist, may not be exactly representative of the interior as it

was in 1782. The 1973 Parks Canada architectural report on the building indicates much

the same thing:

> At the present time the lower floor is divided into two main rooms
> by a partition across the building about out the centre point. The
> situation is somewhat similar on the second level except that an
> existing partition divides the area into two space[s], one which is
> 3/7ths of the area and the other 4/7ths. There is obvious evidence
> to indicate that the latter area had been divided into two equal size
> areas. There is some evidence of further division of space on the
> first level but it would require more detailed investigation to
> determine precise locations. As this building is originally

presumed to have contained a meeting hall, kitchen, storage, rooms for married couples and single brethren it surely must have had some additional partitions to what it now contains (Dalibard *et al.* 22).

The difficulties in determining the original floor plan of the 1782 building are due to a number of factors. The first is the reuse of the building, after the construction of the "newer" Mission buildings in the 1860s, as something other than what was originally intended. For some years, a portion of the original church was used to house pigs, and another section was at one point in this century used to house an electric generator (Dalibard *et al.* 24). The second factor is that the building appears to have been moved at some point from its original location, possibly during the construction of the 1860s Mission complex.

Even upon a cursory visual inspection, it is obvious that the stone foundation of the 1782 building is of much poorer construction standards than the later buildings, utilizing smaller stones, which are more loosely placed, and with less apparent care in
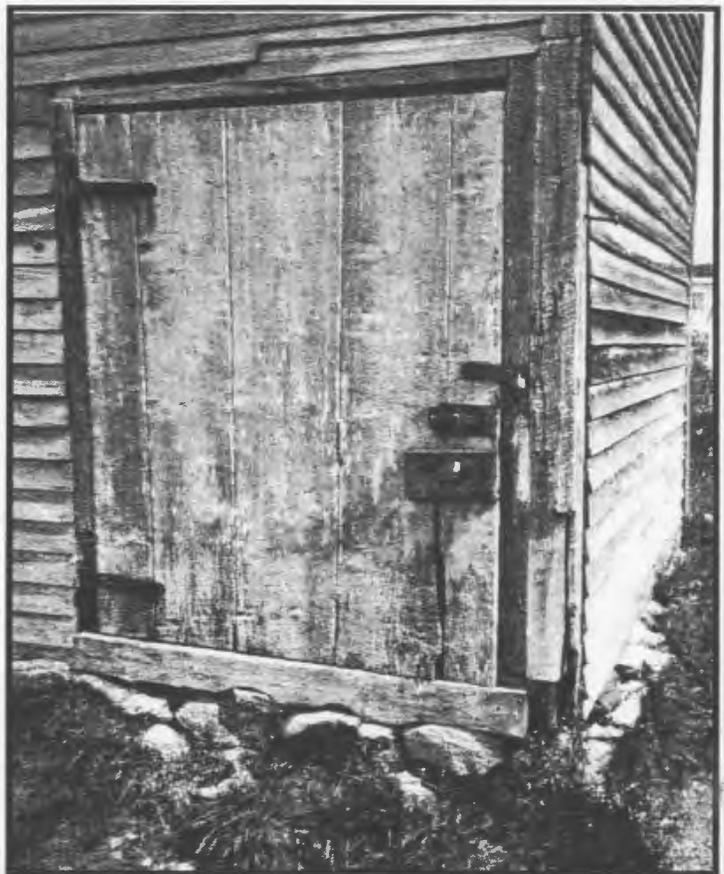
Figure 10 *South-west entrance, showing roughly constructed stone foundation.*

maintaining a well constructed, level course. The foundation of the 1782 building has a much lower height than the other buildings, indeed, much lower than any other Moravian building surveyed along the Labrador coast. In other Moravian buildings, for example, the stonework achieves a height, in places, over 1/2 a meter or more. In the 1782 building, the foundation rarely rises over an average of 25 cm. The middle section of the east side of the structure, in fact, does not have a separate foundation at all, but rather rests on an outcrop of bedrock, which rises up sharply to the immediate east of the building. Over the years, this has actually caused a number of problems for the building, including uneven settlement which resulted in a warping of the frame, as well as pooling of melting water on the east side, causing rot and deterioration which required the replacement of sills, posts, and boarding on that side.

In their architectural report on the building, Dalibard *et al.* have argued that the building was rotated 90° from its original location, and much of the original stone foundation robbed to provide stone for the 1860s foundations. The movement of the building may also explain the missing floor joists. If the 1782 building's original function as a church and mission house was lost after or during the construction of the newer buildings, the missionaries "would not have taken as much care in supporting it. They may even have salvaged the material from the lower floor for use in the new work" (Dalibard *et al.* 22). The moving of buildings by the Moravians should not be read as unusual. Indeed it is important to remember that these earliest buildings were in fact prefabricated.

The obvious skills and talents needed to prefabricate buildings like these, to oversee their construction, movement, and reconstruction, were firmly grasped and mastered by the missionaries themselves. While many of the Brethren throughout their six hundred year history have been theologians, scholars, nobles and the educated, a surprising number of influential Moravians have been members of the trade classes. As mentioned earlier the first Moravian missionary to Greenland, Christian David, was a carpenter, and George Israel, the man who converted the Count of Ostrorog to the faith in 1551, was the son of a blacksmith (Hutton 57). Many of the first missionaries were carpenters, blacksmiths, and builders (Moravian 17). For example, Jens Haven, the founder of the settlement at Nain, was also skilled as a carpenter (Peacock, "Moravian Church" 8; Gillis 458).

Built by skilled hands steeped in the building traditions of their homeland, the Hopedale mission structure, like other eighteenth and nineteenth century Moravian church buildings, is firmly rooted in the vernacular architectural styles of Central and Eastern Europe. The building is clearly erected on a conceptual framework dating to the Late Mediaeval and Early Renaissance periods in Eastern Europe. It has been argued for example that the First House, constructed in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania as part of the Moravian settlement there in 1741, shows a striking architectural similarity to the original house in which the Unitas Fratrum organized three hundred years earlier, in 1457, in the valley of the Kunwald in the former Czechoslovakia (Murtagh 23). The Bethlehem First House was a long rectangular building with "a very steep sloping roof, containing an attic

with adequate sleeping quarters for a number of persons" (Murtagh 23), a description that can be applied to various other Moravian buildings in the New World. The First House was divided by a long partition into two sections, one of which was used for animals, such as cattle ("Bethlehem" 78).

Like other early Moravian architecture in North America, the 1782 Hopedale building shows strong European influences. According to William Murtagh, this type of building has precedents in the vernacular buildings of the Black Forest area of southern Germany and in the Emmenthal valley in Switzerland (Murtagh 23). Architectural historian Alan Gowans (41) argues that the prototype for Moravian buildings in Pennsylvania was the "large, multifamily German homestead, which in this context took over social functions of palace, school, and sanctuary." Johanna Lewis, an

Figure 11 *Society of the Solitary Saal, Ephrata, PA, undated photo courtesy Dr. Neil R. Jarvis.*

American architectural historian, has noted that early Moravian buildings "at Bethabara and Salem reflected German influences" (Lewis 1989a, 132). In 1735 The Society of the

Solitary,[15] a Pietist Protestant monastic community, erected their Saal or meeting-house at the Cloister at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, a meeting-house which has been described as being architecturally "Medieval and intensely German in flavour" (Hansen 242). While there are large theological differences between the Society and the Brethren, there are striking similarities between their buildings. It has been noted that for the Society, "domestic architecture and not ecclesiastical or public buildings served as models, and the Saal has a rough-hewn appearance due to the split, oaken clapboard siding, the exceedingly steep roof of a German farmhouse and rows of dormer windows of the characteristic form called 'shed'. The small hood sheltering the entrance door is also Germanic in origin" (Hansen 242). The Ephrata Cloister and the later Moravian building in Labrador share many of the same architectural features, and it is likely that the first permanent Moravian building erected in Greenland in 1747 was of the same form, containing a chapel and six rooms for the use of the missionaries (Schattschneider 72).

Figure 12 *Roof detail, North gable end.*

The buildings constructed by

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[15] According to architectural historian Dolores Hayden (34), those responsible for the construction of buildings at Ephrata used "wood joints rather than nails in imitation of the Temple's construction without the sound of hammers" and that they "created doorways that one must stoop to enter, since they believed that 'low and narrow is the way,' and their literal interpretation of scripture lead them to extreme asceticism."

the Moravians outside of Europe in many ways follow the examples constructed in

Europe. The earliest buildings all featured a steeply pitched gable roof, and the later

buildings often had dormer windows. This pitched roof was by far the most common

type of roof constructed for mission buildings in Labrador. The earliest surviving

example of this is the 1782 church building in Hopedale.

Timber framing was, in mediaeval central Europe, the common form (Hansen

155). One typical German feature of buildings constructed in this manner was the

elimination of vertical studding common in English building styles. Studs were replaced

with "a diagonal brace from the sill to the upper plate between posts at the corners", with

horizontal rails tenoned into the diagonal brace beams (Lewis, "Social" 133). This type

of construction was typical of Germanic buildings of the era, and dates back to the

mediaeval period (Pounds 122). The technique of half-timbering with brick infill was

known in the English tradition as "nogging" and was in use from at least the twelfth

century onward, with early infill taking the form of willow-wattle or field-stone set in

clay or mortar (Braun 46).The concept behind it is much older, the origins of the practice

dating back to prehistoric Europe, where wood-built houses consisting of a frame of stout

timbers were infilled with woven lathes, daubed with clay and covered with roughly cut

boards (Pounds 122). The Hopedale example is possibly the oldest datable example of

brick nogging in Canada. Dalibard *et al.* (24) wrote,

> Outside of the building, there is a pathway laid with brick leading
> up to an entrance of the later Mission House. From the size, colour
> and texture of these bricks it would appear that they are the same

type as those still in the walls of the 1782 building. It is quite
possible that some of the bricks were removed to form the pathway
when the building ceased to serve its original function.

But what did the building mean? What does it represent in terms of its place in the

history of the Moravian church, or the architectural history of Labrador, or indeed,

European settlement in North America? Like any artifact, the object is imbued with

multitudinous layers of meanings, some perhaps obvious, some less so. It is possible

however, to suggest a few.

The 1782 structure was constructed first and foremost as a mission station, and as

such, is inextricably linked to the history of European settlement in coastal Labrador. The

idea of this type of settlement has become linked with several popular images over the

years. The image of the explorer landing on the shores of the new found land, planting a

flag and exclaiming "I claim this land in the name of England/Spain/France/*etc.*" has

become, in art and literature over the past several centuries, a popular and almost

ubiquitous representation of the act of colonization. Indeed, it has so permeated the

popular imagination that at the time of the Apollo landing, television viewers across the

globe witnessed modern day explorer Neil Armstrong (re)enact the same drama on the

surface of the moon, the flag complete with a stiffening wire to make it appear to billow

in the airlessness of space. In more recent local history, it was a scene that was repeated

over and over *ad nauseam* in the press, popular media, advertising, and folk imagination

during the Cabot 500 celebrations here in Newfoundland in 1997.[16]

16

The replica ship "Matthew" landing at Bonavista to crowd fanfare and in the company of

Despite their German ethnicity, their use of the German language, and the obvious derivations of their building styles, the Moravian settlers in Labrador were representatives of the British Empire. The Moravian settlements in Labrador were part of a British policy to establish a British presence in a section of their colonial possessions that was at that point, as far as British interests were concerned, largely "unsettled" and "uncivilized" (ignoring, of course, in good colonial fashion the presence of the indigenous Inuit population, who had been there for countless generations). Arguably, Moravian ethnic identity can be viewed at a political level in much in the same way in John Cabot/Giovanni Caboto's, where ethnic derivation was secondary to agent status as a representative of the British Crown. The erection of the earliest Moravian buildings, the 1756 house at Nisbett's Harbour, the establishment of Nain in 1771, OKaK in 1775 and Hoffenthal (Hopedale) in 1782, can be read as flag-plantings by the British government in a section of their North American holdings that were, at that point, unconsolidated. And while the architecture of this period itself certainly lacks any overt British-ness, it is clearly of a pioneering style, rough, multi-functional, unornamented, and free from the Germanic elaboration of detail and stylistic concerns that dominate the next phase of construction along the coast. The erection of any building along the 18th century Labrador coast, even if it was by German missionaries, represents the concrete, physical expansion of British colonial interests.

The early history of European contact with Labrador was marked largely by the

Her Majesty the Queen is only one example of this type of scene.

hostility expressed on both sides between Europeans and Inuit. Furthermore, even by the mid 18th century, Labrador was still not under British rule, and in fact, was not part of the British Empire until it was granted to it under the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (Kennedy 197). While there were fishing communities and establishments along the southern coast of Labrador in the Strait of Belle Isle, there was no European settlement at all along the northeast coast. After 1763, it was realized by the British Colonial Office that some sort of presence along that coastline was needed.

Permission for Moravian settlement in Labrador was largely expedited by the vision of Sir Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland. Palliser saw in the Moravian missions a way in which to pacify the Inuit, promote the fishery and trade, and consolidate British territorial claims. When Jens Haven, the Danish Moravian missionary arrived in Newfoundland in 1764, it was Palliser who issued Haven with a proclamation granting the missionary royal protection. The proclamation read,

> Hitherto the Eskimoux have been considered in no other light than
> as thieves and murders, but as Mr. Haven has formed his laudable
> plan, not only of uniting these people with the English nation, but
> of instructing them in the Christian religion, I require, by virtue of
> the powers delegated to me, that all men, whosoever it may
> concern, lend them all the assistance in their power (Gillis 458).

By 1769, Palliser and the Moravians had managed to convince the Board of Trade that missionary work along the Labrador coast would have a "civilizing" effect on the Inuit, and that this would be a direct boon to British authorities. Rev. Edmunds of Happy Valley explained it thusly,

The ministry originally began to the native people of Labrador as a
means of, as history books relate, as a means of pacifying the
native for one thing. The Moravian Church was invited by the
British Government to begin work in Labrador. And the other
reason was a theological one, from the perspective of the Church
that the native people were not being reached by the Gospel of
Jesus Christ (Edmunds).

In the year 1769, King George III gave a land grant of a hundred thousand acres in

Labrador to the Moravian Brethren, the exact site of the acreage to be chosen by them

(Peacock 1976, 10). In 1771, Nain was chosen as the location, and it became the

furthermost outpost of British authority in the colonies along the north Atlantic. In 1774,

the British authorities, apparently impressed with the Moravian settlement at Nain, and

supporting the establishment of further settlements under British rule, issued a second

land grant which led to the establishment of OKaK in 1775 (Gillis 461). In 1782, a third

land grant was given, and Hoffenthal (Hopedale) was established that year.

The 1782 Hopedale building, the only surviving building from this period, was

constructed to be both simple in form and multifunctional out of necessity. Yet the

building, though much less architecturally complex than the buildings that followed, is

the earliest remaining example of the physical and political conversion of the landscape

by the Moravian settlers. The first conversion of an Inuit to the faith did not occur until

five years[17] after the first settlement at Nain had been established, but by that point, the

"civilizing" of the Inuit's world had already begun.

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[17] This convert, a man named Kingminguse, was baptized as Peter in 1776. Peter was
faithful to his vows for a number of years, before marrying a second wife, who he told the
missionaries he needed to help him with his boats (Mission 19).

The discomfort of the early Moravians in their new surroundings also took a tangible expression. As Harry Symons (ix) wrote, "the fence is inseparable from the history of men", and the fence, certainly, is inextricable from the history of Moravian settlement in Labrador. It has been argued that "the Moravians [drew] a sharp line between their communities and the outside world" (Mainwaring 140), and sometimes this delineation took the physical form of a barrier. The first Mission building at Nain, built in 1771, was surrounded by a wooden palisade of eight hundred stakes, each six to eight inches thick and eight feet long (Hiller, "Foundation" 86). While the palisade may have been a response to the perceived hostility of the Inuit, it also served to mark the Moravian's territory as ideologically distinct, and to illustrate the boundary between the ideal Moravian socialist utopia, and the heathen world of the Labrador Inuit with all its heathen evils. [18]

In the Moravian settlements much further south, such as the settlement at Schoenbrunn, Ohio, founded in 1772, fences served to keep cattle out of residential areas (Marsik 52). However, in Labrador, where there was no cattle, fences erected around garden[19] areas served possibly in part to protect crops from caribou, but they also stood as the dividing line between ordered cultural space and space that was still part of the wild. Distinct physical boundaries for any communitarian serve to "emphasize a community's

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[18] The phrases "heathen" and "savage" are in common usage in coastal Labrador, used to refer to the pre-Christian Inuit in Labrador. The words are often used by Inuit themselves to describe people who may or may not be their own ancestors.

[19] For a discussion of Moravian gardens in Labrador see Jarvis ("Garden"; "Converting").

territory as a symbolic whole, separate from society" (Hayden 42).

The 1782 Hopedale mission building was part of the physical flag planting of buildings, fences, and (quite quickly after the arrival of the Moravians) graveyards, that co-existed with a less tangible though equally colonizing practice of naming. Created or modified aspects of the landscape, like gardens, graveyards, buildings, and settlements, were all given religious or inspirational names. The station originally known by the Inuit name of Avertok (Dalibard et al. 4), was renamed Hoffenthal, The Valley of Hope, today's Hopedale. Unmodified aspects of the landscape were also named in a similar fashion. Hills, bays, and promontories were renamed with Christian names, incorporating aspects of the landscape which could not be otherwise by tamed into the "entire land in which people who belonged to the Brethren lived" (in Lewis 1989a, 127). The imposing black granite cliffs which overshadow Nain, for example, were christened Sophia and Maria, after the wives of early missionaries (Peacock and Jackson 30), while a nearby brook in Nain was rechristened the Elbe ("Moravian" 19).

The erection of the Moravian mission buildings in this period, along with their associated gardens, fences created a sense of order in a chaotic wilderness. It was a visual political symbol of a changing Labrador, identifiable with what Sir Hugh Palliser viewed as the "laudable plan.. of uniting these people with the English nation" (Gillis 458). Both the establishment of a physical presence in the forms of architecture and landscape architecture, and the (re)naming of the land itself marked a dramatic and historic shift in the relationship between the land and it inhabitants. Where the Labrador Inuit had existed

for centuries relying on a system of land/inhabitant relationship perhaps closest to the Roman legal concept of usufruct, or use rights, the English government used the Moravian church to enforce a fundamental shift to land ownership. The 1782 Hopedale building stands today as a marker of the 1782 land grant, a planting of the Union Jack, a signature of legal ownership on the map of coastal Labrador by the British Empire, and as a chapter in the early religious history of North America. It was only after the Moravians were firmly established along the Labrador coast that their theological worldview took an architectural form. This second phase of development is the subject of the next chapter, the fluorescence of a "Moravian" style of architecture along the Labrador coast.

Chapter Four

Order and Identity

If the first phase of Moravian construction in Labrador represents a foot in the door, so to speak, the second phase represents something much grander, the development of an architectural style reflective of what was, to all intents and purposes, a Moravian theocratic state in northern Labrador. And, as it represents this shift from pioneering efforts to the total religious, social and economic control of the coast, the architecture in turn demonstrates a massive shift in style, from the simple multi-use 1782 mission building to the large, ornate and impressive building complexes of Hebron and Hopedale.

The second phase of construction in Labrador, which dates approximately from 1829 to 1904, saw a huge growth in mission stations. In Hopedale, the community profiled in the previous chapter, the second phase of building spans the periods 1850 to 1861, covering the construction of the second church and associated

Figure 13 *Hopedale Mission complex, as seen from the harbour, with the church on the right.*

dwelling house, as well as the period from 1861 to 1898 including the construction of

various outbuildings connected

with mission operations. Stations

were also built at Hebron in 1829-

1831, and smaller mission stations

were built at Zoar (Zoar Bay, south

of Nain) in 1865, at Ramah

(Ramah Bay, north of Hebron) in

1871, and at Killinek on Cape

Chidley (Port Burwell on

Figure 14 *Ramah station, undated photo, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives collection 069.*

Labrador's northernmost tip) in 1904 (Gillis 462). The last of the large scale mission

construction projects was the establishment of the station at Makkovik in 1896, and the

erection of a large church there in that year.

Unlike the previous phase of construction, there are a number of buildings extant

today in Labrador that date from this period. While scattered buildings remain in

Makkovik and Nain, the best examples are the large mission complexes at Hopedale and

Hebron. The Hopedale complex is by far the best preserved of the two, but the Hebron

complex is in some ways more representative of the period than that of Hopedale in that it

is of a more typical form, and bears greater similarities to its contemporary mission

structures along the coast. There are other isolated buildings remaining such as the old

boarding school in Nain and the current museum building in Makkovik, but the Hebron

and Hopedale complexes remain the best examples. This chapter will focus on the

Hebron complex, and use it to describe the general pattern of building along the coast in

this time frame.

As in the previous phase of construction along the Labrador coast, prefabrication

of building components played an important part in the erection of Moravian structures in

this period. Prefabrication on a large scale was impractical given most communitarian

organizations' resources, but for the Moravian church with its established economic

network and membership of carpenters, artisans, architects, and blacksmiths,

prefabrication made perfect sense, particularly in areas where timber may have been

scarce. After the construction of the sawmill in Nain, buildings could be prefabricated

locally, such as the buildings at OKaK which were prefabricated in Nain (Peacock,

"Moravian Church" 12). Even before the construction of the sawmill, buildings were

partially prefabricated at Nain. By the mid-nineteenth century, prefabrication had reached

new heights in Europe. Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, built to house London's Great

Exhibition of 1851, was prefabricated and designed so that it could be taken down and

erected on another site (Dixon and Muthesius 101-103). This building was apparently

greatly admired by communitarian socialist groups in North America, "perhaps because

of its associations with greenhouses and gardens symbolic of Eden, or its prefabrication,

symbolic of easy replication" (Hayden 34).[20] The framing members for the Hebron

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[20]

As late as 1896 entire buildings were still being imported from Germany. In 1896 the
mission ship Harmony carried a prefabricated church, school and living accomodations
from Europe to Makkovik (Moravian 25). The Makkovik mission house was

buildings were hewn and shaped at Nain, as were roof shingles (Peck and Dalibard 9).

In addition to prefabricated sections, other architectural elements were imported rather than constructed on site. Parks Canada researchers have argued that boards, windows, window frames, doors, door frames, and hardware[21] were all imported from Germany for the Hebron building (Peck and Dalibard 9). However, Rev. Peacock wrote that the 180 windows frames and storm windows for the building were actually constructed on site by Brother August Freytag who also constructed the stairs and bannisters for the buildings (Peacock "Organization" 25).

The main architectural complex at Hebron was constructed between 1829 and

Figure 15 *Hebron Mission complex, southern elevation.*

prefabricated in Nesky, Germany by the firm of Oonmark and Christoph, shipped to Makkovik and assembled by the missionary Jannasch, who was also a carpenter (Hettasch 21).

21

"The hardware is also quite unique and well wrought, showing excellent craftsmanship" (Poirier and Peck 9).

1831, and is comprised of two two-storey main buildings joined end to end (the church and mission house), with a third attached to the rear of the building by a covered corridor (the workshop). In its early history, the complex contained a forge, carpentry shop, bakery, and "other facilities essential to the largely self-contained communal lifestyle of the Moravians" (Taylor and Wright 468). These "other facilities" may have included a brewery.[22] The mission house would have contained rooms for missionary families, storekeepers, teachers, storerooms, dining rooms and kitchen facilities (Peacock, "Organization" 25).

Looking at the complex from the southern elevation, the church portion (to the west) features two covered doorways or porticos, one to the west and one to the east. Both doorways at the time of their construction had two double exterior doors, one set opening out, the other opening inwards, with an interior set of double doors opening inwards.

Each portico at one point had

Figure 16 *Church portico, East entrance.*

"In those early days light beer was the common drink and tea and coffee luxuries enjoyed only on special occasions" (Peacock, "Organization" 25).

exterior railings and steps, though these are now badly deteriorated, and also boasted a

fanlight window, although these have been removed and boarded over. Indeed, all the

exterior windows on the building were boarded over by Parks Canada in the 1970s and

1980s in an attempt to stabilize the building, and to slow down its deterioration. This

deterioration is noticeable on the eastern half of the complex, which is the Mission house.

The mission house originally featured two covered doorways like those on the church, but

the wooden foundations of these porticos have given way, and the entire portico in both

instances has collapsed to the south, pulling away completely from the building, and lies

on the ground in front of the building. A Parks Canada report in 1978 noted that the

porches "are in bad condition, with steps and railings adrift and with some doors missing"

(Poirier and Peck 5), so the separation of the porches from the building has occurred at

some point after 1978.

In spite of exterior decay, the interior of the complex is, even after close to fifty

years of abandonment, relatively sound and a testament to the skill of the builders. The

structure is set on a foundation of dry laid stone. This stone, cut locally, has been split to

provide fairly even blocks. The wall of the foundation actually starts on bedrock at the

western edge of the building. The sills, which today are amazingly straight, lie close to

the ground at the western end but are raised about 4 feet off the ground at the eastern end.

The blocks were lifted into place by the missionaries using a crude crane (Peacock,

"Organization" 25).

All of the Labradorian, and indeed most of the North American examples of Moravian architecture from this time period, are of a pegged mortise and tenon half-timber construction with brick nogging, built on cut stone foundations.   The framing
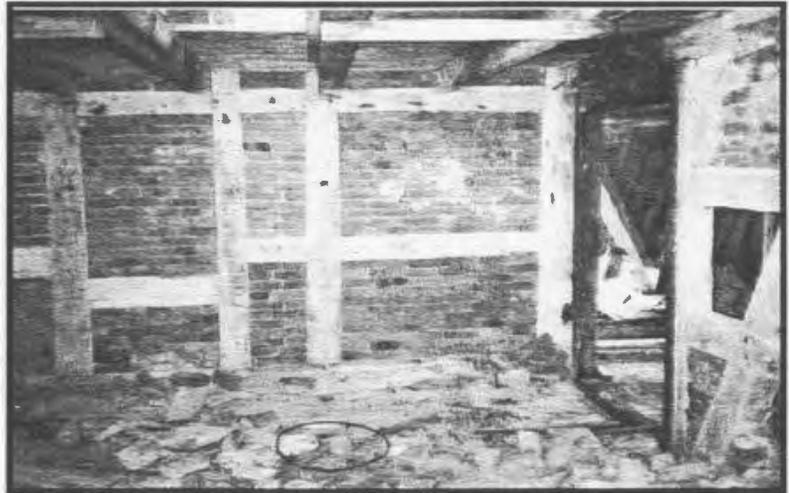
Figure 17 *Moravian Store, Hebron, showing half timber construction with brick nogging.*

technique used at Hebron is quite different from early English and French buildings, and is quite distinctive from those building traditions, while at the same time it shows a clear link to the techniques used in the earlier Moravian church at Hopedale. As noted, framing members for the Hebron buildings were hewn and shaped at Nain. The rafters were designed in couples, and were fitted with purlins halved into them. Braces in the roof framing run diagonally from the plate to the ridge,[23] and are halved into both the rafters and purlins.[24] It has been argued that this design gave excellent wind bracing to the frame (Poirier and Peck 4). The sawn roof boarding runs vertically from plate to ridge.

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[23] The ridge is the top of the roof where two slopes meet (Putnam and Carlson 366).

[24]

Purlins are horizontal timbers generally supporting the rafters in roofs (Putnam and Carlson 351-352, Fleming *et al.* 267)

Many of the Hebron buildings, such as the large waterfront Moravian Store at

Hebron, which has now almost entirely fallen

down, reveal numbering and notching systems on

interior beams to make the process of erecting such

a building easier. This notching was not an

uncommon Moravian building practice, and was

used elsewhere in North America, as this

Figure 18 *Horizontal beam showing numbering system for prefabrication.*
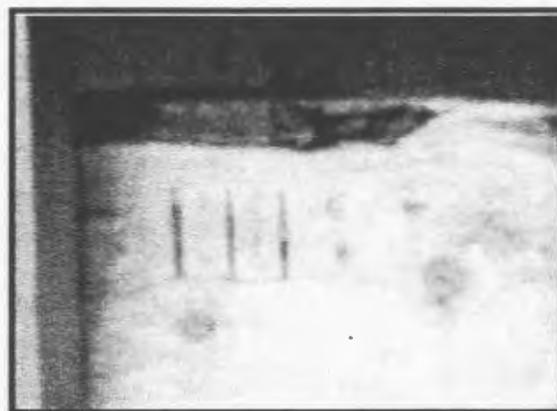
description of a domestic dwelling in Salem, North

Carolina indicates:

> The timbers for the Single Brothers House were trimmed
> and fitted together on the ground. The four sides of the
> house were marked in Roman numerals which can still be
> seen today. It took only two days to raise the building after
> the timbers were ready (Griffin 1966, 12).

The general construction techniques employed on all the Labrador Moravian

buildings of this period are similar, if not the same, techniques used in the period of

construction mentioned in the last chapter. However, the style of the buildings in the

second phase is noticeably different. In general, the buildings constructed by the

members of the Unitas Fratrum in this period throughout North America display

distinctive steep gable roofs or truncated gable roofs, dormer windows, cupolas, linked

buildings and symmetrical floor plans, as typified by the large mission complexes at

Hebron and Hopedale. When the various settlements throughout the New World are

viewed together as a series of architectural complexes, they show a remarkable level of

architectural conservatism and exhibit distinctly Moravian stylistic concerns.

One such area of conservatism is that of roof styles. Many of the Moravian

buildings in Labrador feature a distinctive truncated gable (or hipped gable) roof.[25] This roof type is also fairly common in Moravian church architecture in South Africa. The 1828 Water Mill and the Guest House and Mission Parsonage at Elim, and the c1870 Mission Shop,

Figure 19 *Truncated gable, Hopedale church.*

1844 Water Mill, the Languis and the Kuyperhuis at Mamre all feature this roof type (le

Grange 83-108). This roof type may have its roots in the Eastern European farmhouses,

as the identical roof type can be seen in the farmhouses of north-eastern Bohemia

(Hansen 80-81). The best Labrador example of the traditional Moravian truncated gable

is the one on the Hopedale church.

The Hebron building was originally covered in wood shingles, many of which

remain. At some point been 1978 and 1995, Parks Canada and/or the Moravian church

has covered the original red-painted wood shingles on the south side with tar paper and

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[25]

 Examples of the truncated gable were found on such buildings as the 1861Hopedale church, and the extant mission house in Nain, the mission house in Nain destroyed in 1921by fire, the hospital building at OKak destroyed in 1924, annd the mission house at Makkovik built in 1896 and destroyed by fire in 1948.

wooden battens, and on the north side with corrugated sheet metal. This metal has fallen

off in sections, showing the original shingles underneath, shingles which were probably

"hand-split and shaved at Nain" (Poirier and Peck 6).

While the Hebron building does not boast the truncated gable of its Hopedale

counterpart, the design of the structure has nonetheless been described as having "a strong

Germanic flavour that is characterized by the steep elongated roof punctuated by small

dormer windows" (Taylor and Wright 468). It is with the construction of the 1831

mission house and church at Hebron that the dormer makes its first appearance on the

northern Labrador coast. For the rest of the nineteenth century, dormer windows were

included in the majority of mission buildings constructed along the Labrador coast.

The mission house at Ramah, constructed some time after 1871, displays shed

dormers, which slope upwards to the ridge of the roof. The 1831 Hebron buildings,

however, feature eyebrow dormers, which slope almost horizontally back, disappearing

into the roof. This seems to be the more typical pattern, which was repeated both on the

one small eyebrow dormer and the one peak dormer on the now destroyed OKaK hospital

building. The dormers on the destroyed Nain mission house were executed the same way.

Existing North Carolinian examples do the same, and are almost exclusively peak

dormers. The ridges of the peak dormers of the 1810 Salem College building (Crews

Pl.XX), the 1768-69 Moravian Brothers House (Crews Pl.XXII), 1785-1786 Moravian

Sisters House (Crews Pl.XXVI), and the 1784 Old Salem Tavern (Crews Pl.XXVII), all

in Salem, are horizontal, dissapearing straight into the roof. Yet while the Carolinian

examples are almost all peak dormers, where dormers exist in South African examples, they are almost exclusively eyebrow or semi-circular. For example, the Langhuis and Kuyperhuis at Mamre, South Africa and the church at Elim, South Africa all feature eyebrow dormers (le Grange 103-105). Both eyebrow and shed dormers were elements of early Renaissance German architecture. Schloss Hartenfels in Torgau, designed by Konrad Krebs and built 1533-36, features beautiful eyebrow dormers (Hitchcock Pl.78), for example. The shed dormer appears to be a more common late Mediaeval vernacular dormer type.

As noticed by Rev. Peacock, "dormer windows are a prominent feature in Moravian architecture"("Organization" 25). Where they are found, dormers pierce the stylistically typical steep pitched roofs of the Moravian buildings to light the contained large open attic spaces used as

Figure 20 *OKalaKatiget building, former Moravian Boarding School, Nain*

storage and sleeping quarters. The attic area of the Moravian Boarding School in Nain for example had sleep quarters in the attic for the children staying there. The building, now used by the the OKalaKatiget Society, was constructed before the turn of the century

and moved from its original location by the community.[26] The Boarding School was used

by the Inuit congregation to house their children during seasonal hunting activities.

Josephina Kalleo remembers, "The house next to the church was the boarding school.

When our parents left on their hunting trips, we'd stay behind and go to school there"

(Kalleo 5). In speaking with me, Sidney Dicker recalled, "we'd go up there to the

boarding school, up there when the people went outside, up all to go to their seal fishing

places. The school started from September till early part of June"

A mid-nineteenth century engraving of the Moravian Training School in Fairfield,

Jamaica bears some similarities to this building. The Fairfield Training School is a long

steeply gabled roof building with a gable peak above the main entrance. The building

contained two school rooms, each twenty-two by sixteen feet, two Teacher's rooms, a

dining hall and a dormitory located in the attic, and the building's "large windows with

galleries, afford abundance of light and air" (Buchner *plate facing page* 133).

The interiors of the nineteenth century mission buildings in Labrador are

remarkably full of light. The attic spaces of the two largest surviving buildings in

Labrador, the church and mission house in Hebron and the mission house in Hopedale,

are filled with light. Both buildings are positioned with dormers placed to capture the

north's precious light and filter it inwards. The windows in the building in Hebron were

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[26]

Many of the Moravian buildings in Labrador were moved from their original locations, particularly after the closure of many of the stations. The National Archives of Canada has movie footage of Inuit dragging houses across the ice during the relocation of one of the missions in the late 1950s (Morisset 29).

boarded up in an attempt to stabilize the building in the 1970s, and small plexiglass inserts are all that allow light into the upper storey today. Surprisingly, even these small squares admit a great deal of light, even on a cloudy day. The mission house in Hopedale, which retains its original dormer windows, is even more brightly lit.

If the attic spaces with their small dormers are well lit, the church sanctuaries with their large, multipaned and symmetrically placed windows are even more so. The sanctuary of the church at Hopedale is an exposition of light. The church at Hebron, the windows now boarded over, must have been much the same. This interior treatment seems common to

Figure 21 *Hopedale church sanctuary.*

Moravian buildings wherever they are found. In the South African churches, the "ceiling and wall surfaces were all traditionally painted white. This surface treatment allowed for an extra-ordinary quality of light to permeate the space that complimented its plain but dignified character" (le Grange 58). Regarding the mission church at Mamre, South Africa, le Grange writes "as in all the Moravian mission churches all surfaces and planes are painted white, which makes this rather small internal space appear much larger" (22).

The cupola/bell tower is the most ornate feature of the church building, if not the

entire community, with a repeated

arch/keystone motif that is seen elsewhere

in the building, notably on the porticos and

on the interior window design in the

sanctuary proper. The main body of the

cupola was painted white, with the spindle

work painted black, the roof and spire

painted green, and the top knob and

weather vane painted yellow. The mission

house boasts its own cupola, but which is

not nearly as ornate as the cupola on the

Figure 22 *Church cupola, Hebron.*

church.[27] It was similarly painted, with a green roof and base, white louvers, and yellow

lightening rod/spire, and may also have held a bell (Poirier and Peck 6). According to the

late Rev. Peacock, the second cupola "was used to call the missionary families to prayers

and to meals" (Peacock, "Organization" 25).

Indeed, one of the most immediately identifying features of Moravian architecture

is the use of a cupola, "a feature more particularly associated with the architecture of

southeastern Europe, specifically with Bavaria (southern Germany), Austria, and

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[27] The 1978 Parks Canada report on the building referred to it as "less pretentious" (Poirier and Peck 6).

Bohemia and Moravia" (Taylor and Wright 468). Three of the largest and earliest

Moravian communities in Germany, those of Herrnhut (founded in 1722), Nisky (1742)

and Klein Welke (1756) were all constructed around a central square (Murtagh 8-10).

Each of these towns were dominated visually by the church building with towers

terminating in onion domes "of the type still commonly found in Austria,

Czechoslovakia, and eastern Germany" (Murtagh 10). Nineteenth century Moravian

cupolas are derivatives of Eastern European examples, particularly of onion domes

predominantly used on churches and public buildings. The onion-shaped dome is an

early Renaissance elaboration. This particular dome shape was known as a *Zweibel*, i.e.

"onion", the metaphorical term for "such characteristic Bavarian tower-terminations"

(Hitchcock 28).

The Altes Rathaus building in Leipzig, designed by Hieronymous Lotter *et al.* and

built between 1556 and 1564 features a central clock-tower with a typical *Zweibel*

decoration (Hitchcock 120, Pl. 163). A comparison of the the Hebron Mission House

cupola with "two East European examples, one in Wurzberg, Austria and one in

Jindrichuv Hradec, Czechoslovakia reveals the same light, ornamental quality although

the European examples are more elaborately conceived with their onion-shaped forms"

(Taylor and Wright 468). Other examples of cupolas, such as the two on the corner

towers of the Schloss at Ahrensburg, Germany, built in 1594-98 (Hitchcock Pl.314) and

the bell tower cupola on the Rathaus at Bad Hersfeld, built between 1597 and 1612

(Hitchcock Pl.342) are slightly larger than the Labrador examples, but much more similar

in terms of construction, dome curvature, and proportion. The Hopedale church cupola is similar to that at Hebron, with a slightly less impressive spire, and the same date-inscribed wind vane.

The persistent and constant use of the Renaissance *Zweibel* motif in the design of church cupolas up until the close of the nineteenth century distinguished Moravian buildings from those around them. Moravian cupolas therefore can be taken as one example of mode. According to Dell Upton, mode refers to "the divisions within society; it emphasizes and perpetuates old
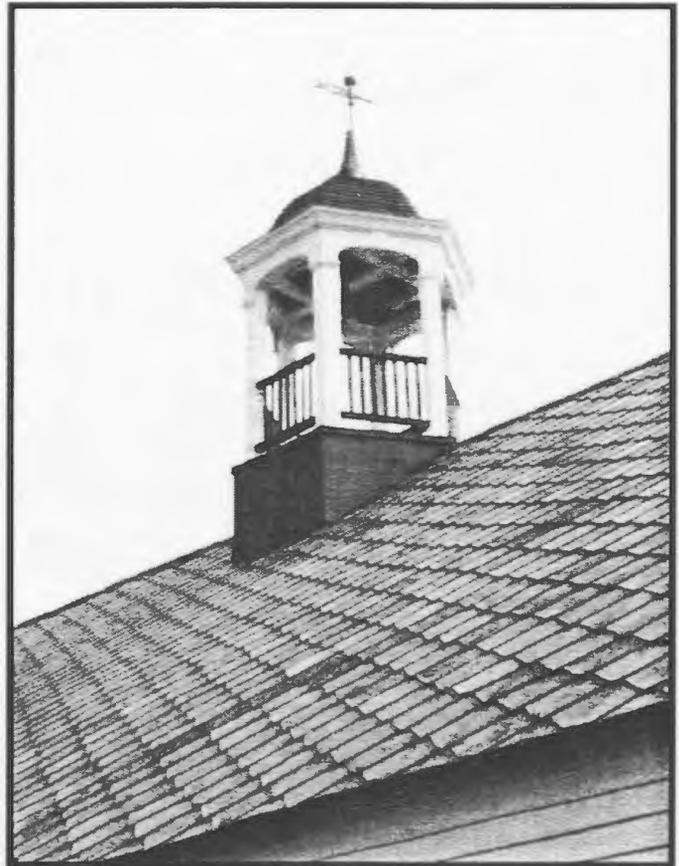
Figure 23 *Hopedale church cupola.*

differences, recalling them to attention by clothing them in striking new garb, and it works to create new differences, casting an identifying cloak over individuals not apparently related, or set apart, before" (Holy 102).

Several of the buildings at the Moravian settlements in North Carolina feature these modal cupolas with the cupola of the Home Moravian Church in Salem (now part of Winston-Salem) perhaps being the best example (Crews Pl.XVI, Pl.XVII, Pl.XVIII). This cupola features an octagonal drum and dome and a weather vane very similar to that at Hebron. The cupola on the Moravian church at Bethabra, North Carolina is also

octagonal, but lacks the onion-shaped bulge of the Salem example (Crews 32, Pl.XVIII). The Moravian church built at Mamre, South Africa in 1818 also featured a bell tower cupola, but this was removed some time after 1838 (le Grange 19-22). Both Hopedale and Hebron have cupolas, as did the church building at Ramah. The mission station at Killinek also hosted a cupola, although this was a later version, and much more spire-like than the earlier domed versions.

As the example of the cupola indicates, Moravian church architecture in North America developed and used certain architectural elements characteristic of German and Eastern European buildings in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Taken together, these elements arguably form the basis of a Germanic style, a style that could be applied to buildings of various forms and types of construction. German and Eastern European architecture, both vernacular and high, provided pervasive conventions which shaped the characteristic look of Moravian buildings. In terms of construction techniques, house forms, and decorative approach, this was the "style" which not only influenced the Moravians, but also the Pennsylvania Dutch, the Mennonite communities of both Canada and the United States, the builders of the Ephrata Cloister, and German settlers wherever they built their homesteads.

However, styles other than the Germanic (be that vernacular or the elaborations of the Renaissance) clearly influenced the Moravian's tradition of building in North America and elsewhere. Moravian settlers and missionaries were in general well educated, traveled and knowledgeable people, and were fully aware of the architectural, intellectual

and technological advances of the period. One such example is known as Georgian. By the time the first successful Moravian mission station was established in Nain in 1771, the Georgian house form was familiar. According to Glassie, "its sources are easily located in sixteenth-century Italian design, and builders in the English world had been employing it for nearly a century" (Folk 88-89). In many ways, the Georgian house was a revolution in terms of traditional building in that it marked a shift from the Medieaval hall and parlour plan house to one with a central hall plan and mirrored developing ideologies concerning order and the individual (see Herman, Architecture 26-27; Braun 111-133; Glassie, Folk 87-91).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the First House, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (1741), was divided by a long partition into two sections, one of which was used for animals, a form with precedents in the vernacular buildings of southern Germany and Switzerland (Murtagh 23). The original 1782 Moravian building at Hopedale also seems to follow this older open hall plan, with two large open rooms on the main floor separated by a half timber partition with brick nogging (Lifting 1). Based on descriptions of other prefabricated houses buildings from this period, the structure taken to Labrador by the Brethren in 1756 was most likely also of this form.

After the start of the nineteenth century, Moravian builders in Pennsylvania began to slowly accept the influences of the Georgian style (Murtagh 88). The Central Moravian Church in Bethlehem, built 1803-06, was the largest in Pennsylvania when built. It "reflects late-Georgian style with low gable, fan window under eave and bell

tower with Doric columns" ("Bethlehem" 97). By the 1830s in Labrador, Moravian

buildings began to incorporate Georgian elements into house construction. The Georgian

style relied for effect upon, among other things, on strict proportions and an orderly

fenestration scheme (Braun 111). In one late nineteenth century account, the missionary

settlements in Labrador are described as being "neatly built" (Hutton 279), and the long

mission house at Hebron is perhaps the best Labrador example of this appreciation for

proportion, displaying a rigorous symmetry of external form and fenestration.

Typical Georgian houses were square in shape, with two roughly square rooms off

each side of the main hallway. Moravian mission houses, such as that at Hebron, were

three to four times longer than they were wide, with long hallways running the centre

length of the house, and with series of rooms entering onto the hall. Main entrances to

these buildings were generally located on the front long facades, leading into small

hallways with stairs leading to upper levels. These small hallways in turn opened into the

long hall running the length of the building. While there are some obvious similarities it

is impossible to make comparisons between typical Georgian floorplans in houses, and

the floorplans of Moravian mission houses. When discussing the typical Georgian

floorplan, one is generally talking about a single family dwelling, while mission houses

were public buildings, possibly housing numerous families or units, and also serving

many different functions.

Where the Moravians did follow

Georgian approaches most closely was in

exterior design. The use of fanlights over

doors was a common Georgian feature

(Fleming *et al*. 152). Fanlights, such as

the ones over the covered entrance ways to

the church and mission house at Hebron,

were elements of Moravian buildings in

this period. In South African churches,

Figure 24 *Georgian fanlight, removed from Hebron church portico.*

"small pane, crossed windows with semi-circular fanlights or pointed upper lights were

commonly used" (le Grange 58).

It has been argued that in some instances the use of the Georgian order in

architecture and landscaping, with its rules of symmetry and perspective, functioned to

make the social order seem more natural, and through visual balance and organization, to

make the elite seem "the natural centre of social control" (Hodder 64). Imposed as they

are on a landscape with little else in the way of architectural patterning, these structures

clearly represent more than mere buildings. Remembering his first sight of Hopedale,

Rev. F.W. Peacock wrote "the vast mission house and its church dominated the

foreground, overshadowing the poor, rather shabby houses of the village" (Peacock and

Jackson 10). The mission buildings became symbols of the temporal and spiritual

position of the church.

J. Hiller describes what he sees as a major organizational shift in Labrador,

occurring roughly around 1805. It is at this point, he argues, that the Brethren had

managed to establish a theocratic state along the north coast of Labrador ("Foundation").

By the 1840s, along the north coast of Labrador, the Moravians were very much at the

centre of social control. They had established themselves as the first Europeans to settle

in the area, and the first to construct large, timber frame buildings as symbols of their

organization, authority and position. The Hudson's Bay Company did not move into

northern coastal Labrador until the twentieth century, and European settlers arrived in

northern Labrador only after permanent Moravian settlements had been established.

Before the Moravians, this part of Labrador had very little in the way of what Europeans

would have considered architecture. The Inuit had their own architectural designs,

though these were relatively impermanent, due to their nomadic lifestyle. The

semi-subterranean Inuit sod house is one of the more concrete examples of an indigenous

style of building. While these structures were actually designed perfectly to reflect Inuit

needs and environmental factors, they were relatively crude in construction, and rather

confining when compared to European houses. Suddenly contrasted against these were

the Moravian buildings: large, multi-storied, carefully prefabricated, using complex

European construction techniques, and layered with thick ideological meaning *i.e.*, their

"utopian vision of a pure society, based on their religious and biblical beliefs, free of the

evil found in the outside world" (Lewis, "Social" 127). The Inuit response to these spaces

and the buildings themselves was probably something closer to awe than to an

understanding of the buildings as a representation of an utopian ideal. When the first

prefabricated building was constructed in Greenland for example, it was by far the largest

structure the Greenland Inuit had ever seen, "and for years it was a thing of wonder to the

natives" (Schattschneider 72). In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this sense

of awe was probably heightened by the fact that the Inuit had to gain permission to enter

the Moravian buildings before they could do so (Samuelson 47).

It is this second phase of construction, more than any other, that marks the

development of a Moravian style of architecture in Labrador. At the same time that style

made the Moravians physically and ideologically distinct. Architectural design served as

a means of identifying Moravian settlements immediately as uniquely "Moravian", and

distinguished them from all other native and non-native settlements in Labrador. As well,

in the Moravian settlements "religion was the all-absorbing topic and the chief factor in

life" (Hamilton 219), and it is in the architecture of the Moravians that a deep-rooted need

for spiritual and temporal order was most dramatically stated. In the words of Bernard

Herman, architecture is "one of many media used to create and maintain order, to project

images of self and community, and to control meaning in social discourse" (Herman,

Architecture 2).

An exciting part of this design process for a folklorist is the interplay between the

sign (Moravian architecture) and the ideological constructs that both create it and grow

out of it. As Eco (Theory 69) argues, the very definition of a sign sets in motion a

"process of unlimited semiosis". The architectural unit is created to enforce perceived

positions of power or strengthen desired patterns of morality. But in physically creating

the unit, a sign is created that unavoidably feeds new interpretations of the ideological

construct. Interpretation of the object changes over time, and across cultural, gender,

class and educational differences. The meaning of an artifact can change dramatically

depending on the perspective from which it is viewed (Babcock 207). The meaning of the

sign is a "cultural unit" (Eco, Thoery 67), and the potential for new interpretations of pre-

existing ideological signs is always great, particularly where different ideological, cultural

and linguistic groups meet.[28] In Alaska, where Moravian missionaries worked among

the Yuit Eskimo, it has been argued that each group was somewhat awed by the culture of

the other, with each group having contrasting ways of doing the same thing. "To each

group the other's seemed strange and even bizarre; yet there was for each the element of

mutual fascination" (Oswalt 154).

With no exposure to anything like the Moravians, the Labrador Inuit must have

had initial difficulties in finding the correct "corresponding cultural unit" (Eco, Theory

67) to interpret the various aspects of Moravian culture, be it material or otherwise, in

spite of the fact that the Moravians came equipped with at least a basic familiarity with

the Inuit language. Cultural differences were most likely behind the failure of the original

settlement, for the missionaries' difficulty "keeping the Eskimos' attention when talking to

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[28] It has been argued that during the time period when the Moravians first established the
mission at Nain, some Inuit began to regard Jesus as belonging to the same realm of
spirits as traditional Inuit spirits (see Hiller, "Foundation" 165), though this type of
religious syncretism was eventually stamped out in Labrador.

them about religion" (Hiller, "Foundation" 52), and for the fact that the first successful

station in Labrador (Nain) was active for five years before the missionaries gained a

single convert (Moravian 19).

The missionaries attempted
to circumvent this semiological
stumbling block by imposing their
own constructs. As Rev. Lawrence
Junek of Nain put it to me, "the big
key to culture is language" (Junek),
and the missionaries came
equipped with knowledge of
Inuktitut learned in Greenland, so

Figure 25 *Inuktitut inscription, Moravian church, Nain.*

that they could preach in the language of the Inuit. The Greenlandic dialect was slightly

different from the Labrador dialect, but was intelligible. At least one of the first

missionaries, Jens Haven, was even familiar with the body language the Inuit used while

communicating (Hiller "Foundation" 72). However, in areas where European culture

functioned along different conceptual lines than Inuit culture, the missionaries found that

the Inuit simply did not have words to deal with those concepts. In response to this, the

missionaries simply added Inuit language endings to German words, and then preached

and educated using these new words. Eventually, many of these words became part of

the Labrador dialect of Inuktitut, and remain in common usage today. Most of these

words seem to focus on concepts such as time, days of the week, or numbers (Bassler

144-145).[29]

The introduction of new words into the Inuit language made it easier for the

missionaries to start the process of replacing indigenous religious thought with Moravian

beliefs, and equally important, with European attitudes about economy and settlement.

The daily imposition of European constructs, be they architectural, ideological or

economic was an unquestioned part of missionary life. Christianity was presented in such

a way as to make its greater worth obvious to the Inuit, and missionaries were encouraged

to teach by example. In their work with the heathens, missionaries were told "to walk

godly before their eyes, till they are moved to ask, Who is it that makes such people?"

(Benham 568). Architecture and architectural design played a role in this development,

and the Moravian buildings were just as important an example as missionary behavior.

The buildings themselves can be seen as a means of creating a sense of order and a set of

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[29]

The grafting of words representing abstract and alien concepts into the native language
must have resulted in some interesting cross-cultural interpretations. One example of this
semiotic process is found in the memoirs of F.W. Peacock, who for many years made
radio broadcasts along the Labrador coast, often attempting to translate news and
information into the Inuit language. He writes,

> I had real trouble with the word 'communist.' Finally I
> Eskimoized the word to "Kommunistit," gave a long talk on
> its evils and knew that if nothing else our listeners would
> soon know that the *Kommunistit* were the bad guys and the
> *Demokrasisit* the good guys. One day I overheard a man
> calling his neighbor a *Kommunistialuk*, a horrible
> communist. In time the word became an expletive right
> along the Labrador coast! (Peacock and Jackson 93).

ideas that parallel Christian precepts. As Rev. Peacock wrote, "It was in such houses that the missionaries endeavoured to create a microcosm of the European background from which they came"("Organization" 25).

Through the use of architecture as a means of maintaining and creating a general sense of order, the building becomes an ideological sign. This process is far from unusual. Marxist semiotician V.N. Volosinov (145-6) notes that any material object or consumer good can be made such a sign, the domain of signs and the domain of ideology coinciding. "Wherever a sign is present" argues Volosinov (146), "ideology is present, too."

The process of semiosis, the creation of signs, is circular: as Upton writes "Ideology is symbolization socialized, or adapted to a particular social setting"("Form"162). Dolores Hayden (349) defines it as "a body of ideas on which a particular political, economic or social system, real or ideal, is based." Architecture has the potential to transmit ideology,[30] and when an architectural unit or complex of units becomes an ideological sign, it can only be read in reference to other signs. Volosinov (147) writes "The understanding of a sign is, after all, an act of reference between the sign apprehended and other, already known signs; in other words, understanding is a response to a sign with signs."

The circularity of this semiosis can be explained using the austere Moravian sanctuary, an example of modal Moravian expression. Ideology is symbolization

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[30] For a discussion of this see Eco, "Function" 40-43)

socialized, and can be described as a set of mental signs. In this case, the ideological

construct is one of austerity, an important aspect of Moravain daily life. Life in the

Moravian community of Lititz, Pennsylvania for example was kept "regulated and

simple" (Fletcher 270). This faith in austerity grew out the Moravian belief that the world

"could corrupt them if they allowed worldly ways to become part of the fabric of

Moravian life" (Mainwaring 140). Humility in dress and apparel was equated with

godliness, and humility in daily living was also encouraged. Missionaries in Jamaica, for

example, were described as living "in the most humble way, were not ashamed to be

employed in any service, such as washing their clothes and attending to all the other

offices peculiar to housekeeping" (Buchner 38). Humility and austerity were key

elements of Moravian ideological self-perception. In the words of one Labrador

missionary, "cheerfulness, neatness and order... were the genuine effects of true

godliness" (qtd. in Hiller, "Foundation" 106).

The sanctuary (the sign) is therefore created as an expression of the ideological

need for austerity in community life (the object). The room as a physical object is infused

with attributes that are thought to reflect this. The sanctuary, as mentioned above, "would

be very austere, if you will... In the very old Moravian churches there would not have

been a cross, uh there certainly wouldn't be any icons or emblems or pictures[31] or

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[31]

Contrary to this general practice, the community in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania apparently used paintings by local Moravian artist Valentine Haidt "in religious festivities and hung [them] in Moravian places of worship" during the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Engel 29).

anything like that... The sanctuary would have been either a white interior or cream coloured interior, you know, very plain" (Edmunds).

The sanctuaries of the churches in Hopedale and Hebron all follow this pattern. Of these, the church in Hopedale is closest to what these spaces would have looked like in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with no large-scale changes having been made to the room since its construction. The space is open, with fixed pews and two aisles running towards the front of the room. At the rear is the organ, and seats for musicians. All the walls are painted white, and there is little ornamentation anywhere in the room. The only exception to this is a banner with the insignia of the Unitas Fratrum.

The wall treatment of the sanctuary in Hebron is slightly different. The top two thirds of the walls are covered in wide panels with batten where the panels meet. The bottom third of the walls is covered in large rectangular wood panels, separated from the upper section by wainscoting. The entire room is painted in yellow and cream. Nothing remains in this room in terms of pews, aside from one wooden bench, which may or may not be original to the sanctuary. The room contains a choir stand, semi-circular in shape with a rail, on the west side of the room. It too is painted yellow with white trim, and the rail top is green. On the east is a slightly raised preaching stage, semi-circular in shape as well, with painted yellow sides and unpainted top.

As a sign, the sanctuary is created as an expression of the ideal object (an ideological need for austerity) and then acts as a point of reference to ensure that the ideal object is recreated in community life. How the first Inuit would have read these rooms, or

what sort of interpretant sign they would have devised in their minds from their contact with these austere spaces is uncertain. Persons conversant in European ideas would have had a much easier time making the "correct" interpretation than the Inuit would have. Lucien le Grange in his conservation study of Moravian buildings in South Africa was moved by these spaces to write that they presented a "plain but dignified character" (le Grange 58).

Through personal example of faith and character, the construction of complex ideological sign systems, constant missionary work, the erection of buildings all along the coast, and the introduction of new economic programs, or a combination of them all, the missionaries changed the very nature of their work in Labrador. At the end of the nineteenth century the Moravian church in Labrador was no longer a mission church in a true sense. By 1860 most of the Inuit had been converted to the faith (Crowe 139), and by 1903 the Moravians ministers were preaching to a congregation of mostly second or third generation Christians, who had grown up and been educated within the church system, who were no longer awed by western architecture, and who were conversant in its ideological signs.

In much more direct manner, they had also become part of a Western economic system, and were tied to a more sedentary lifestyle centred around the mission stations. The Moravians had replaced the political economy of the Inuit with one more suitable to the Moravians' needs as missionaries. The Moravians wanted to keep their converts geographically close to the station and apart from groups they considered spiritually

inferior, such as the Roman Catholics, Anglicans, or anyone associated with the Hudson Bay Company. This separation was also necessary to very real financial stability of the missions themselves. The Moravian mission stores, an integral part of the architectural design of such buildings as the Hebron mission station, became part of a deliberate plan to change Inuit traditions, introducing seal-nets, encouraging craft production and fur trapping, and organizing fisheries for salmon, char, and cod (Crowe 97-98).

After the settlement of Nain, the subsequent mission stations were established in areas with better access to hunting, trapping, fishing and whaling, in moves intended to consolidate the Inuit's spiritual and material dependancy on the mission stations, and to create pockets of European-styled permanent occupation. By 1850, the Labrador Inuit were tied to a new year round schedule of production (Crowe 97).[32]

The erection of the large Moravian buildings in Makkovik in 1896-97, and the construction of the small station at Killinek in 1904, marked the end of an architectural tradition in Labrador. The classic period of large, European-style Moravian buildings was over. Change was in the wind. The Europeans had worked hard to convert the way in which the people of Labrador lived, worked and thought, and had effectively established a Moravian theocratic state in northern Labrador.

But the process of change which the Moravians had started was not one that

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[32] By 1883, the Labrador mission exported good including 2,689 quintals of cod, 579 barrels of char, and 632 pairs of skin boots. Total exports were worth $28,142. Twenty years later, the mission exported 4,035 quintals of cod, 798 barrels of char, and 3,224 pairs of skin boot. Total exports were worth $48,442 (Crowe 98).

simply could be stopped. The development of a new political economy, coupled with the fact that generations of Inuit had now been raised within the Moravian faith would, ironically, ensure that the original missionaries' dreams of a ideal socialist Moravian utopia would soon be usurped by something very different. The next chapter deals with the next phase of architectural development, marked by massive change and a disintegration of the nineteenth century Moravian style.

Chapter Five

The Changing Face

For close to one hundred and fifty years, mission houses and churches in Labrador continued to be constructed following the same forms and styles. The Moravians showed remarkable conservatism and consistency of design forms such as those which characterized the second architectural phase described in the last chapter. However, while the earlier two phases discussed in this thesis utilized similar techniques, twentieth century construction in Labrador follows a much different pattern, both in terms of style and construction.

The third phase of Moravian building in Labrador, dating from roughly 1903 to the late 1990s, is marked by massive architectural change of two kinds. The first is that of new construction, with selected buildings erected in this period including the Hebron family cottages (c1920s), the MacMillan School at Nain (c1910), the new church and mission buildings at Nain (1922), the Happy Valley church (1957), and the North-West River church (1960). The second face of this period of change, sadly, is typified by the destruction of some of the finest older Moravian buildings in Labrador, including those at OkaK in 1919, Nain in 1921 and Makkovik in the 1940s, as well as the abandonment of many of the original settlements.

In terms of an architectural design shift, the start of the new period clearly dates to

the construction of the church at Uviluktok, also known as Double Island, in 1903. It is

not until 1903 that any sort of major change occurs in the architecture of the Labrador

Moravians, a change that is best reflected in the design of the Double Island Church. As

mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, Uviluktok is a small island south east of the

settlement of Hopedale, The church on Uviluktok Island was built entirely by Inuit

fishing families, who used the island as a base for summer fishing activities ("Uviluktok"

114).

North

Steeple
Foundation

Scale
■■■■■■ 1 metre
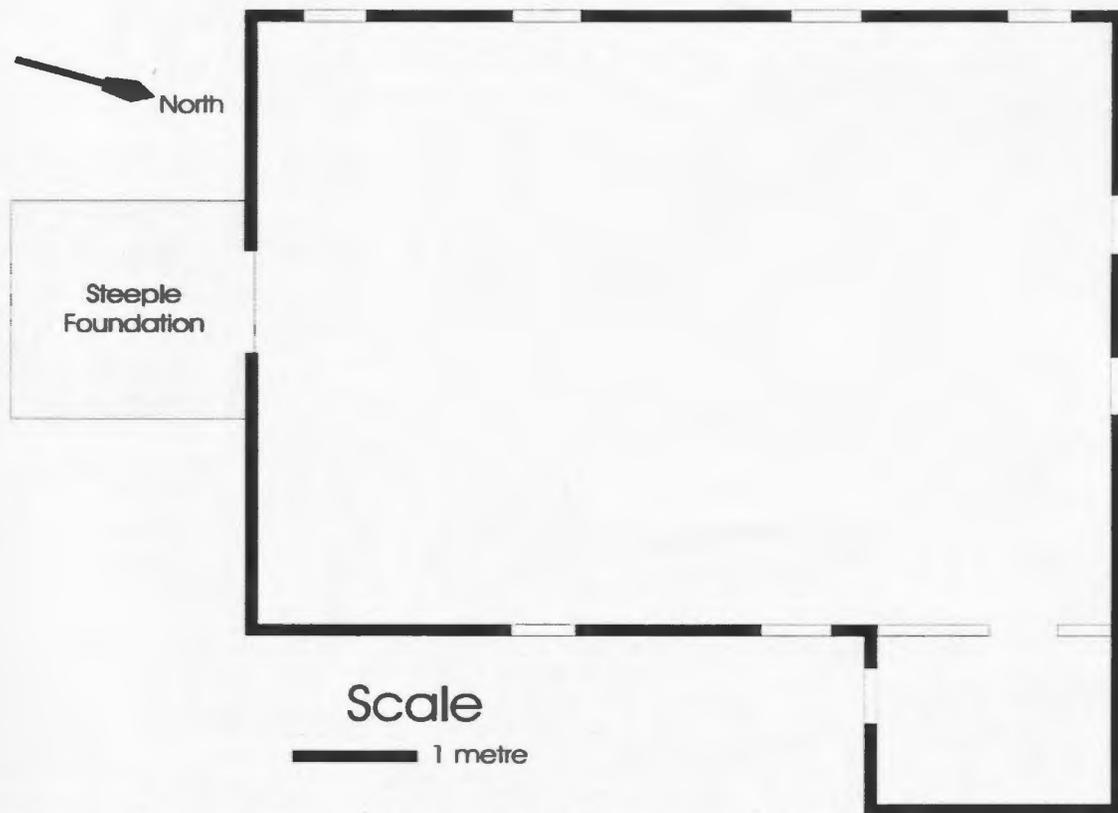
Figure 26 *Moravian Church Floorplan, Uviluktok (Double Island), Labrador, 1995.*

The church itself is very small, with a mid pitch gable roof, rectangular single

hung windows typical of the vernacular architecture of the period, and without any of the

more decorative features typical of "Moravian" architecture, such as dormer windows or
cupolas. The building is roughly 7m by 5m in size, with a small store room built off the
north-east corner. The walls are just over 2m high, with the ridge of the roof 3.8m from
the floor. The building is of wood balloon-frame construction.[33] It features wooden sills
on a low fieldstone foundation, and originally featured, at least to a certain height,
sawdust insulation in the spaces between wall studding. The building was clad on the
outside with clapboard, and covered on the inside with unfinished vertical boards. The
original roof covering was of hand split wooden shingles, though these were covered at
some point by red asphalt shingles.

The building is
architecturally important for a
number of reasons. The first is its
use of balloon framing, instead of
the half timber framing of the
earlier Moravian churches.
Secondly, the church features a
single entrance way, distinct from
the double entrances of the

Figure 27 *Single front entrance, Double Island
church, with author.*

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[33]

Balloon framing is a method of timber frame construction where the studs or uprights
run from sill to eaves, and the horizontal members are nailed to them. Generally, the
studs are not mortised into the sill or eave members. It is typical of timber-frame
construction in twentieth century Canada, USA and Scandinavia (Fleming *et al.* 28,
Putnam and Carlson 35).

Moravian churches to that point. On earlier churches, the entrance ways were doubled and on the side of the buildings, with either both doors on one side of the building as in the Hebron example, or with doors on either side of the building, as in the later Hopedale church.

The third way in which the Uviluktok building differs from earlier churches is its use of a steeple rather than the traditional cupola. The tower steeple was not included in the 1903 construction, and was not added to the front facade until a later date. This addition was made sometime between 1911 and 1924.[34] This tower was relatively short, and somewhat out of proportion with the rest of the building. As of 1995, the tower had fallen away from the church, and only the steeple foundation, and the notches where the tower beams had been cut into the facade, remained.

The tower steeple may have been influenced by those on Anglican churches, such as St. James Anglican church at Battle Harbour, on Labrador's south coast. It may also have been influenced by the new prefabricated church at Makkovik
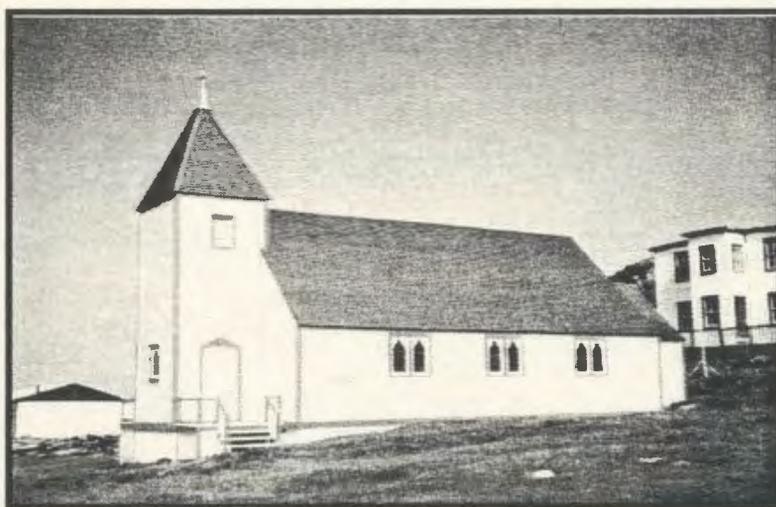
Figure 28 *St. James Anglican Church, Battle Harbour, undated photo courtesy Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador.*

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[34] This rough date is based on historic photographs in the <u>Them Days</u> Archives in Happy Valley.

erected in 1896. The Makkovik church featured a front steeple, but in terms of its construction style and technology was much closer to the other Moravian buildings of the nineteenth century.

Overall the building looked like a representation of the sort of small church or chapel typical of Anglican or Roman Catholic development elsewhere in Labrador or on the island of Newfoundland, built by those who had limited experience or knowledge of that architectural style. Yet in spite of its small size, its ruined present condition, and its questionable architectural design merits, the building is of critical importance in the architectural sequence in Labrador. It is the first church building to be constructed in Labrador completely with Inuit labour, and designed by the Inuit Moravians instead of the missionaries. As one anonymous commentator wrote in 1954, "This church has always been a source of pride to the Hopedale people, because it is a tangible evidence of their ability to work together for the community" ("Labrador" 38).

The Uviluktok church also represents the growing economic autonomy of the Inuit. The church was established by fishing families from Hopedale in their summer fishing grounds. This shows a shift from using the mission stations as a base of economic operations, to developing local fishing stations in places more advantageous to the Inuit. Outside of the mission stations, the Inuit could then develop their own time schedules that suited their needs, instead of having to conform to the missions' rigid timetables. At Uviluktok by 1919, for example, weeknight services had been abandoned in favour of longer fishing days (Zerbe Cornelsen 87).

Shortly after the construction of the church at Uviluktok, the Labrador Moravian mission established another station. This mission station, on Killinek Island, Port Burwell, is at the northernmost tip of the Ungava Peninsula, the northernmost point on the Labrador coast. This station, due to its remote location, was on the periphery of the Moravian church activity in Labrador. While it was established as a mission station, one of its primary purposes seems to have been as a trading post, serving as a link in a growing trade network that ranged to the south and the north-west. Architecturally, the station seems to have been fairly small and a simple interpretation of the classic Moravian style building, with a slightly more spire-like cupola. Its small size was largely due to the fact that Killinek area was much less populated than settlements to the south. Unlike

Figure 29 *Killinek Station, undated photo, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives collection 069.*

other Moravian founded communities along the coast, the Killinek station was not destined to form the centre of an established settled Inuit community.

The twenty years following the establishment of the Killinek station marked a dramatic decline in the fortunes of the church all along the coast. In 1907, Ramah station followed the Zoar station and was closed. All inhabitants moved south to the stations at Hebron and Nain. The closure of the Ramah station served to isolate the Killinek station even more.

The most dramatic and profound loss to the church came in the winter of 1918-1919, when Spanish Influenza epidemic hit the coast of Labrador (Peacock, "Moravian Church" 15). Along the coast, communities were decimated. Of one hundred people at the Hebron station, only fourteen survived. In total nearly two-thirds of Hebron died, the survivors largely comprised of Inuit who were out of the community at hunting stations ("Missionary" 39). Wherever the disease hit the loss of life was incredible. Many communities never recovered from the losses. OKaK was the most affected, with the population dropping from two hundred and sixty-three to fifty-nine ("Missionary" 46). It was decided that the station would be closed, with Hebron remaining open to serve as a link to the station at Killinek.

Two years later, another blow hit the coast when the Nain mission buildings burned to the ground. A local man named Martin Martin, who was cod-trapping near Nain when the fire started, recounts the story,

As it happened the store was on fire. Because there was such a wind from

the west, the flames from the fire were shooting up and were being blown to the missionary house. The roofs of the mission houses were caught afire. Before we reached Nain the roof of the church was in flames. When we reached the wharf we all started running to our houses. I just kicked the door open to our house and began taking all the things, which were most important to us, down to the beach. My wife and I carried everything to the water-line of the shore. When all the possessions which we valued most were out of the house, we went to see the fire. The heat was too great to go near the church. The fire was still raging and as I wanted to go see the store, I went over there. The day before the store had been full of everything, but we saw nothing as everything had been burnt. Also burning were big puncheons, huge barrels of seal oil, rendered from seal blubber, readied to be transported by the Harmony on its way south. There were also many, many barrels of trout ready to be shipped out on the Harmony. Right there from by that store there was a river of flames right down to the water's edge from the seal oil that was burning (Martin 52-53).

The fire consumed the church, the mission house, the mission stores, and outbuildings. Nain at this point was a growing community, and still of key importance to the functioning of the Labrador mission. Shortly after the destruction of the church therefore, a new church was constructed. This building was raised by the largely Inuit community, under the

Figure 30 *Nain church under construction, c1922, photo courtesy Moravian Museum, Nain.*

supervision of the resident minister, Rev. W.W. Perrett, who wrote in August 1922,

The outside walls are standing and boarded over, and I am

> now letting the men lay the bricks between the frames.
> That is our old Labrador way of building, and it is
> undoubtedly the best, as it makes the warmest house. It
> takes time but I think it is worth it. I want to get done
> before the cold weather comes, as boards will not be as cold
> to handle as bricks are ("Editorial" 81).

It is interesting here to see the tradition of brick nogging, part of the Germanic tradition of building imported by the first Moravian missionaries described as "our old Labrador way of building". The wall construction (half timbered with brick nogging) is perhaps the only surviving example of the older style of building in the new church.

Like the Uviluktok church, the Nain church is a low pitched gable roof structure, sitting on a dry stone foundation. The most immediately visible feature of the building is its curiously designed steeple tower, located at the front of the building. The spire on the tower is square and steeply pyramidal, but designed so that the ridge

Figure 31 *Moravian Church, Nain.*

lines are shifted forty-five degree angles from the vertical line of the tower, giving each of the walls of the tower a triangular peak. The arrangement is such that the tower looks like a giant sharpened pencil. In each triangular peak is a diamond window. Unlike the churches at both Hebron and Hopedale which have paired entrance ways to the church,

the Nain church has one entrance, located to the right side of the tower.[35] The interior of

the church is treated much in keeping with traditional Moravian beliefs about austerity.

The exterior design of the church however, represents something entirely new,

and it here that its architectonic similarity to the church at Uviluktok is apparent. The

establishment of the church at Uviluktok and the construction of the Nain church, mark a

change in more than just church architecture. The Uviluktok church was the first to be

constructed where it was deemed necessary by the Inuit congregation, rather than where

German church leaders believed it to be important. Likewise, the (re)construction of the

Nain church was the first major building project in an established Labrador station carried

out following non-traditional Moravian modal designs. Both stand as a manifestation of

the idea that church growth should be directed from within, and are signposts along a

road to growing political awareness on the part of the Inuit community.

While both churches are a symbol of a desire on behalf of the Inuit church for

autonomy, they were not the first display that would indicate Inuit dissatisfaction with the

Labrador church theocracy. In 1875 there were protests from the students in the northern

Labrador schools. Peacock ("Moravian Church" 14) wrote, "whether the protests were

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[35]
 A popular piece of local Nain folklore today tells that the church was designed by Rev.
Hettash, and is an exact replica of a church built in South Africa. This flies in the face of
the fact that it was Rev. Perrett who was involved in the construction, as documented in
the periodical accounts of the building's erection. Furthermore, careful study of Lucien le
Grange's documentation of Moravian architecture in the Western and Southern Cape of
South Africa reveals nothing even remotely similar in terms of design to the church in
Nain. It is interesting to note that the Nain church, a local vernacular interpretation of
church architecture, is today widely believed within the community to be of an imported
South African design, no matter how unlikely this belief is.

against conditions in the schools, or stern discipline I have been unable to ascertain."

What is certain is that there was an increasing dissatisfaction along the north coast with

the manner in which the church was operating. The Zoar mission station, which had only

been open since 1865, was one of the centres of this unrest.

Figure 32 *Zoar Bay, undated photo, courtesy Moravian Museum, Nain.*

The Moravian Mission station at Zoar (formerly Takpangayok) was one of the

shortest lived stations in the history of Moravian settlement in Labrador. It was opened in

1865. The stones for the foundation of the first house were collected and laid by October

5, 1864, and the last beam of the structure was placed on May 8, 1865.[36] The same hut

was used to hold church services, with several settlers travelling long distances to attend.

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[36] The first missionary, A.F. Elsner, wrote in the Moravian Mission's Periodical Accounts
for 1866 that "My lodging for the time of my stay at Zoar was in a blockhouse, with no
other floor than the bare earth, and only one small window, and even the possession of
these quarters was disputed by numbers of mice and weasels, which frequently deprived
me of my night's rest after a hard day's work" ("Zoar Years" 22).

By 1867, the congregation at Zoar consisted of 69 persons, 32 of which were able to take communion ("Extracts" 57).

For the first several years of its history, church services were held inside the mission house as a church had not been built. By the late 1860's the congregation had become far too large for the small space available to them, and it was decided that a full church was needed. A.F. Elsner wrote in the 1869 Periodical Accounts that, "A plain, unadorned building, 42 feet long by 28 wide and 10 feet high, with a little cupola for the tower, is all that would be needed" (Elsner 228). The total cost of the project was estimated at 150 English pounds. The funds were found, the church built, and the official opening of the new building was held on February 19th, 1873. The church was decorated with fir branches and the service was accompanied by music played on trombones, violin, and harmonium. As some of the funding for the new structure came from a Miss Tucker, the church was christened "The Francis Anne Memorial Church" in memory of Miss Tucker's departed sister (Elsner and Hirt 5-6).

The station was opened with high hopes. Time, however, proved that the site was not favourable for the gaining of a livelihood in the ways open to the Inuit - hunting, fishing, and sealing. The combination of food shortages and a series of very harsh winters threatened the lives of many of the Inuit living in the area. The mission store had set up a credit system, where goods were offered to these people in advance, to be paid back later in the year. However, the take from hunting and fishing rarely covered their expenses at the store. Missionary accounts from 1874 record that many people had

accumulated considerable debts (Bourquin *et al.* 197-200). Some incurred debts at the mission store but then later traded with different European settlers or traders from further south, angering those who ran the mission store. The whole concept of the credit system was European in nature, and poorly understood by many of the Inuit. The system led to confusion, misunderstandings, and confrontations between the Inuit and the missionaries.

This did not happen in Zoar alone, but all along the Labrador coast. In 1873 Brother Slotta, the store keeper at OKaK was attacked and thrown down to the floor by a man name Samuel (Schoett *et al.* 9). The missionaries closed the store, and some people threatened to break the door open by force. In Nain in 1874 Brother Haugk closed the store to all customers after incidences of theft, causing a great uproar among the Inuit population. The missionaries and Inuit held a noisy and argumentative meeting which lasted three hours. The missionaries found that attempting to reason out the conflict proved futile and the store was reopened with the missionaries feeling a sense of futility, deeply downcast at the series of events ("Miscellaneous" 190-1, Bourquin *et al.* 197-200).

With the problems at Zoar concerning food shortages, debts, and poor hunting conditions, it was perhaps inevitable that a similar confrontation would take place between the Inuit and the mission store. This incident lives in the oral literature of the area even today. In August 1995 Edward Noa was living at Antone's Point, not far from Zoar Bay, and in the location where his family has lived since at least the time of the Zoar settlement. In 1935, Rev. F.W. Peacock visited with an Inuit family named Noa at

Annaksakarusek, about eight miles from Zoar (Peacock and Jackson 27). Edward was

born after the closure of the station, but his father Antone Noa had lived there at one

point. According to a story told to Edward by Antone, the station was abandoned because

someone had started shooting at the mission store.

This piece of the oral tradition can be verified by Sir Wilfred Grenfell, who visited

Zoar in 1893. In a letter dated September 5, 1893 Grenfell wrote that "five years ago here

an Eskimo had fired at the missionaries and endeavoured to break into the store, and so

the Society had thought wise in this place to close the store, the result being many of the

Eskimo have left for a Hudson Bay station some twenty-five miles away, where they have

stores at hand. Zoar will, therefore, soon be abandoned as a station" (quoted in Rompkey

125).

The two versions of the Inuit shooting differ slightly and the exact scenario will

probably never be known. Grenfell writes that the Inuit had shot at the missionaries,

while Ituk's story tells that they shot at the mission store. The periodical accounts from

the period are vague, and do little to clarify the debate. It seems most likely that the

physical target was the store, as a symbol of what the problem revolved around. Using

the building as the focal point of violence gets the message across without having to deal

with situation of killing a missionary. If the missionaries themselves had been the target,

they likely would not have presented a very difficult target for experienced hunters.

Shooting at the store would have allowed frustrations to be vented while at the same time

still serving as a powerful indictment of mission activities. The shooting of the store

serves a specific sign function, though the resulting interpretant would undoubtably differ

depending which end of the gun one was standing on. The building itself, constructed

during the second phase of construction detailed in Chapter Four, was here clearly seen as

a symbol of the Moravian theocracy, and therefore a perfect target for displeasure.

The mission was closed in 1894, and abandoned by 1895. The final closure of the

station is best told in the following piece from the Periodical Accounts:

The future of Zoar was one of the subjects under consideration at the General Mission Conference held in Nain last April. It may be remembered that, owing to the

conduct of some of the people there, the store at Zoar had to be closed in 1888. This step was taken with little hope of its ever being opened again, and with fears that the giving up of the station would have to follow ere long. These fears have now been realized, and with deep regret conference came to the conclusion that present circumstances no longer justify the appointment of a missionary to that place. This decision has been endorsed by the home authorities. ("Glimpses" 243).

Today very little

Figure 33 *Remains of mission building foundation, Zoar.*

remains of the Zoar mission station. The

foundations of the buildings are overgrown, but the outlines of some of the mission

buildings can still be traced out. The larger mission buildings at Hebron or OKaK were

constructed with cut stone foundations, and these have remained even where the timber

buildings themselves have disappeared. The foundations of the first buildings at Zoar

were built using piles of collected stones. However the foundations of the church

building were largely brick. Following the closure of the Zoar mission station, many of

the remaining bricks were removed from the site and incorporated into chimneys and

pathways by the Inuit and settlers,[37] completing the disintegration of the "Moravian" site

and transforming it into something that was uniquely Labradorian.[38]

As Bernard Herman notes, "architecture functions on many levels, not the least of

which is as a set of signposts indicating the social and cultural relationships obtaining in a

given time and place" (Architecture 229). The creation and use of Moravian architecture

in Labrador can be read as signposts indicating prevailing concepts of order, and also as

signposts indicating major social change. The demise, replacement, and reorganization of

the "pure" Moravian architecture of the second phase can also be read as an indicator of a

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[37]

A not-unheard-of practice. As mentioned earlier, the brick nogging of the 1782 church
in Hopedale was recycled to make walkways to and from the newer Mission House.

[38]

At least one of the buildings at Zoar was completely relocated. The periodical accounts
state "Since the store was transferred to Hopedale a year or two ago, there remains at Zoar
the church and the dwelling house. The latter is too lightly built to allow of its being put
up again at any other station, but the church is more solid. Next spring Br. Martin will
send a party to take it down and bring the frame and boards to Nain. There they will be
stacked ready for conveyance by our ship to the spot, where they can be re-erected so as
to be of the most use to the mission." ("From" 439-40).

profound shift in the way religious and community life was structured.

In Folk Housing in Middle Virginia Henry Glassie demonstrated how buildings can embody the "architecture of past thought"(vii). Just as Glassie reconstructed the logic of Virginians long dead by looking at their houses, the third phase of Moravian buildings indicate much about the Moravian church. Social history and major architectural change is clearly linked as Glassie writes,

> Architectural thinking is bound to thinking about non architectural matters, so that any theory explaining architecture in solely architectural terms may be somewhat correct, but it can never be enough. The social, economic, political and religious conditions of life in Middle Virginia changed. People adapted to these changes, developing new modes of thought, and the things they did, the artifacts they made, manifested the changes that had taken place in their minds (Folk 189-190).

Glassie argues that seeing a building as an expression of a new style or fashion may indicate relationships between different buildings, but that this ultimately explains nothing. The question is, he argues, why was that particular expression accepted (Glassie, Folk 188-189)? Building on Glassie, I ask why were traditional Moravian architectural expressions rejected, and totally new styles installed in their place?

Bernard Herman's Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700-1900 studies cycles of architectural change in central Delaware, and demonstrates how shifts in architectural patterning reflect changing ideals and values in society. In his chapter on the "new" farm buildings constructed in the mid nineteenth century, he argues that the pursuit of new architectural forms "was central to the full incorporation of the values promoted

and accepted by a rural working society" (Herman, Architecture 228). The shift in

architectural styles in Labrador was a step in the incorporation of new systems of value in

Labrador society, primarily that of Inuit self-determination.

During the third stage of Moravian architecture in Labrador, there was increasing

pressure by the Inuit for more authority in the organization of the Labrador mission. Both

the creation of the Uviluktok church and the disintegration of the Zoar station reflect a

growing need for more control in church-run affairs, and the development of church

institutions more responsive to the needs of the Inuit. In all Moravian mission stations,

authority was delegated to a system of native helpers. As early as the 1860's Hopedale

had employed an Inuk as a school teacher, and increased lay involvement in decision-

making helped to challenge the "mystique surrounding missionary power" (Zerbe

Cornelsen 83). The authority of the Inuit in Labrador became stronger as the nature of the

congregation changed from fresh converts to established Moravian community members,

a process that included the rise of the *AngajoKauKattiget*. The system of native helpers

became formalized in Labrador after 1901 (Kennedy 202, Zerbe Cornelsen 85) with the

establishment of the *AngajoKauKattiget*, or village council, made up of church elders.

Rev. F.W. Peacock wrote,

> In 1907, the organization of the congregation was made
> more democratic by the election of elders chosen from
> among the males of over twenty-one. One elder was
> elected for every hundred in the village population. The
> elders, together with the appointed chapel servants, formed
> the *AngajoKauKattiget*. After 1953, women were
> permitted to seek election as elders (Peacock and Jackson

36).

The *AngajoKauKattiget* "were the law until police arrived in 1934" (Crowe 140).

J.C. Kennedy (202) wrote in 1979 that they "coordinated spiritual and secular life in each

community: the settled hunting and fishing disputes, decided punishments for violations

of church policy, and occasionally administered food to poor and disadvantaged Inuit. In

time, the status of elder became the important political office, a pattern which survives to

some extent today, particularly in Nain." And, as Zerbe Cornelsen (85) has noted, "the

repeated re-election of a man known more for his business skills than his moral qualities

confirmed that community decisions no longer required the full appearance of divine

sponsorship."

As Peacock observed, one of the key functions of the *AngajoKauKattiget* was

"curbing personal misconduct where it threatened social order" (Peacock and Jackson

140). The gradual growth of Inuit-based church authority culminated on July 1st, 1980

when the first Inuit minister, Renatus Hunter, was ordained in Hopedale ("Moravian" 12).

The establishment of the *AngajoKauKattiget*, "combined with the success at Uviluktok,

indicated stronger lay involvement in decision making, another factor in dimming the

theocratic aura around community decisions (Zerbe Cornelsen 85).

Herman (Architecture 238) argues that "the strength of any architectural sign

wears thin with extensive use or with a shift in the perceptions through which the

community see themselves or are seen by others", while James Deetz postulates that

"changes in attitudes, values, and world view are very likely to be reflected in changes in

vernacular architectural forms" (93). The democratic election of church elders in 1907 certainly constitutes a change in the attitudes of the community, as well as a shift in the power base of the community. The establishment of a body of church elders responsible for the physical aspects of the religious community is reflected in changes in vernacular architectural forms. The construction of buildings within the settlement became the responsibility of the Inuit elders, not the overseas Moravian body. When Nain burned down, it was rebuilt by the community, who had no familiarity with the Germanic or Eastern European folk traditions that had been so central to the design of Moravian buildings throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Another source of cultural and social change at the turn of the century was the gradual movement of Anglo-American settlers upward along the north coast of Labrador. This influx was compounded at the same time by a shift in the Moravian establishment's attitude towards the settler. Missions started to encourage settlers to stay in communities, rather than trying to exclude them as before (Kennedy 206). This attempt at inclusion was possibly an effort to limit what was seen as a negative influence on Moravian values along the north coast. It has been argued that for the period starting just after 1900, settlers started to penetrate Labrador from the south, and that "the traders' and fishermen's spiritually and socially corrosive influence on Inuit culture presented itself as the frightening alternative to the effort of the Moravians" (Bassler 144). The influx of settlers "broke down the isolation and homogeneity of the Labrador Inuit villages" (Zerbe Cornelsen 8). Having managed to limit settlement along the coast for over one hundred

and thirty years, Moravian control over coastal settlement weakened, and the church

made an attempt to incorporate the settlers into the life and activity of the church. To a

large degree, the church succeeded in this regard, managing to keep the Moravian faith

the sole denomination in most of the settlements it had founded. However, the

introduction of English in the communities eroded some of the traditional social and

cultural authority of the German missionaries, who had preached largely in Inuktitut.

Zerbe Cornelsen (62) argues,

> As Inuit began to use English in dealings with outsiders,
> while continuing to worship in Inuktitut, a cleavage
> between the culture of the religious sphere and the culture
> of the daily economic and social transactions was
> introduced. Church became the repository of things
> traditional, while daily economic and social life came to
> represent things modern.

Contact with communities to the south or with settlers moving into the area with

their own traditions of building had their own effects on the shift of vernacular styles.

One material culture studies scholar has written "an important safeguard in interpreting

past meaning content is the ability to support hypotheses about meaningful dimensions of

variation in a variety of different aspects of the data" (Hodder 135). These social changes

found expression in aspects of Labrador Moravian culture other than architecture. The

link between architectural and social change posited above also occurs in the form and

design of tombstones in Moravian cemeteries. Before the turn of the century, Moravian

gravestones in Labrador conform to the form of Moravian gravestones elsewhere.

Traditional stones are rectangular and lie flat on the ground, with no decoration and little

text. In Labrador the text prior to the turn of the century is in German, with some in English. After the turn of the century however, the design changes dramatically to a more standard upright Western tombstone form, with decorative work, and longer inscriptions largely in English and Inuktitut. This shift starts just after the turn of the century, becoming the established norm by the 1920s .

Twentieth century Moravian buildings bore more similarities to Anglican and Catholic churches built along Labrador's southern coast than they did to the earlier Moravian structures. The settlers' "spiritually and socially corrosive influence on Inuit culture" (Bassler 144) probably included such devious non-Moravian architectural concepts as the Gothic Revival Style. By time of the construction of a new Moravian church at Happy Valley in the late 1954 the Gothic Revival Style had firmly wormed its way into the minds of the builders, who fashioned the new church along those lines.

Figure 34 *Moravian Church, Happy Valley.*

Following the closure of the Zoar station, and the establishment of the Inuit-built church at Uviluktok, Moravian architecture in Labrador ceased to be built along the classic "Moravian" lines of the nineteenth century. Almost a hundred years exactly after the creation of an imposed theocracy in Labrador and a transition of dependence, there is a shift, a transition to growing independence and a weakening of the cultural stranglehold

of the church. Richard Zerbe Cornelsen argues that the period from 1850 to 1920 is "a time of erosion of Moravian hegemony in the region and consequently... a time when the missionaries' vision of a fully Christianized society was compromised" (7).

The architecture of the third phase of Moravian development in Labrador is a sign of internal changes from a theocracy to religious independence, and is marked more than anything by growing architectural variety. The architecture of the period following this transition is more individualistic than that of the periods before it. While there are new features that can be found in many of the new buildings, such as lower roof pitches, centre facade entrances and idiosyncratically designed and proportioned front steeples, there is nothing that can be called a Moravian style for this period. Indeed, it is the lack of any one over-riding stylistic concern that is what defines this period. The twentieth century buildings are more mono-purpose and less communitarian in function, and more asymmetrical and architecturally individualistic in design. Labrador experienced an explosion of truly vernacular construction as the people took their religious and community life, quite literally, into their own hands. The architecture of this period clearly represents a shift in power away from the traditional Moravian hierarchy, and towards the people of Labrador itself. Such lofty concepts of power and hierarchy are reflected not only in church buildings, but also in the more "common" structures created by the Moravians in Labrador. The expression and representation of power in architecture is the subject of the next chapter, which moves from the grand churches to an exploration of a much more architecturally simple structure, the dead house.

Chapter Six

Order and Control

Whether as a symbol of colonial expansion, theocratic uniformity, or of the (re)establishment of indigenous control, Moravian architecture in Labrador can always be read as a symbol of power and order. One aspect of the built heritage of the Labrador Moravians that can be examined as a case study to find a better understanding of the use of architecture as a symbol of order and authority is a series of simple buildings built in three communities in Labrador by the Moravian Church between 1861 and 1994. The buildings are what are known locally as "dead houses": small sheds built to hold the bodies of the dead before burial.

One researcher has noted that no matter what it was that the Moravians built, "they built well, for it was their belief that the work of their hands, no less than the stirrings of their consciences, was direct expression of the will of God" (Griffin Adventure 3). The dead house, no less than the great mission houses and churches, was a part of this belief. Architecturally, these are very simple buildings, and are easily overlooked. As such, they give the folklorist a perfect opportunity to explore how "the textual content of architecture functions beneath the level of articulated observation" (Herman, "Architectural" 225). As Kenneth L. Ames (241) has written in his study of Victorian hall furnishings, "the commonplace artifacts of everyday life mirror a society's

values as accurately as its great monuments."

Today, there are three communities in Labrador where dead houses can still be seen: Nain, Hopedale, and Hebron.

The dead house in Nain is located close to the community's graveyard, roughly a two minute walk from the church. The building is a small, of timber frame construction covered with pine clapboard, with one door in the narrow, gable end. The structure
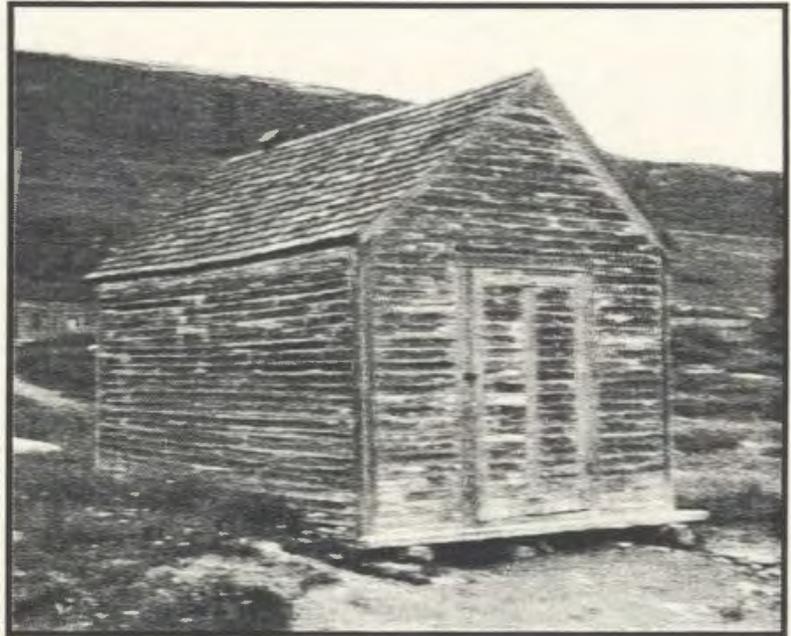
Figure 35 *Nain dead house.*

measures 2.80 m by 4.90 m, and sits on a foundation of horizontal logs. The gable roof is fairly steeply pitched, and is covered with wood shingles. The dead house has two interesting architectural features. The first is a flat rail or step that runs the front width of the building. The second is a small structure added to the ridge of the roof. This feature does not appear to serve as a vent as it is solid on all four sides. Its function is uncertain, and may be purely decorative. It is slightly evocative of the cupolas found on many Moravian buildings, a feature typical of early Moravian architecture. The construction date of the dead house is uncertain, even in local folk histories. The building is weather-beaten, but still retains some traces of paint. The shingles were at one point painted red, and the west exterior wall shows some remnants of blue paint.

Of the three communities in Labrador with dead houses, Hopedale is unique in

that it has two buildings

originally constructed for that

purpose. A description of

buildings dated 1929 and

signed by Rev. George Harp

gives the older of the two

Hopedale dead houses a

construction date of 1861

Figure 36 *Hopedale dead houses, eldest to the left.*

(Records 58695). It is described as follows: "Stone foundation. Brick walls lined inside

and out with Labrador lumber, shingle roof" (Records 58695). The building measures

2.60 m by 4.73 m, with a single door in the south gable end. Minor repairs were made to

the structure as part of the local Agvituk Historical Society's preservation and

stabilization work in 1994. This work was carried out under the direction of Beaton

Sheppard Associates, a St. John's, Newfoundland based architectural firm.

The new dead house is of wood 2x4 frame construction, covered with plywood

sheets, and painted white. The gable roof is covered with black commercially available

asphalt sheeting, and the building rests on a concrete foundation. It measures 3.75 m by

4.90 m, with a single door in the east gable end. This structure, built in 1994, replaces

the older, 1861 dead house, which is now used as storage. Both structures are built on

extremely swampy, poorly drained ground. They are built quite close to each other,

immediately north of the current Moravian Church. The cemetery is located a short distance to the east of the church.

The third community which hosts a dead house is Hebron. The dead house in Hebron is fixed to the west exterior wall of the church by six "L"-shaped metal brackets, three on each side. The building is of timber frame construction, with exterior walls made out of vertical planks. The exterior walls are extremely weather-beaten, but appear to have been painted red at one point. This dead house is
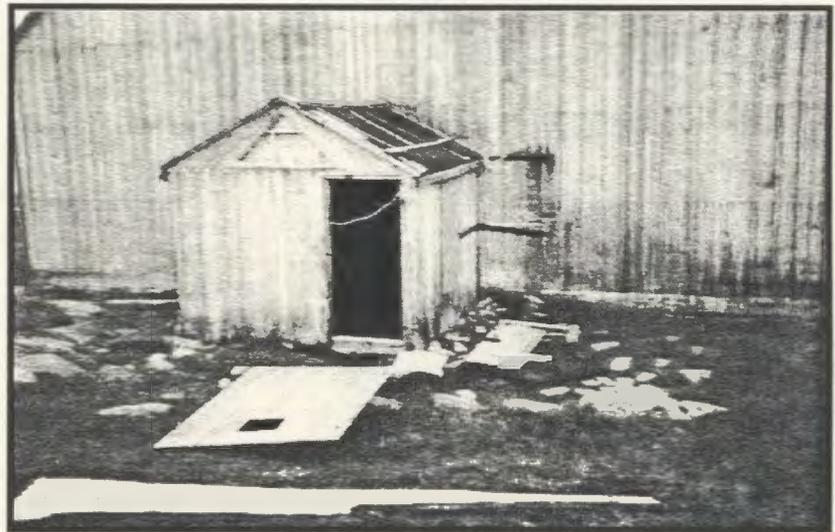
Figure 37 *Hebron dead house.*

different from the other three buildings discussed here for a number of reasons. First, it is the only structure directly attached to any other. Second, it is the only dead house to have windows. Third, it is the only dead house to be widest on the gable end, though this is only slightly so (the building measuring 2.37 m by 2.34 m). There seem to have been two windows at one point. One is a rectangular window in the south elevation, and the other a triangular window in the west gable end. This window has been boarded up from the interior, and is missing at least one section of muntin.

The roof was originally of wood planks, painted red, though this was covered at some point by red asphalt shingle material, held in place with wood battens, also once

painted red. The building is sitting on a very rough stone foundation. The interior is unfinished, with a plywood floor. The north wall of the interior has two triangular pieces set into each corner which could possibly be shelves. They most likely could not have supported the weight of a coffin, and also seem too high to be practical for this purpose.

The dating of the structure poses some interesting questions. Two pieces of graffiti, written in pencil on an interior beam, give two early dates. One shows a date of "23 Mai 1886", accompanied by other text, possibly in Inuktitut. The other gives a date of August 25 1889, and a name, Richard Lay. If these dates were written on the beam after the construction of the dead house, which seems likely, this would give a latest possible construction date of May, 1886. However, the building is clearly not in its original position. It is known that the dead house was located in its present location at least as early as 1957. A photograph dated 1960 shows dead house in this location
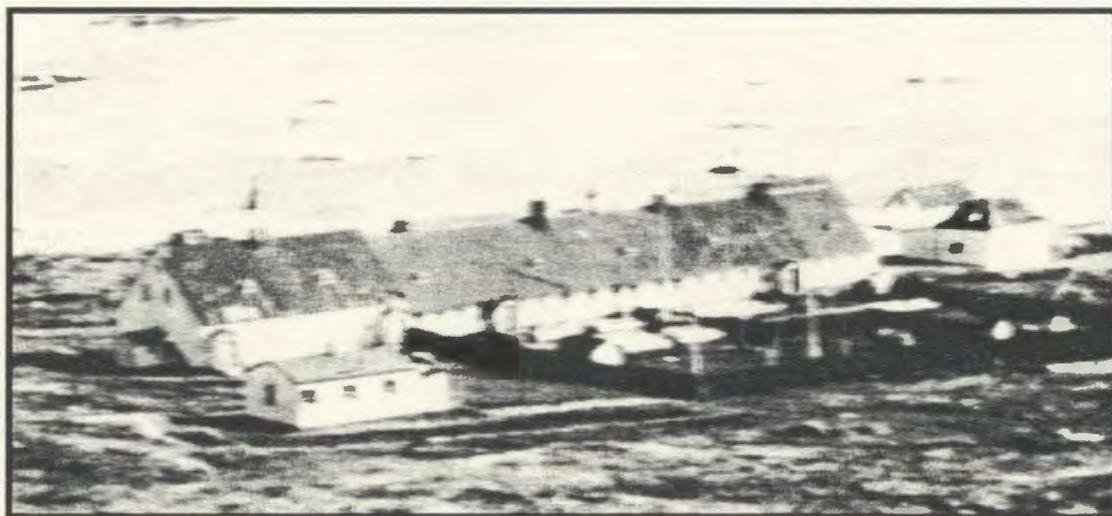
Figure 38 *Hebron, 1957, courtesy OKalaKatiget Society, Nain.*

(Taylor and Wright 8), as does another undated photograph belonging to the OKalaKatiget Society, Nain, Labrador.

A different photograph, also belonging to the OKalaKatiget Society, bears the note "View of Hebron 1957 when finally Aug 1st ice left bay." It clearly shows the dead house in its present location. However, an undated photograph from Collection No. 069 in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives in St. John's, Newfoundland, shows the Hebron church with no structure added to its west wall.

It seems likely the dead house was constructed sometime before 23 May 1886, but was not moved to its present location until much later. One possible reason for its move could be explained by the metal brackets holding it to the church. The wind at Hebron can be very strong, and the dead house may have not been large enough to stand in one place on its own. For example, on 8 August 1995 a wind storm at Hebron demolished an abandoned settlers' house, removed a small section of the church roofing, and blew down the chimney of the abandoned Hudson Bay Company's factor's house. Repeated wind storms of this type may have necessitated the dead house being bolted to the church.

The boarded windows in this particular structure raise other questions, their purpose and history being uncertain. The building, in its current position, was certainly used as the Hebron dead house, but its earlier use is unknown. The triangular transom window above the door is almost identical to transom windows above the covered entrance ways to the church and mission house at Ramah. This window, and the side window, suggest that the building served an alternate purpose before being moved,

possibly as some sort of garden shed.

The four dead houses in Labrador have minor differences in terms of construction

techniques, but they all follow the same
basic pattern. All are simple one room
structures, with a gable roof, and a door in
the gable end. In terms of form, they are
virtually identical to other Moravian-built
sheds, including a wood shed and a storage
shed in Nain. This is not to say that all
small Moravian outbuildings are

Figure 39 *Church storage shed, Nain.*

indistinguishable from the dead houses. The garden shed at Hebron, for example, is

roughly the same size as the Labrador dead houses, but follows a very different plan, with

paired windows and a door that is not on the gable end of the structure. What

distinguishes dead houses are their uses, both stated and unstated, within the community.

According to Rev. Lawrence Junek, the Moravian minister in Nain, the purpose of

the dead house "is to hold the body till we have a service, while they are digging the

grave, or that kind of thing, although that would already be in a coffin by then, by this

time" (Junek). While the dead house may have been important in Labrador as a storage

place for the dead during the winter when a grave could not be dug, this was not its

primary function. Traditionally, the body was buried very shortly after death, even in

Labrador during the winter. The station report from OKaK for June of 1919 refers to the

use of fires in December 1918 to thaw ground for a grave ("Missionary" 44), though this

may have been an unusual occurrence, due to an unnaturally high mortality related to an

epidemic of Spanish influenza. In his compilation of the memoirs of Moravian James

Hutton, Daniel Benham wrote in 1856, that "...in the town they made short work of

burials, which then, as now, often took place within twenty-four hours after death"

(Benham 340).

The best description of the use of the dead house I have found to date is from a

book entitled Sketches of Moravian Life and Character: Comprising a General View of

the History, Life, Character, and Religious and Educational Institutions of the Unitas

Fratrum, written by James Henry in 1859. Referring to the dead house as the

"Corpse-house", he writes,

> The remains are usually placed... within the 'Corpse-house',
> whither the friends of the deceased repair to gaze upon the
> face before its final disappearance from earth. A simple
> rose, the tribute from the hands of affliction, is some-times
> added to the lifeless figure, now attired in the white
> habiliments of the tomb. This ornament to the garb of
> death is expressive of peace and joy to the soul of the
> departed. In this silent sanctuary the little lamp is placed,
> and it is the office of some quiet and fearless Sister to
> repair there during the night to trim the beacon that custom
> deems needful for the lifeless body, while still within the
> precincts of the living. To many, this mission of the night
> would seem a fearful one, but to some there is a
> companionship in the cold form, the well-known
> lineaments addressing you, as it were, 'Fear not! for while
> my body sleeps the sleep of death, my spirit reigns over and
> guards you' (Henry 147-8).

The dead house was referred to as a corpse house in early nineteenth century

Pennsylvania. One author noted "the body was taken when dressed, immediately to a small stone building called the corpse-house, and here remained until the funeral" (Gibbons 195). In Labrador, the deceased remained inside the dead house during the funeral service. According to Rev S. Walter Edmunds, the Moravian minister in Happy-Valley Goose Bay,

> The customary way of burying within the Moravian church
> was that the body was never taken into the sanctuary. It
> was usually even prepared for burial in what was called the
> dead house which was just a small house near the edge of
> the cemetery, or near the church as the case may be, and the
> body would be kept there. The service would be conducted
> in the sanctuary and then as the procession moved to the
> cemetery they would stop at the dead house, and after a
> short prayer would then move on from there to the cemetery
> with the body.

Traditionally, the dead house was a key element of the funeral ceremony. The body of the deceased was normally not taken into the body of the church for the funeral service. "Some elderly, very respected people within the community may have been taken to the church, but it was a mark of extreme respect. The average burial wasn't done that way" (Edmunds).

Where the body was left in the dead house, the funeral procession from the church following the service would stop at the dead house to pick up the body, and further prayers would be said. Henry (148-9) writes,

> After passing from the church, the whole assemblage
> arrange themselves before the 'Corpse-house,' where verses
> are again sung, chorales played on trombones, and then the
> procession moves forward with solemn pace to the

cemetery, the trombones preceding it, and playing the
thrilling and harmonious music of the funeral ritual.

The funeral procession, the equation of the ritual with music, and the placement of

both within a planned and ordered

landscape, were all part of

Moravian traditions since at least

the early sixteenth century. During

the funeral for one of the Brethren

during this period, "an address was

delivered and, on the way to the

grave, the school children, led by

Figure 40 *Moravian brass band, Makkovik, 1930,*
courtesy OKalaKatiget Society, Nain.

the minister, sang hymns" (de Schweinitz 221). The use of trombones seems to have had

particular funereal connotations. During the eighteenth-century, Moravians "used

instrumental music in their rituals, most notably in the trombone announcement of a

member's death" (Thorp 1989, 19). While trombones were required at most of the major

church devotionals,[39] "their most frequent function was to announce the death of a

member from the belfry of the church. The first and last tunes used in this announcement

were the same for all members; the middle tune indicated the Choir to which the deceased

belonged" (Sessler 111).

As a place of prayer for the deceased, the Moravian dead house has slight

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[39]

French horns were used by the missionaries at Nain in 1776 (Hiller, "Foundation" 202),
and Inuit brass bands were firmly in place in Labrador by the late 1800's (Rompkey 103).

similarities to the medieval chantry or funerary church (Colvin 152-189), the English

Protestant funerary chapel (Colvin 253-270), or even the modern crematoria (Bond). But

all of these structures are much more grandiose and architecturally elaborate than the dead

house. In addition, the dead house was only used as a place of prayer while it contained

the body or during the funeral procession, whereas the above examples were used in

much different contexts.

In terms of function, the dead house comes closest to what Gilbert Cope (99)

refers to as the "point of departure" or "place of ritual farewell", though the architectural

nature of this place varies from culture to culture and faith to faith. Perhaps the

architectural form that comes closest to that of the Moravian dead house is a structure

known as the lych gate. The lych

gate, commonly associated with the

Anglican church, is "a covered

wooden gateway with open sides at

the entrance to a churchyard,

providing a resting place for a

coffin" (Fleming *et al.* 277). A

common feature in English

churchyards, the concept of the

lych gate was also transplanted to
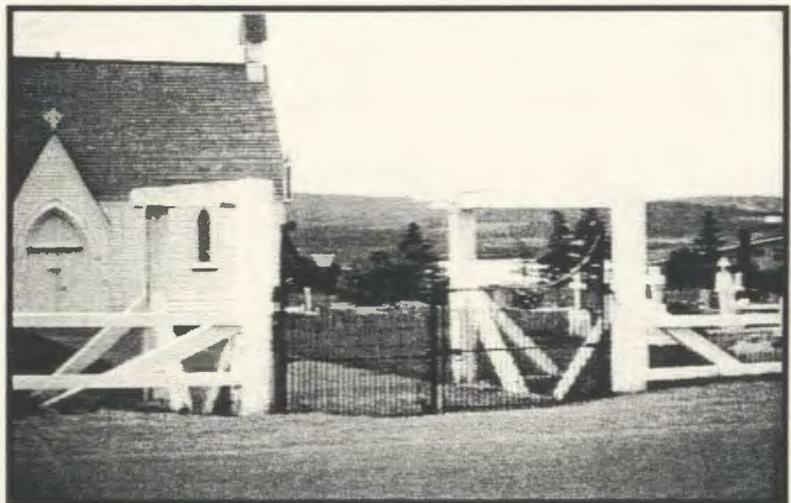
Figure 41 *Lych gate, Alexander Chapel of All Souls, Bonavista, undated photo courtesy Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador.*

North America. Once common, the only surviving Newfoundland example is in

Bonavista, though the original elaborate gabled roof has been removed. One good surviving example can be seen at the Saints Mary and Paul Church, Lytton, British Columbia.[40] Close to the front of the church is the church's lych gate. "The elaborately beamed lych gate is a feature typical of Anglican churchyards. Traditionally, it was the sheltered point at which the coffin was set down at a funeral to await the clergyman's arrival" (Veillette and White 98). In some instances, a portion of the burial service is performed while the coffin rests inside the gate (Fleming *et al.* 277).

There are few similarities in terms of architectural form between the lych gate and the dead house, though there seems to be an orientation in both towards steeply gabled structures. The lych gate, by its name and nature, is a gate, and so has two open ends for the procession to actually pass through, while the dead house is a fully sided entity. The main similarity in the two is their ritual use in the funeral procession, and how the space they define is incorporated into the ritual of death.[41]

While there is no strict architectural correlation, the practice of the wake, a meeting of family members and friends after a death, approximates in terms of spatial

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[40] Built at the junction of the Thompson and Fraser Rivers, the church was constructed as an Anglican mission church for the Interior Salish. The church was rebuilt in the 1930's and rededicated in 1937 to Archdeacon Richard Small who served from 1897 to 1909 as Superintendent of the Indian missions in the diocese of New Westminster (Veillette and White 95-98).

[41] One further similarity to note is the actually name. "Lych" is a form of the Anglo-Saxon word "líc" meaning body or corpse (Hall, J. 217), hence "corpse gate", similar to the older Moravian phrase "corpse house".

use. Simply put, a wake is "a gathering of family and friends who prayed for the soul and

consoled the family in the presence of the body" (Winick 562).

> The custom of the wake, or watching the corpse, arose from
> the belief that the spirit of the dead person hovers about the
> corpse between death and burial, to be placated only by a
> rigid adherence on the part of the mourners to certain
> prescribed procedures. Such procedures have included the
> placing of salt on the breast of the corpse and the continual
> burning of a candle at the head of the coffin ("Mortuary"
> 464).

The Moravian origins of keeping a lamp lit for the corpse inside the dead house are

uncertain, and may derive from similar folk practices as the wake.[42]

There seems to be a certain amount of ambiguousness surrounding the dead in

Moravian culture, an attitude shared in various ways by different cultures (see Haviland

550-1). There is some indication that in the mid eighteenth century at least, excessive

mourning at Moravian burials was undesirable (Benham 413). In Moravian society, the

dead house very clearly stands as the liminal ground between the realms of the dead and

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[42]
The candle lighting may however have very different symbolic meaning. A Moravian
hymn composed by James Hutton in 1772 contains the interesting lines:

> Oh, Thou! whose love's beyond compare,
> Be Thou our souls' desire;
> Oh make our people every where
> Before Thee as one fire!

> That round Thy corpse a thankful blaze
> Might burn both day and night;
> A flame of love, a flame of praise,
> Unquenchable and bright.   (quoted in Benham 495)

the living. The deceased person is no longer given the same rights of access to the church as a living person, and is also removed from the house where he/she lived. At the same time, the deceased is very much a focal point of village activity, and specially defined spaces within the community are set aside for their sole use, the dead house being one of the best examples of this.

In many ways, the deceased continues to act as a marker of social norms. Hence, well respected dead, the ideal, are allowed into the church, while less respected dead, such as the suicides, are not allowed into the church, and are kept in the dead house. Moravian burial practices also suggest this. Moravian dead are buried according to the Moravian choir system,[43] which divides the community into age and sex categories. As Reverend Junek explained it,

> ...traditionally, normally, Moravians say, OK there's a men,
> a women's and men's plots, and then there is a children's
> plots, and what you do is you bury them in that section next
> to each other as they die. In other words, you don't have
> family plots, you bury them as they die, one right after the
> other, and that's the normal way to do it. With children,
> there's a children's section where there's baptized and
> unbaptized sections.

In the nineteenth century, during the period of Moravian architectural fluorescence detailed in chapter four, the dead house existed as part of a sign complex which served as a visual guideline for social behavior and a marker of social norms. As such, its

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[43] According to Gillian Gollin (67-8), the Moravian choir system "emerged as a consequence of Zinzendorf's early attempts to enrich the spiritual life of the community by encouraging the formation of so-called bands or classes whose primary function was to satisfy the spiritual needs of their members".

introduction into Labrador can be seen as a good example of the Moravian belief in an ideal society, and as an example of how architecture was used as a symbol of social and religious control. In the twentieth century, as the balance of power shifted away from the German missionaries and into the hands of the Labrador people, the ways in which architecture was used shifted as well, as detailed in chapter five. Interestingly enough, the dead house continued to be used by the Inuit, with new dead houses being constructed well into the 1990s. Furthermore, dead houses became a tool of the growing Inuit religious power structure, and continued to be used as a symbol of social and religious control.

In the twentieth century, the dead house stood as a reminder of the battle lines drawn between respected and non-respected members of the community. And while the twentieth century dead house is very similar in terms of form and construction to the nineteenth century examples, the potential of the dead house as a symbol of power shifted as the power shifted from the missionaries to the Inuit.

As discussed in the previous chapter, many of the changes in architectural patterning within the Moravian church in Labrador in the twentieth century can be linked to the development of Inuit-based church authority. Within the community, certain authoritarian roles could be shared among aboriginal peoples. One example were "helpers" who met regularly to discuss spiritual matters of importance to the community. One eighteenth century Moravian author wrote, "We are also glad when, from among the heathen that are converted to God, we can bring up people in our missions for the use of

others, and these we call Helper" (Spangenberg 85). In Labrador, these are known as

chapel servants. In recent times, chapel servants have assumed large portions of the

responsibility for the smooth running of the church. Rev. Lawrence Junek, a Moravian

minister from Texas who in 1995 had been preaching in Nain for three years, described

their role:

> There are chapel servants who have been, uh, primarily,
> one of the things they do is help the minister, and this, they
> were without a minister for three years, and before that they
> helped too, helped hold services, assist the minister and
> right now they've been doing a lot of the, they've been
> doing primarily the Inuktitut services, especially worship,
> preaching, like that, and I've been doing the English. I do
> some of the five o'clock liturgy [the Inuktitut service]. They
> let me. [he laughs] But its only got singing. [he laughs
> again] I can sit up there and be uh.., you know, that kind
> of thing... (Junek)

In Labrador, a different grouping of these helpers developed who were directly

concerned with the mission buildings. Known as Elders, their basic function is to ensure

the maintenance of the mission's architecture and landscape. As Rev. Junek noted,

> Now elders are the other group. They do the physical
> things, in a sense. They supposedly take care of things
> around the church building *etc.*, digging graves, taking care
> of the graves, uh, the cemetery and take care of this
> building [the manse], church properties, as needed. (Junek)

Burials were always traditionally one area where native church helpers were

granted some authority. In the eighteenth century it was recognized that "such helpers as

have gifts are sometimes desired to deliver a discourse, keep a funeral, &c" (Spangenberg

86). Chapel servants in Labrador are permitted to perform burials (Junek), and church

elders, responsible for the maintenance of the physical church, would have immediate authority over the placement of the dead house.

In addition to its surface level function as a resting house for the bodies of the deceased, the dead house in Labrador can serve as a symbol of authority, namely the authority of the Inuit church elders. In certain instances, the dead house could be used by the church elders as a deliberate reminder of the line of authority in a community, and as a marker of expected social norms. During the time of my 1995 field work in Nain, I met the first white man from outside the community to marry a local Inuit woman, join the Moravian church, and to stay in the community. Previously, any white man who had married an Inuit woman had taken the woman with him back to his community. At the time of this couple's marriage in the early 1960's, the church elders moved the dead house to a spot directly behind the newly married couple's house. The husband, close to thirty-five years later, still saw this as one example of the elders' dissatisfaction with the marriage.

The disapproval of the marriage probably stemmed from a number of causes, one of them being the cross-racial factor. Second, the man was American, so there were cultural differences as well. But the most damning factor was probably that the man was not originally a member of the Moravian faith. Traditionally, inter-faith marriage was strongly discouraged. In early Moravian settlements in North Carolina for example, "no Moravian could marry a non-Moravian and remain within the fold of the community" (Mainwaring 140). The dead house remained behind the newly married couple's home

until it became obvious to the community that the man was not leaving, and that the

marriage was a stable one. At that point, the dead house was moved to another location.

In this example, the dead house again signifies an ambiguous state between

worlds. The dead house, the house of a person not living, but not yet buried, is

juxtaposed with the house of the man from outside the community who has married into

the community but is not accepted as a full member. The juxtaposition indicates the

couple's liminal state, and stands as a visual sign of their failure to fully comply with

social norms. Arnold van Gennep (146-165) notes that the funeral rituals of many

cultures are based on rites of transition, as well as rites of incorporation. Rites of

transition are liminal or threshold rites, while ceremonies of incorporation are

post-liminal (van Gennep 21). The conceptual meaning of the dead house is one of

liminality, but its use as part of the funeral procession or as social comment are part of

processes of social incorporation.

Furthermore, the physical placement of the building in the case of the mixed

wedding serves to underscore the spiritual authority of the native church elders, and their

right to enforce morally sanctions fellow converts. "If a brother saw his brother sin, it

was his duty and privilege, in all kindness, to point out the offense" (de Schweinitz 222).

In this instance, the placement of the dead house serves not just to point the offense, but

also serves to reaffirm out the authority of the elders to judge that offense.

Elders and chapel servants were empowered with the rights to morally sanction

fellow converts. "In case the reproof remained without effect, the offender was cited

before the elders, or the pastor, and admonished by them. Did he acknowledge his fault,

he was dismissed in peace; did he continue refractory, he was suspended from the Holy

Communion until he had given evidence of true repentance." (de Schweinitz 222). As

one eighteenth-century Moravian writer defined it, "this again is called discipline; but it is

order, and must be so in a congregation" (Spangenberg 95).

The traditional use of the dead house is currently changing in Labrador. In Happy

Valley-Goose Bay, for example, there is no dead house, and the body is usually displayed

at the local funeral home. In communities like Nain, bodies of the deceased are brought

into the church for the service more often than in the past. Bringing the body into the

church is still a sign of respect however, and is still present. In some cases, such as a

suicide, the body of the deceased is still not allowed into the church. Rev. Junek of Nain

stated, "a suicide may be a little bit harder for someone to bring into the church. They

may leave it out in the dead house" (Junek).

The physical placement of suicides, so closely linked to the use of dead houses, is

another area in twentieth century Labrador where Inuit authority can be flexed, so to

speak. Keeping the body of a suicide inside the dead house acts in the same way to

consolidate the religious authority of the elders. In coastal Labrador, the remoteness of

the mission stations, and the almost complete lack of contact with other religious

denominations has served to ensure the cultural survival of practices and rituals which

have not, to the same extent, been maintained in Moravian congregations elsewhere in

North America, such as the American churches. The physical placement of suicides in

the landscape according to Labrador tradition in recent years has done more than indicate

displeasure with social deviance. In addition to serving as a indicator of displeasure, it

acts as a political statement about lines of church authority.

In 1995, Rev. Lawrence Junek had been ministering in Nain for three years.

Originally from Texas, Rev. Junek's familiarity with the Moravian faith drew on

American Moravian ideals and practices, practices which have been affected by centuries

of contact with alternate religious groups and differing public systems of morality. In

Nain, this has led to political tension between the Reverend and the chapel servants and

church elders, who represent a much more conservative branch of the church. Rev. Junek

explained,

> It should be that we work together. Mainly they think I'm,
> you know, as we were talking here earlier, as separate..., to
> be an outsider, you know, a white person, nothing racist
> because as I was reading someplace we are all of one race
> we just have different shades of colour. We are all
> individuals. Uh, it's because of my culture, and that's the
> biggest difference, the culture, that I come from the States.
> I'm not from here. They put me off, we are supposed to be
> more co-operative... I try to, I ask them to show me and
> teach me things, and they expected me to be taught before I
> got here about Nain ways, about Nain Moravian ways.
> (Junek)

Nain Moravian ways value the correct spatial placement of suicides. Moravian

graves traditionally face east (Thorp 1984, 51), and grave markers are paid for by the

Church (Edmunds). These are all more or less identical in terms of size and shape, with

minor variations on the choice of scripture engraved on the face. All the markers are laid

flat against the ground, with no marker having any more visual importance than any other. In Richard Etlin's (70) study of the cemetery in eighteen-century Paris, he described mainstream funerary architecture as a reflection of the social "hierarchical order", and it their own unique way, traditional Moravian grave markers function in the same way, while at the same time reflecting a radically different concept of "hierarchical order". By keeping all the markers uniform in design, and arranging them in strict order, the spiritual equality of everyone in the community, and the importance of the choir system, are both emphasized in death.

Social deviants, such as suicides, are treated differently. Traditionally, the normal pattern of burial is adapted radically to deal with suicides. Suicides were buried "the other way, outside, down, and facing the opposite direction" from other burials (Junek). This tradition meant that the suicide victim was buried face down, head to the opposite direction from normal burials, outside the cemetery. In some instances, suicides were buried in this manner actually in the path leading from the dead house to the cemetery. The graves were furthermore unmarked.

Herbert Halpert (193), writes that in the Anglo-American tradition, face-down burials, "according to most folk explanations... is done to stop disease or death from spreading; to break a witch's power or prevent a ghost from walking; or to compel a dead man to catch and punish his murderer". In the Moravian tradition, however, face-down burial is done deliberately, again, as a marker of social norms. Suicide was viewed negatively, so the body of a suicide was buried in a manner that reflected its deviance

from the normal pattern. Suicide was deemed the work of the flesh and was thought to be
inconsistent with the life of a believer (Olmstead 202). Since suicide equaled a
separation of the person from Christ during their life, that separateness was further
established in death.

The burial of the body of a suicide in the path to the cemetery would seem to
indicate in a different way the importance of the funeral ritual, and the funeral procession
from the church to the dead house to the cemetery. The path, to an outsider, is merely a
path, and shows no visible signs of being anything else. To a member of the community,
the very route that the funeral procession follows is a sign which signifies the importance
of maintaining social and religious ideals, and it is architectural placement and landscape
architecture in particular that defines the processional route.

As mentioned earlier, the normal pattern of burial was traditionally adapted
radically to deal with suicides. In recent years this pattern has changed due to the
increase in the number of suicides, and with the involvement of missionaries with
different socio-cultural backgrounds such as Rev. Junek. Disagreements over "correct"
burial practices and the placement of suicides in the pathways represents an
empowerment of traditional political organization, and also serves to proclaim the
spiritual superiority of Nain Moravian ways over American Moravian ways. Linked as it
is in a ritual fashion to an entire sign complex related to death and the place of the living
in society, the dead house serves, in subtle ways, to maintain group solidarity and
cohesiveness, and to promote Moravian ideals of individual worth within a

communitarian social network.

Architecture and landscape architecture are inextricably linked to social networks surrounding death rituals, and there are likenesses between the Moravian dead house and the death-related architecture of other groups. The differences, however, seem to be consistently greater than the similarities. In her article on North Louisiana grave houses for example, Marcy Frantom discusses the construction of shelters built over graves to serve as protection from weather or animals. But where the Moravian dead house is only a temporary resting place for the body, the North Louisiana grave houses are built over the actual grave. In addition, the North Louisiana grave house is built by the family, and may indicate special status (Frantom 22), two practices that do not reflect traditional Moravian approaches to burial. Instead Moravian practices can be seen as a rejection of the widespread European attitudes towards funerary architecture as an individual monument to wealth or privilege.

In his study of funerary architecture of the Western European tradition, J.S. Curl (366) writes, "The architecture of death is perhaps the purest architecture of all, as it lends itself to the creation of objects in space, quite set apart from the rest of humanity, and providing strong statements that appeal to the hearts and minds of mankind". While the type of architecture Curl discusses in his study is quite different from that of the Moravian dead house, this statement remains a valid one. Moravian dead houses are special because they present a focal point for studying many of the important concepts that shape how the Moravians approached life and death as a community with very

central utopian ideals.

John Beattie (205) argues that culture "prescribes definite institutionalized ways of dealing with illness, death and other misfortunes", and that these ways are "symbolic and expressive". While not architecturally complex, the dead house is complex architectonically, as it is an institutionalized form of symbolic and expressive communication. The dead house, while not the most elaborate architectural structure the Moravians ever produced, remains a vibrant example of the Brethren's attempt both in the past and in the present to mould the social and environmental structure of their community to a theological ideal, and as a powerful example of architecture as both a symbol of order and as an expression of resistance.

It is interesting to note that the oldest extant dead house in Labrador dates to the second phase of Moravian architecture along the coast. This correlation clearly fits with the development of the Moravian style of architecture in that phase. This is supported by the research presented above that would indicate no exact analogues to the dead house in non-Moravian cultures. As the dead house is clearly a Moravian concept and a uniquely Moravian building type, the appearance of the structure in the second phase is clearly in keeping with the period's Moravian architectural fluorescence.

However, it is equally important to stress the manner in which the dead house was co-opted and used a political tool by the Moravian Inuit in the third phase. The "reinvented" dead house functions in many ways like the Double Island church. Both the dead house and the church retain their basic functions (as place of worship and as

temporary resting spot for the dead) yet at the same time their placement on the landscape

and the manner in which they are utilized by the Inuit serve as political tools in

establishing (and preserving) Inuit Moravian autonomy. In both cases it is the use of the

buildings, more so even than their form, that speaks of the deep changes to Labrador

Moravian life in the twentieth century.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

In Labrador, architectural history and the architectural present continue to breathe life and purpose into one of Eastern Canada's most remarkable and fascinating social groups, and this thesis has attempted to use examples from the extant structures of Moravian Labrador to explore the traditions and changes in building form and building use, and to examine how these changes are reflective of changes within Moravian culture.

Growing out of the religious discontent of the late middle ages, the pre-Lutheran Protestant group the Unitas Fratrum, commonly known as the Moravian church, eventually stabilized as a religious body in the early eighteenth century. From a base of operations at Herrnhut, Germany, they quickly spread across the globe doing missionary work, sending missionaries to Labrador in the 1750s. In 1771, their first successful mission station was constructed at Nain on Labrador's north coast, and in 1782, their missionary efforts were expanded to Hopedale. Today, the 1782 Hopedale mission building is the only surviving structure from this period, and exists today as the oldest datable timber frame structure in Atlantic Canada.

Built by skilled hands steeped in the building traditions of their homeland, the 1782 Hopedale mission structure, like other eighteenth and nineteenth century Moravian church buildings, is firmly rooted in the vernacular architectural styles of Central and

Eastern Europe. The building is clearly erected on a conceptual framework dating to the Late Mediaeval and Early Renaissance periods in Eastern Europe. However, in spite of their German ethnicity, their use of the German language, and the obvious derivations of their building styles, the Moravian settlers in Labrador were representatives of the British Empire, and the Moravian settlements in Labrador were part of a British policy to establish a British presence in an unsettled section of their colonial possessions.

While the architecture of this period itself certainly lacks any overt British-ness, it is clearly of a pioneering style, rough, multi-functional, unornamented, and is free from the Germanic elaboration of detail that dominated the next phase of construction along the coast. Though perhaps much less architecturally complex than the buildings that were to follow, the 1782 Hopedale mission building stands today as the earliest surviving example of the physical and political conversion of the landscape by the Moravian settlers. Richard Zerbe Cornelsen (107) has noted that the "missionaries who were trained in the choir houses of Europe transported their vision of a thoroughly Christian society to the shores of Labrador." The Hopedale structure is the earliest surviving structure to stand as a monument to this goal.

Where the first phase of Moravian construction in Labrador represents a new start, a pioneering expansion, the second phase speaks of something much grander. It was the development of a Moravian theocratic state in northern Labrador. This stage in Moravian history is a shift from pioneering efforts to the total religious, social and economic control of the coast. The architecture in turn demonstrates a massive shift in style, from the

simple multi-use 1782 mission building to the large, ornate and impressive building complexes of Hebron and Hopedale.

Viewed together as a series of architectural complexes, construction of this period shows a remarkable level of conservatism, exhibiting distinctly Moravian stylistic concerns. Like the 1782 Hopedale building, Moravian church architecture in the nineteenth century developed and used certain architectural elements characteristic of contemporary and earlier German and Eastern European buildings. Taken together they arguably form the basis of a Germanic style, a style that could be applied to buildings of various forms and types of construction, and which provided pervasive conventions which shaped the characteristic look of Moravian buildings. In turn, the mission buildings themselves became symbols of the temporal and spiritual position of the church.

In many ways, the Moravians created a environment which drew on prevailing styles, but which incorporated modal elements to make that environment unique. This environment was important for maintaining social order, and served as an ideological model of that order. As one architectural historian has written:

> A unique environment could invite celebration: it could
> reinforce its creator's sense of themselves as a chosen
> people preaching a new social gospel and it could convey
> this identity to outsiders, consolidating and enlarging the
> effects of special dress, language and customs. A replicable
> environment, on the other hand, was essential to
> development of the original settlement, as well as the
> establishment of new settlements based on the original
> model (Hayden 47).

The Moravian church managed to find a good middle ground between unique and replicable plans, aided by a highly organized and centralized church organization. On a practical level as well, the use of prefabricated structures and standardized building types ensured a modal continuity in the architecture of the Labrador mission stations.

Architectural historian Johanna Lewis ("Social" 127) argues that the Moravians "had a utopian vision of a pure society, based on their religious and biblical beliefs, free of the evil found in the outside world". Frederic William Marshall, the administrator of the Moravian community of Salem, North Carolina, wrote in 1772 that Salem "should become an entire land in which people who belonged to the Brethren lived" (quoted in Lewis, "Social" 127). Every Moravian settlement ideally represented "an entire land", separate from the outside world environmentally as well as spiritually. Moravian missionaries in Labrador attempted to replicate the order of their home settlements in Eastern Europe, and to create pockets of utopia in the midst of an unfamiliar and harsh landscape. Where the land could not be physically modified or partitioned off, it was claimed with names taken from the missionaries' theological and cultural backgrounds, and the unknown was brought into the realm of the known. As Hiller ("Foundation" 159) argues, the Labrador settlements "were attempts to transplant the Moravian City of God into alien surroundings."

Within these pockets of utopia, the Moravians attempted to create settled Inuit communities, "religious and economic units which would insulate Christian Inuit from Euro-Americans on the one hand, and heathen Inuit on the other." (Kennedy 198). An

extract from the Mission diaries from the settlement at Goshen, Ohio, dated April 11th,

1803, shows that this division was the case in Moravian settlements throughout North

America:

> Experience fully proves, that when souls are once converted
> to our Savior from among the wild Indians, it is absolutely
> requisite to their growth in grace and godliness, that they
> thenceforward renounce the world, with its afflictions and
> lusts, quit & separate themselves as much as possible from
> their former heathenish connections & friendships, hear the
> word of God frequently & seek pleasure in the company of
> their fellow Christians. Whoever cannot resolve to live
> thus, & at the same time pay more attention than is usual
> among the heathens to domestic duties, (with which the life
> of a hunter is at variance), is in great danger of making
> shipwreck of his faith (quoted in Olmstead 213).

For one hundred and forty years, the Moravian church used architecture and

design as a political symbol of order and ideology, almost of corporate identity. As Forty

notes, "empires, armies, navies, religious orders and modern corporations have all used

design to convey ideas about what they are like to both to insiders and to the outside

world" (222), and the almost packaged appearance of the Moravian buildings of this

period fits this description. The Moravian church used the built environment to reinforce

its power by promoting morality and submission to the will of Christ.

The dawn of the twentieth century brought profound changes to the Labrador

coast, and to the Labrador Moravians. For close to one hundred and fifty years, mission

houses and churches in Labrador had continued to be constructed following the same

forms and styles, showing remarkable consistency. Around 1903, this changed, and

changed dramatically. Moravian architecture of the twentieth century is clearly different from anything that had preceded it, both in terms of construction technology and style. The architecture of the period following this transition is more individualistic, with new churches featuring oddly designed and proportioned front steeples, being more segmented, mono-purpose, asymetrical, and less communitarian.

Most importantly, this growing architectural variety and the development of indigenous vernacular traditions is accompanied by a transition from theocracy to religious independence. By the start of the twentieth century, the Moravian church in Labrador was no longer a mission church in a true sense. By 1860 most of the Inuit had been converted to the faith (Crowe 139), and by 1903 the Moravian ministers were preaching to a congregation of mostly second or third generation Christians, who had grown up and been educated within the church system. As the people took their religious and community life, quite literally, into their own hands, Labrador experienced an explosion of truly vernacular construction. The architecture of this period clearly represents a shift in power away from the traditional Moravian hierarchy with its set concerns relating to architectural design, and towards the concerns of the people of Labrador itself.

Architecture and ideas of social control experienced over these three architectural periods is evident in a more minor building form: the dead house used in Labrador Moravian society well into the end of the twentieth century. The dead house had a limited "real" function within the community. Yet, like the grander mission buildings, it

is a perfect example of how architecture serves as an institutionalized form of symbolic and expressive communication. It is illustrative of the Church's attempts across time to shape the social and environmental structure of their community to a theological ideal, and as a powerful example of architecture as a symbol of order. As well, it is a good example of how building use shifts in the face of social and cultural change, and how architecture can be utilized as a symbol of political resistance by the Inuit people.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Labrador Moravian Inuit have used, and continue to use, vernacular architecture (and the dead house in particular) as a tool and symbol of political authority and autonomy, though to some extent, the dependence on architecture to maintain order has lessened. Architectural design in this regard has not been as important as group sanctions, which tellingly is closer to how morals were enforced in traditional Inuit society prior to Christianization.

From the very first Moravian structure erected on Labrador soil, Moravian architecture in Labrador has functioned as a marker of social control, of religious order, and of Moravian identity. While the manner in which these elements have manifested themselves has changed over the centuries, and while the tradition of building has shifted and evolved, the extant Moravian buildings on the northern Labrador coast still can be read as important signposts of prevailing social and religious trends. As such, these structures have a great deal to offer folklorists. They are there as the physical record of social control and of societal change.

As a new century dawns, the potential for future architectural change in Moravian

Labrador is boundless. As is the case everywhere, old buildings will continue to disappear, while new ones will rise in their place. Even as this thesis was being written, one of Nain's landmarks, the Moravian mission house, was badly burned on the night of Tuesday, January 18th, 2000. The building held Nain's Moravian museum, containing hundreds of artefacts, and one of the few remaining Labrador Inuit kayaks. Ironically, the building had been erected 80 years earlier to replace the original Nain mission house, which was destroyed by fire in 1917. But I have no doubt that from its ashes will arise something new, phoenix-like, the latest chapter in two and a half centuries of Moravian construction on Labrador's windswept coast.

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