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THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONSEQUENCES OF EUROPEAN CONTACT WITH LABRADOR INUIT, 1800-1919

by

© David Scheffel, B.A.

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology
Memorial University of Newfoundland

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the demographic situation of Labrador Inuit between the years 1800 and 1919. It is shown that the acculturation process initiated by Moravian missionaries had an adverse influence on the balance between population and resources and the physical health of the Inuit. The missionaries discontinued aboriginal population controls, and destroyed the traditional health care system. However, due to the particular characteristics of the Moravian Church, suffering and death were viewed as desirable and the physical state of the Inuit was not given much attention. Therefore, overpopulation, epidemics, and the lack of health care led to a demographic disaster, characterized by falling fertility levels, decreasing expectations of life, and increasing infant and child mortality. It is claimed that although all the Labrador Inuit were subjected to this development, a correlation can be found between the gravity of the demographic disaster and the degree of acculturation of particular populations of Labrador Inuit. Less acculturated settlements were characterized by healthier inhabitants.

It is shown that whereas the acculturative process had a tremendous impact on the lives of the Inuit, the very basis of their society, kinship, continued as such despite the Moravians' attempts aimed at reducing its importance. It is claimed that a new marriage form, cousin marriage, emerged as an institutionalized response to acculturative forces.

The bulk of this study is based on previously unknown data, extracted from Moravian church books. Due to the richness of the material, this work might be the most comprehensive reliable historical analysis of demographic processes in a non-western society.

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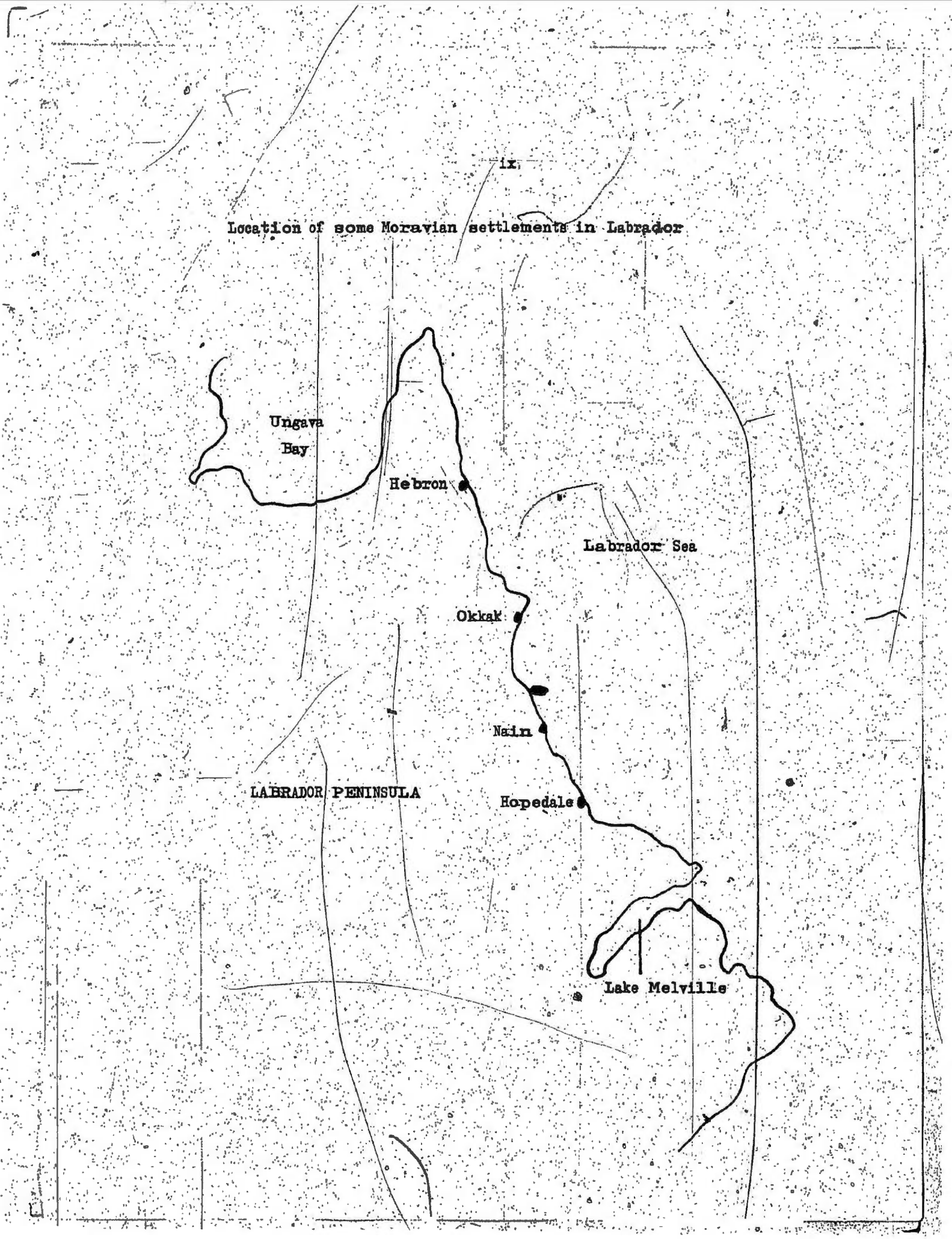
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I examine the demographic consequences of changed cultural conditions in Labrador between the years 1800 and 1919, hoping to deepen our knowledge of the interrelationship between culture and demography in general, and of Labrador history in particular. It will be shown that the period of contact history under consideration was marked by a constant deterioration of the Labrador Inuit' demographic situation, caused to a significant extent by the imposition of a pleasure-denying ideology by Moravian missionaries. This view differs from that expressed by the early scholars of Labrador history who regarded the Moravians as saviours of the Inuit from physical extinction (Gosling n.d.:316; Grenfell 1910:236; Tanner 1944:779). Since these authors were describing a particular situation at a particular time - the early part of the twentieth century- they were not able to understand that the Moravians were helping the Inuit in recovering from the damage caused by the same mission in earlier years. By analyzing the demographic situation as a long-term process I was able to obtain a better picture of the Moravians' contribution to the forces which were shaping the physical life of the Inuit.

Although I expand the critique of the Moravians' involvement in Labrador, recently expressed by Robert Paine (1977:252) and Barnett Richling (1978:72), I am aware of the impossibility of

generalizing about the Moravians. In order to give expression to the characteristics of 18th and early 19th century Moravian missionaries, I use the term civilizing process instead of the more frequently encountered 'culture change' or 'acculturation'. These latter terms stem from cultural relativism and are neutral and vague. The word 'civilization' is the spiritual child of evolutionism, indicating the direction of the process of cultural change as well as its ethical value. From the viewpoint of the civilizer, this process is always positive and is consciously imposed upon the recipient. It will be shown that the civilization brought by the early missionaries to Labrador contained a number of elements which are in opposition to our own emancipated views. This contributes to the ambiguity anthropologists feel towards missionaries in general on behalf of the missionary's ability or willingness to define precisely what is good and what is bad for 'his people':

> "The cultural relativism that many anthropologists espouse, but few practice, is in complete conflict with the missionary's professional dedication to a set of religious values and his expressed commitment to inculcating these among the people with whom he works" (Hughes 1978:72).

Viewed in this context, the anthropological critique of the Moravians in Labrador does not come as a surprise. However, we should keep in mind that it was not only the Inuit who changed, but the missionaries as well. Anybody visiting Labrador will notice that the roles have recently been reversed: the missionary is no longer

the agent of change, but now frequently forced to adapt to new circumstances. Therefore, although I generalize about the Moravians throughout this thesis, I would not like to make the adaptation more difficult than necessary, and I ask the reader to consider all the quotations of missionaries used in this text in their historical and cultural context.

Methodology

Northern Labrador holds a unique position in arctic America since its inhabitants have had the longest history of continuous contact with a single agent of change. The Moravian mission's presence spans more than two hundred years and has resulted in the accumulation of very detailed ethnographic data. The Moravian church books, reports, diaries, and letters constitute an unparalleled source of information about the contact history of a non-western society. The bulk of this thesis is based on material extracted from the Periodical Accounts (P.A.) and the church books kept for each Moravian settlement. Whereas the Periodical Accounts contain qualitative information mainly (annual reports and letters sent to Europe), the church books consist of quantitative data concerning the vital statistics of Christian Inuit.

Although the church books have been kept since the initiation of missionary activities in the 1770's, a permanent Inuit

congregational population goes back to the 'great awakening' at the beginning of the 19th century. The permanency, although never complete due to internal and external migrations, came to an end with the extensive population movements following the 1918-1919 influenza epidemic, the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company from the 1920's on, and the construction activities during and after the Second World War. As it proved very difficult to follow people moving from settlement to settlement during the last sixty years, I decided to limit this study to the period between 1800 and 1919.

A second limitation had to be made with regard to the number of settlements covered. In view of the inaccessibility of the Nain church book, and due to the difficulty of reading, transcribing, and coding more than ten thousand entries written in 18th and 19th century German script (1), I decided to concentrate on only three congregations. Hopedale, Okkak, and Hebron were chosen because their populations were large enough to be statistically significant, and because they represented a continuum from the most acculturated (Hopedale) to the least acculturated (Hebron) Inuit. The cultural differences between these settlements, described by Helge Kleivan (1966:30), were expected to correlate with demographic differences.

In order to introduce the reader to the cultural setting of this thesis, 18th century Moravians and Labrador Inuit are described in chapter II. Particular attention is given to the

demography of aboriginal Inuit, and to cultural elements of the Moravians which might influence a demographic change. The synthesis of the two cultural traditions is presented in chapter III, concerned with the missionaries' stereotype of converted Moravian Inuit, and the Inuit' response to it.

The demographic analysis of Moravian Inuit can be found in chapter IV. It was done manually by extracting all personal data from the church books and processing them in order to obtain information on fertility levels, life-expectations at different ages, infant mortality, and causes of death. Each person born in a Moravian congregation received an identification number which was always kept together with his/her name. The person's date of birth, names of parents, date of death, date(s) of marriage(s), and name(s) of spouse(s) were transcribed onto an index card. Whenever the person was a reproductive female, her children were placed on her card, and when they married, they received their own card. All the material needed for the demographic analysis was extracted from these cards.

Once this step of transcribing the church book material was completed, I continued using the index cards as the data-basis for the analysis of marriage patterns found in the settlements. The reproductive part of the population was supplied with community codes, and the data from the index cards were coded and punched into computer data cards in numerical form. The computer

was then programmed for a number of special tasks, such as the construction of genealogies, measurement of the frequency of consanguineous marriages, and the planning of alternative marriage choices. Additionally, standard tasks were performed with respect to age at marriage, frequency of re-marriages, and so on. The use of the computer proved extremely helpful and for some tasks essential. However, the time spent in coding thousands of entries was considerable, and the simple calculations needed for the demographic analysis were handled manually in a more efficient way. The results of the computer analysis of marriage forms are presented in chapter V.

Assumptions

Although I am primarily concerned with the demographic consequences of cultural change, in order to identify change, a stable condition must serve as my point of departure. This is the aboriginal Labrador Inuit society. Once the demographic characteristics of this population are known, we can make statements about the direction of the process of change undergone by Moravian Inuit. Therefore, this review of existing theories and assumptions starts with a summary of opinions expressed on the topic of aboriginal demography in general, and the demography of aboriginal arctic populations in particular. It is followed by a review of theories concerned with the impact of culture change on demography.

The most frequently discussed topic has been the question of population controls in aboriginal societies. Since Thomas Malthus' Essay on the Principle of Population, published in 1798, most demographers have adhered to his view that in aboriginal societies population growth is inhibited directly by the available natural resources. This means that the positive check of high infant mortality, hunger, and any other cause which contributes to the shortening of the normal duration of human life, keeps a society's population size at the level of the carrying capacity of the land (1817:21). In technologically more advanced countries, it is not only the danger of physical misery which inhibits population growth, but additionally, considerations aimed at maintaining a comfortable standard of living constitute the preventive check on population, ensuring that a wide margin is maintained between the carrying capacity of the land and the population size (1817:18). The mechanisms through which these two checks are maintained were, according to Malthus, 'moral restraint' leading to late marriages in advanced societies, 'misery' in aboriginal societies, and 'vice' common to both types (1817:33). While Malthus did not define 'vice', he was probably referring to artificial birth and population controls, such as abortion, infanticide, and so on.

Today, demographers and anthropologists still argue about the validity of Malthus' postulates. Apart from theories which question his general view of the link between natural resources,

population pressure, and social evolution (Harner 1970), the debate can be summarized by two questions:

1. Did aboriginal societies apply artificial birth controls?
2. If yes, should this be considered a positive or a preventive check on population?

The first question must be answered in the affirmative despite the doubts of some demographers. The influential study of Carr-Saunders (1922), and Ludwik Krzywicki's Primitive Society and its Vital Statistics (1934), are compilations of ethnographic reports on aboriginal birth and other population controls, accepted as proven by population anthropologists (Polgar 1971:4; Nag 1973:59). On the other hand, the second question seems to have divided anthropologists and demographers into two camps. The point of dispute is stated very clearly by George Masnick and Solomon Katz (1976:38):

> "At stake in this debate is whether we should view all peoples as possessing the capacity to regulate their fertility voluntarily, if and when it is in their best interest to do so. Is conscious fertility control a basic adaptive element woven into the cultural fabric of most societies throughout history as an aid to survival?"

The accent on voluntary birth control points to the absence of necessity and is synonymous with Malthus' preventive check. Masnick and Katz claim that this mechanism is indeed used by the North Slope Inuit in Alaska (1976:56), and the same point was made by Raymund Firth about an agricultural society (1959:54):

> "Tikopia did not appear to be concerned with a balance between population and food supply in terms of mere subsistence. They would seem always to have been interested in quality as well as quantity of food, and indeed their estimate of the prosperity of the land is basically affected by this."

Mary Douglas elaborated on this emphasis on a high standard of living found in many societies, and included prestige considerations as a main reason for population controls:

> "...human groups do make attempts to control their populations, often successful attempts. But they are more often inspired by concern for scarce social resources, for objects giving status and prestige, than by concern for dwindling basic resources" (1966:268).

However, most of the authors interested in aboriginal societies' demography, concentrate on agricultural and nomadic populations. As soon as we limit our scope to small arctic societies, no consensus can be found on the question of population controls. Mary Douglas excluded the Netsilik Inuit from her interpretation, following Asen Balikci's explanation of female infanticide as an ecologically necessary mechanism (Douglas 1966:269; Balikci 1967:624), and Weyer wasn't able to decide whether population controls are interpreted as such by the Inuit themselves:

> "By occasionally deliberately killing infants, invalids, and aged persons the Eskimos, either knowingly or unconsciously, control their numbers...." (1962:139).

An essential prerequisite for sound theories concerning aboriginal population controls is the knowledge of fertility levels existing in these societies. More than forty years ago, Weyer concluded that "statements as to the fecundity of Eskimos are conspicuously contradictory" (1962:124). This applies to contemporary studies as well (Schaefer 1959; Gessain 1973; Masnick and Katz 1976). However, one serious deficiency threatens to invalidate most of the results concerning fertility levels of aboriginal Inuit: those still aboriginal could rarely be studied in a scientific way, and those who were studied were probably no longer aboriginal. The analysis of fertility requires a considerable time depth. Observations based on even a few years' stay in a particular society cannot fulfil this criterion since personal statements cannot be taken for granted. The age of a mother, precise birth dates, and the accurate number of born (not surviving at the time of the anthropologist's visit) offspring can rarely be obtained from the mother. Without precise historical records a reliable fertility study cannot be accomplished. This applies to any society, and it is unfortunate that the only arctic population for which considerable historical material is available was studied by historical demographers who lack some basic anthropological education. Nørregaard and Schmidt studied fertility levels in western Greenland, but their a priori assumptions invalidated much of the result. They disregarded the intensive changes between the 1720's and 1830's (Hans Egede, Moravian Mission, etc.),

and started their analysis of aboriginal Greenlanders' fertility with the situation in the 1830's. Their justification:

> "Though European influence on Greenland society during the period before World War II was considerable, it was not sufficient to alter the basic features of the socio-economic system ....In a demographic context it must be pointed out that contact between Greenlanders and Danes can hardly have led to the introduction of European methods of controlling mortality or fertility" (1975:38).

Obviously, they discovered high fertility levels in this 'aboriginal' population, because demographically speaking, 19th century Greenlanders were no longer aboriginal. This result corresponded with the authors' expectations:

> "It is generally agreed by all writers that the pre-transitional state is marked by a high level of mortality and fertility" (1975:37).

To recapitulate what has been said so far on the subject of aboriginal demography in the Arctic, the problems still debated by anthropologists and demographers can be formulated in these two questions which will be answered in chapter II:

1. Was artificial population control used by aboriginal Labrador Inuit?
2. Was it applied in order to ensure physical survival or to maintain a certain standard of living?

With regard to the impact of culture change on demography, most scholars concentrate on a single aspect of demography - fertility. It is agreed that aboriginal population controls are abandoned under the pressure of missionaries or other agents of change. This leads to higher fertility levels (Krzywicki 1934:96; Lorimer 1958:203; Polgar 1971:4). But even in societies where artificial birth controls are unknown, increased fertility can be a result of culture change. We know that lactation suppresses ovulation, and this temporal post-partum sterility extends the intervals between consecutive births (Masnick 1979:109). With the introduction of milk powder or other foodstuffs suitable for infants, the period of breastfeeding can be shortened, and conception occurs more often. This pattern was observed among the acculturated Baffin Island Inuit (Schaefer 1959:10), and as early as the 1820's, Franklin noticed for the Cumberland House Cree: "the women who become inmates of a fort bear children more frequently and longer...." (in Krzywicki 1934:156).

Very little attention has been paid to the consequences of fertility change (Nag 1973:63). Apart from descriptions of population explosions and famines, we do not possess enough material on cultural responses to increased fertility levels. Krzywicki postulated an interesting hypothesis which states that aboriginal population controls will be re-introduced once the population is confronted with rising infant mortality and inadequate resources (1934:216).

With the explosion of computer technology in the 1960's and 1970's, anthropologists have started realizing the importance of demographic rates for the stability of social structure in general, and for marriage systems in particular. The popular 'computer simulation' of long-term processes can establish interesting inconsistencies in anthropological theory, such as the incompatibility of a society's prescribed marriage system with that society's physical survival (Kunstadter and others 1963). However, since these simulations of real processes cannot take into account crucial characteristics of historical populations, such as migrations, changes in demographic rates, etc., their utility is limited (Wachter, Hammel, Laslett 1978:27).

My computer analysis of the marriage forms found in Labrador was based on data representative of a real population, and changing demographic rates played an important role. The result of this analysis was highly surprising, since I discovered the emergence and disappearance of cousin marriage. The question which has to be answered in this respect concerns the function of this marriage form in Labrador: was it a demographic necessity or a consciously preferred institution? The first possibility has most recently been described by Ernest Burch in his analysis of North Alaska Inuit kinship. He claims that although unions between cousins were regarded as reprehensible, they had to be tolerated under sedentary conditions which had resulted in a shortage of unrelated potential spouses (1975:55-7). On the other

hand, changes in marriage patterns have also been attributed to linguistic acculturation (Hallowell 1937), and materialistically oriented anthropologists insist on the importance of changing economic conditions (Murdock 1949). These two perspectives on changes in marriage forms - one demographic, the other cultural - will be considered in chapter V.

From this brief review of the literature, it may be noted that the subject of this thesis - the relationship between cultural and demographic characteristics - has been the concern of a number of scholars. To repeat my criticism, however, very few studies were based on reliable material, and too many were concerned with fertility only, disregarding life-expectations, mortality, health conditions, and other demographic factors. I tried to avoid taking a too limited view of demography and approached all constituting elements of demography as interdependent.

CHAPTER II

THE CLASH OF CULTURES IN LABRADOR

The consequences of cultural contact between representatives of different societies cannot be understood properly unless we have some idea about their respective culture at the time of contact. In this chapter I would like to provide such a background for the main agent of change in northern Labrador, the Moravian mission, and for its original inhabitants, the Inuit. It will be seen that some Moravian attitudes differed significantly from those displayed by members of other denominations, and these played an important role in shaping the character of Moravian missionary settlements. Centuries of persecution and a strong utopian motivation inherited from their spiritual ancestors explain the Moravians' intention to found in Labrador "...an asylum for souls weary of the world, and desirous of spiritual communion with Christ" (Periodical Accounts 1831:iv). Due to their unwillingness to submit to worldly authorities, the missionaries came to Labrador on their own account, unaccompanied by soldiers, traders and other colonizers. They were escaping the anthropocentric Enlightenment of 18th century Europe, in search of 'civitas Dei'.

Unfortunately, the description of the aboriginal culture of the Labrador Inuit is necessarily biased by the reporting missionaries. I am aware that only a narrow segment of this culture is presented here in order to bring out those elements which were in contradiction with the Moravian ideology.

"Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature."
(Marc. XVI.15.)

The Moravians

The 'Unitas Fratrum', 'Unity of Brethren', or simply 'Moravians' is the only contemporary Protestant Church with pre-Reformation origins. Although the year 1457 is usually given as its starting date, the preconditions for its emergence were provided by the early 15th century movement of the Czech Hussites. The latter, who had begun as a reformatory force within the Catholic Church, demanding a strict separation between church and state, succeeded eventually in transforming much of Bohemia and Moravia into a utopian state with the previously existing power relations reversed: the poor ruled over the rich, and Czech regionalism replaced German cosmopolitanism (Říčan 1947). Despite the Hussites' self-designation as 'God's warriors', their use of physical force was frowned upon by many religious fundamentalists, and one of these, Petr Chelčický, is usually viewed as the spiritual father of the 'Unity of Brethren' (Říčan 1947). This group of believers claimed that true Christianity could only be achieved by a total abstention from worldly affairs and a literal adherence to the Scriptures. Hence, they carried the Hussites' protest against unjust oppression to the extreme of denouncing any oppression of man by man. This rejection of the

legitimacy of the existing social order forced the Brethren into internal exile, and, after more than two centuries of persecution, into external exile in more permissive countries. Saxony was one of them, and there, on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, the 'Unitas Fratrum' was renewed in 1727. The settlement of the Moravian refugees, Herrnhut, has ever since been known as the centre of their activities.

Some authors have questioned the continuity between the old Unity and the renewed one (Knox 1950), but for my purposes, it is sufficient to indicate that the exiles brought with them a tradition of personal and collective sufferings on account of their rejection of the status quo, a communal organization of their congregations based on strict social control and personal discipline, and the emphasis on deeds rather than creeds. None of these elements was in contradiction to Zinzendorf's brand of pietism which provided an unifying framework for one Moravianism which ultimately emerged from a number of slightly different directions represented by the groups which had found refuge in Herrnhut (Cranz 1772).

R.A.Knox claims that "Moravianism is essentially neither a doctrine nor a discipline, but a spirituality" (1950:408). I don't see why spirituality should not be regarded as a doctrine, especially in 18th century Germany, with its prevalent doctrine of rationality. Pietists were in opposition to that, emphasizing feeling as <u>the</u> precondition for understanding the true

sense of Christianity. For Zinzendorf, it was the heart, rather than the head, which led a Christian to the awareness of a total unity with Jesus (Zinzendorf 1973:29), and he always emphasized the necessity of renouncing <u>this</u> world in favour of the other:

> "...the more the soul falls in love with this and becomes involved, the blinder it becomes to other things, to the glories of the world....It does not think about this miserable life, because God delights its heart" (1973:31).

Zinzendorf compared a believing person to the bride of Christ, but the status of a <u>wife</u> could only be attained after death. Just as Jesus sacrificed His life for the sake of humanity, so every Christian should welcome death as the ultimate purpose of life, leading to unification with God. This emphasis on other-worldliness is expressed in the Moravians' terminology for the process of dying: 'going <u>home</u>' and 'departing <u>this</u> life', and in the following passage concerning the meaning of holy communion:

> "Then we experience that, through the tormented body of Christ we are united with the divine nature and come into a condition which foreshadows something of the resurrection, being even in this life as if we were already risen again; and thus the omnium terribilium terribilissimum, death, becomes a delicacy for our heart. We consider how this frail tabernacle will be mortified, transformed, and distilled into a new being and nature; our souls rejoice and delight in thinking of it. If only it might begin this very day!" (Zinzendorf 1973:20-1).

From what has been said so far, the conclusion might be drawn that the life 'here and now' was considered unimportant. This was not the case, since any Christian had to prove himself worthy of enjoying the much more meaningful life 'hereafter'. One had to live according to the laws of God as presented in the Bible, and the communal organization of the Moravians allowed for a very rigid system of social control, where situations prone to personal deviance were kept to a minimum. Disagreements were resolved by means of lot, the use of which was extended even to the selection of one's spouse. Herrnhut was a spiritual community in which individual whims were not to be tolerated, since, as Knox observes,

> "Nothing distinguishes Moravianism so strongly as its unquestioning belief in the active interposition of Providence" (1950:411).

The extension of this system beyond Herrnhut was mainly due to two factors: the sense of a manifest destiny which had been an important element of the Brethren' Christianity ever since the 15th century, and the situation in which they found themselves in Herrnhut. On account of their double tradition (i.e., the old and the renewed Unity), Moravians were neither orthodox Lutherans, nor orthodox pietists. According to Knox (1950:406):

> "Herrnhut was to eighteenth-century Protestantism much what Moscow is to twentieth-century socialism; you feared to accept its alliance."

Under the pressure of the political establishment, the more orthodox Moravians were forced to leave Saxony, this time in the position of missionaries to heathens (Cranz 1772:222). However, this new exile allowed them to actualize their manifest destiny of 'God's warriors', and although (or because?) their fields were limited to areas which no other missionary society would serve, the number of potential missionaries always exceeded the demand (Bechler 1934). In Labrador they have spent more than two hundred years, and I now turn to a brief description of the society which they encountered there.

The Labrador Inuit

Given the ideological background of Moravian missionaries, we cannot expect them to have been unbiased observers and reporters of the traditional culture of the Labrador Inuit. David Cranz, a scholar of great format, stands out among the Moravians, however, as a truly anthropological observer. Personally acquainted with the missionary activities in Greenland and Labrador, Cranz described both traditional societies in his History of Greenland; a book based on his own as well as other missionaries' impressions. I use some of Cranz' interpretations regarding the Greenlanders in this section on traditional Labrador Inuit, because nothing known to me contradicts Cranz' claim that:

"In stature, complexion, dress, and general habits, the natives coincide almost entirely with the kindred branch of Karaler [i.e., Greenlanders]" (1820 Appendix:292).

When the first mission settlements were founded in Labrador at Nain (1771), Okkak (1776), and Hopedale (1782), the Moravians were confronted with a people whose culture differed from their own in many crucial respects. Significantly, the Inuit lacked the belief in a necessarily better transcendental world and viewed themselves, rather than any supernatural entity, as the centre of the universe. They did believe in the existence of powerful spirits, but these they viewed as instruments of man, rather than the other way round. Comparing the religius systems of the Inuit and Moravians, the well-known distinction between magic and religion becomes relevant: the Moravians assumed an asking position of God, whereas the Inuit saw themselves in an enforcing role, using the shaman as a power-broker for communicating their wishes to the supernatural entities. This anthropocentrism posed a major obstacle to the conversion of Inuit to Christianity. Cranz complains that although Inuit society displays at first sight truly Christian characteristics, expressed in the sharing practices and an egalitarian social structure, it does not stem from innate goodness and consideration for fellow human beings, but rather from an egocentric love for one's own person. He claims that "...both humanity and sympathy are so entirely excluded from their character, that they are not even found in the weaker sex" (1820 Appendix:293).

The extension of egocentrism to the social level, ethnocentrism, was another obstacle to the acceptance of Moravian theology: "Like the Greenlanders, they consider themselves as the only civilized and virtuous nation in the world" (Cranz 1820:293). Consequently, when confronted with a Moravian preacher,

> "They wondered when they heard that the Greenlanders had been washed from their sins in the blood of Jesus, and thought they must have been very bad people. And when he told them of eternal punishment, they agreed that the Kablunat [i.e., Europeans], who did so many wicked things, might go to hell, but it was different with themselves, who were good Karaler [i.e., people]" (Cranz 1820:294).

In coping with this view, the Moravians had the great advantage of having had experience with the Greenlanders for forty years prior to their arrival in Labrador. And while in Greenland, the Brethren had had the opportunity for observing the methods of the Danish Lutheran missionary Hans Egede. The latter's practices included corporal punishment (Egede 1925:217), and he countered the Greenlanders' ethnocentrism with his own. Cranz gives a very interesting account of one of the encounters between the Danes and the Inuit:

> "After one of Mr. Egede's assistants had been telling them the narrative of the creation, etc. and they had expressed their wonted assents, they began to relate the insipid fables and marvellous exploits of their Angekoks [shamans], asking the missionary whether he believed them. Upon his answering in the negative, and alleging in support of his disbelief, that their tales were inconsistent with common

> sense and probability, they replied: 'If you will not believe us upon our word, you must not require us to believe what we cannot comprehend upon yours'"(1820:17).

The Brethren learned from this and from their initial failures in Greenland. They adaptad their teachings in such a way as to make them comprehensible and meaningful to the native inhabitants. Hence, instead of dwelling on the whole Christian theology, they "...resolved to know nothing among the Heathen but Jesus Christ the crucified, and to confine their future efforts to the simple narrative and profitable application of his meritorious incarnation, sufferings, and death" (Cranz 1820:59). This choice was an easy one as it represented the core of Moravian theology, but it also was a very lucky one since it filled a vacuum in the belief system of the Inuit: it explained death.

It has already been stated that possibly the most crucial difference between the respective world views of the Moravians and Inuit can be found in their opinions concerning the life 'here and now' and 'hereafter'. On the one hand, we have the Moravians' future orientation, on the other, the Inuit' present orientation. Although immortality of the soul was postulated by the Inuit, no consensus existed as to its state in the afterlife (Cranz 1820:186). According to the missionaries, the prevalent opinion with regard to the nature of the other world is expressed in this description given by a Labrador woman:

> "...a place where the wind always rages, where the cold is extreme, where few seals are to be found, where clothes soon fall in pieces, and where people suffer hunger" (Periodical Accounts 1846:17).

Lacking the Moravians' constant sense of Divine protection, the Inuit clearly preferred the condition which they knew above the uncertainty of the life after death:

> "The Greenlanders are much attached to their life of indigence and hardships, and are dismally afraid of death. So true it is, that men without the knowledge of a Redeemer, must, through fear of death, be all their lifetime subject to bondage" (author's emphasis, Cranz 1820:214).

This fear of death of aboriginal Inuit stands central in my further argumentation. It will be shown that this weak point in Inuit' culture was a powerful ally of the Moravians in their attempts at converting the heathens to Christianity. The consequences of the substitution of a future-oriented ideology for the aboriginal present-orientation were far reaching, because its impact was felt at the very basis of Labrador Inuit society—the physical health of the population. Let us look at the aboriginal demographic situation and relate it to the existing socio-economic framework.

Marriage

The census compiled by the missionary Beck (1777) indicates that at the time of initial contact, around one third of all marriages were polygynous, with two or three women married to

the same man simultaneously (Taylor 1974:67). This is consistent with my data on the early converts in Nain and Hopedale (1781-1787) where eight out of twenty three married males had more than one wife. Garth Taylor attributes this high proportion of polygyny to the imbalance in the male-female ratio caused by the large number of assorted killings, and to the very young age of girls at marriage (1974:69). The same author reports that having more than one wife was a matter of prestige, but also an economic necessity for men with large tents and umiaks (large boats rowed by women) (1974:69-70). Here we approach the question of social and economic differentiation among the Inuit, noticed by early travellers and missionaries.

Cartwright observed that a wealthy chief's "tent and shallop were both larger and better than those belonging to any of the other" (Townsend 1911:86), and Heinz Israel claims that not all of the aboriginal Inuit males in Greenland had their own boat or tent and were dependent on others economically and politically (1969:18). One could argue that aboriginal Inuit lived in a <u>rank</u> society, in which "...positions of valued status are somehow limited so that not all those of sufficient talent to occupy such statuses actually achieve them" (Fried 1967:109). However, if we take polygyny as a measure for 'positions of valued status', then it seems that most of the males who lived to a certain age did obtain a second or even third wife, once they had accummulated the needed

economic wealth. This claim that wealth and status were linked to age is supported by the data in the church books. Under the section 'candidates for baptism' ('Taufkandidaten'), the early converts are described according to their place of origin, approximate age, and the number of spouses. As far as I could ascertain, young husbands were never part of polygynous unions.

One important mechanism for acquiring the means of production necessary for the support of a large family seems to have been inheritance. It is known from previous works that kinship played a very important role in the residential arrangements in Labrador. Garth Taylor shows that closely related families used to share winter quarters, depending on the stability of the links between father-son(s) and brother-brother(1974:74-5). My material on the first group of converts in Hopedale (1783-7) indicates that out of eleven married males, four arrived with another brother, and two accompanied their father. It has been shown for the Igluligmiut that the father-son tie is particularly strong (Damas 1963:105), quite possibly for economic reasons. Keeping in mind what Israel says about the dependency of various persons within a local group, it could be argued that since a local group was based on the father-son(s) tie, it was the father who owned the means of production, and on whom the son depended economically. This hypothesis finds confirmation in one of the early reports from Labrador. Asked whether he wants to follow the Lord, a young Inuk answered:

> "I want to follow the Lord, but my second thought is to know what thoughts does Moses [his father] have. Does he want to be converted or not? If not,...I will have to follow him" (my translation, Nain Diary 1781:15 339).

This kin-solidarity was the corner-stone of Inuit society, and it provided the only accepted authority within the winter households (around twenty persons). In groups larger than that, no legal monopoly existed (Taylor 1974:88).

The great importance of kinship was reflected in the Inuit' genealogical knowledge. According to Cranz, the Greenlanders "are tolerable genealogists, and can trace their descent up to the tenth degree, with all its branches" (1820:210). For this reason, Cranz' claim that first cousins did not intermarry should be given credibility (1820:147). The only forms of marriages between kin concern affines, who were often taken for second wives; particularly sisters and a wife's daughters (Cranz 1820:147; Taylor 1974:67). I assume that the only case of a marital union between kin reported by the missionaries in Labrador concerned affines (P.A. 1798:226).

Although from the descriptions available one gains the impression that child-betrothal was the usual way of contracting a marital union (Unitas Fratrum n.d.:311), abduction was practiced frequently (Cranz 1820:146; Taylor 1974:91). In either case the female had little choice, and Cranz claims that "All up-grown women among the Greenlanders spend a life of slavery" (1820:151). The severe treatment of disobedient wives is also

noted for Labrador (Taylor 1974:80), but we should not forget that this had an economic rationale. On the other hand, although it was apparently the husband who determined his spouse's partners in the institutionalized wife-exchanges practiced in Labrador, one does not gain the impression that the women were unhappy with this custom (Nain Diary 1781:15 339-350). Although marriage was an economic necessity under aboriginal conditions, a good deal of affection strengthened the bond, especially after some time of 'growing together': "The older they grow, the more lovingly they treat each other" (Cranz 1820:148).

Fertility

Relying on the aforementioned census by Beck, Taylor computes the average nuclear family size at five persons (1974:67). However, this involves couples of all ages, and takes into consideration living offspring only. Therefore, it does not say much about the number of offspring born during a woman's life. Using my own material, I can only comment on those females who gave birth while living at a mission station prior to the year 1800. In those cases, three to four births were usual. But, since births might have occurred prior to settling down in the villages, this number might be an underestimate. However, it correlates with a missionary's report on the fertility of unconverted Inuit women, which is said to have rarely amounted to five or six

births (Freitag n.d.: 15 391). Cranz affirms this low fertility with material from Greenland:

> "The Greenland women are not very prolific. Their children seldom exceed three or four in number, and are born, on an average, one every two or three years. When told of the fecundity of the Europeans, they compare them contemptuously to their dogs" (1820:149).

Although the precise average number of children born to an aboriginal Inuit woman might never be established conclusively, it is evident that certain attitudes and mechanisms inhibited a higher number of pregnancies. This is proven by the following excerpt from the Moravians' 'Instruction to be used for the introduction of newly married couples in our heathen congregations':

> "Our workers among the heathen have to be on their guard against a concealed continuation of superstitious and unclean ideas in the matter of marriage which derive from the heathenish traditions of our brethren and sisters. One of these is the idea held by the Greenlanders that a woman should be <u>ashamed</u> to bear a child within the first year of her marriage; equally, that they don't like having more than one child within three years, <u>although they live as wife and husband frequently enough during that time</u>. Such a way of thinking must be eliminated entirely.... Otherwise, it is to be feared that sins related to masturbation will occur, which are an horror to our Lord" (my translation & emphasis, Unitas Fratrum 1786).

It could be argued that this passage refers to Greenlanders, not to Labrador Inuit. I would counter it by pointing to the birth spacing prevalent in 18th century Labrador and correlating with the "every two or three years" postulated for Greenland.

An even more valid proof for extrapolating the passage to Labrador, can be found in a Moravian document listing abstinence from intercourse as a sin practiced by Labrador Inuit (Unitas Fratrum n.d.:308).(2) Such is obviously a consciously applied birth control, and its existence can be related to masturbation, mentioned in the document above. The underlined passage is not entirely clear: in the German original ("obschon sie zuweilen zeitig genug wieder ehelich leben") it can imply sexual intercourse, but it can also refer to merely <u>living</u> together. I am inclined to follow the latter interpretation, because, had sexual intercourse been implied, the reference to abstinence and masturbation wouldn't make sense. Also, the rest of the document is otherwise very explicit, and sexual intercourse is referred to as the 'unification of flesh' ('fleischliche Vereinigung').

In view of these arguments, it should be accepted that conscious birth control was practiced in aboriginal Labrador. The sentiment which was connected with it, <u>shame</u>, was not described as such by coincidence. It will be shown that shame was a very important feeling for the Moravians, and when they used it in this connection, they probably wanted to show how deeply entrenched these customs were in the aboriginal culture.

Apart from abstinence, other population controls were known and applied. I found three references to infanticide, in which the motives are indicated. It is interesting to notice that this custom wasn't always practiced due to material hardships.

We learn from the church books' death registers that in 1788, a boy of two years was killed by his mother in Okkak, because 'he cried too much'. The mother eloped subsequently with a young suitor. In 1799, a three weeks' old girl was suffocated by her mother in Hopedale, 'as not enough means for raising her were available'. In 1853, we learn that a widow from Hebron,

> "who was by no means as great a sufferer as many others, could so far forget her character as mother, as to allow her son, a boy twelve years of age, to die for want of food...she tried to excuse herself by remarking, that the boy was not thriving either in body or mind" (P.A. 1854:229).

We can see that at least one population control mechanism of the Inuit, infanticide, used to be employed in some instances in order to ensure personal comfort rather than material survival. This suggests the existence of the preventive check on population in traditional Labrador society. But how about the contraceptive method of abstinence? Was it economically necessary, or could a larger number of children be sustained? Garth Taylor claims that, unlike the Copper and Netsilik Inuit, "...Labrador Eskimos had an adequate resource base. Even during times of relative scarcity, a wide variety of alternative food sources were usually available;...." (1974:95). Therefore, rather than being overpopulated, parts of Labrador could have sustained larger aboriginal settlements than was the case in reality (Taylor 1974: 65).

Although a larger population would have been feasible economically speaking, its growth was mitigated by the difficulty of raising children. The wide spacing between consecutive births was necessary since infants had to be breastfed until three or four years of age (Cranz 1820:149). Given the mothers' reluctance to feed a strange baby "lest their own offspring should have a rival in their affections" (Cranz 1820:137), and given their nomadic existence, it was probably impossible to shorten the birth intervals and thus increase the number of offspring. However, the males clearly wished to have many children. One of the reasons for polygynous unions given by aboriginal Greenlanders was the wish for many children (Israel 1969:29) which would supply manpower and help a man of wealth maintain his status. We would expect that men involved in polygynous marriages were making a full use of possessing the procreative capacities of more than one woman. We could then conclude that the fear of high infant mortality - a <u>positive</u> check on population - constituted the rationale behind aboriginal birth controls.

Interestingly, this conclusion is not supported by the data at my disposal. Although I do think that material considerations (infant mortality, economic strain) can be found behind the family policy in monogamous unions, social rather than material aspects seem to have prevented polygynously married males from exploiting the procreative capacity of their wives to its <u>viable</u> limit. This is reflected in my data where the birth intervals of women taken

as second and third wives seem longer than the usual two to three years displayed by women in monogamous unions. Similarly, the average number of children born to women in polygynous marriages was often below the normal average of four. This limited empirical evidence is supported by a theoretical consideration: given the proportion of polygynous marriages in Labrador, out of one hundred married males, seventy would have one wife, fifteen would have two spouses, and fifteen males would have three wives at the same time. This implies a proportion of married males to married females in the order of 100:145. If we postulate an average number of four births per female, we obtain a total of 580 births. Assuming an unreasonably high 40% for still births and deaths prior to adulthood (see chapter IV), some 348 children would reach marriageable age and replace their parents' procreative capacities. However, given the high probability of a stationary population in aboriginal Labrador, only 245 surviving children would be needed in order to replace their parents. This means that, either the proportion of deaths in childhood was considerably higher than 40%, or, that the aboriginal fertility level was lower than four births on average, or finally, that a population explosion was going on in Labrador at the end of the 18th century. I reject all these possibilities as highly improbable in favour of another one, namely, that the fertility levels of second and third wives were below those of females in monogamous marriages.

The reader will probably ask, why should Inuit males attempt to increase the number of their offspring by marrying more than one wife, and then refrain from making a full use of this institution? I think that an optimum number of children per male must have existed, and must have been perceived of as such. A polygynous man certainly wished for more children than a monogamous one could afford, in order to obtain economic assistance from his sons or sons-in-law. On the other hand, he also needed the assistance of all his wives, unburdened by the care of too many children, and his ability for procuring livelihood for a large family was certainly not limitless. Therefore, it seems to me that a polygynous man had to make the choice between maintaining his high standard of life, and having as many children as would have been viable. It seems to me that he opted for the first alternative, limiting consciously the number of his offspring to a level which did not endanger his status. Obviously, this is a clear example of Malthus' preventive check on population, active in an aboriginal society!

It should be added that, whereas his civilized counterpart in Europe had only extramarital 'vice' at his disposal when trying to obtain sexual satisfaction without increasing his family and lowering his status, a Labrador male could resort to the institutionalized wife-exchange, or to another wife. Such an institution served as a birth control mechanism, since:

> "On a priori grounds it would seem probable, in view of what we now know about the ovulation cycle and the chances of conception, that even a moderate dispersion of the husband's sexual acts would be likely to cause some reduction of the fertility of married women" (Lorimer 1958:98).

Therefore, we should view polygyny and wife-exchange not only as an attempt at increasing a male's offspring, but equally, as a pre-condition for keeping a female's number of births within acceptable limits. It is not surprising that abstinence from intercourse (enforced by the lactation taboo) often goes together with institutionalized polygyny in Africa and elsewhere:

> "Polygyny facilitates the avoidance of sexual intercourse with a nursing mother, and it is highly probable that the lactation taboo gains currency most easily in a society where the cultural leaders are polygynous" (Lorimer 1958:87).

Mortality

It is difficult to provide reliable quantitative data on the mortality levels in aboriginal Labrador society. As has already been stated, until the early 19th century, we cannot speak of a permanent 'Moravian Inuit' population, which implies that the numerical basis for the computation of values of infant mortality, life-expectations according to sex, etc., is insufficient. Therefore, I again make use of material concerned with Moravian Inuit in Greenland, but only in so far as it allows to underline proportions, rather than absolute values.

P. Børresen examined the church books of Neuherrnhut and Lichtenfels, looking at life-expectations and causes of death (1935 and 1936). Since his data start with the year 1741, which is only eight years after the Moravians' arrival in Greenland, we can be fairly certain that the aboriginal pattern is still displayed. Given the already mentioned disproportion in the numbers of males and females, I analyzed Børresen's material with this problem in mind.

Between 1741 and 1770, 307 Inuit were born in Neuherrnhut. From this number, 40% of males and 26% of females died between the ages of 15 and 40 years. Since there is no significant difference between the sexes with regard to child mortality, and since more women than men died above the age of 40, we can conclude that there was indeed a marked surplus of women in the reproductive age. This is supported by the values of life-expectations of men and women. Whereas in Herrnhut the mean life-expectation at birth was 18 years for males, and 21 years for females, in Lichtenfels (a more recent community where the data start in 1771), the values were 22 and 30 years respectively.

Cranz also noticed this discrepancy in life-expectations and stated that men seldom attain 50 years, whereas women can reach more than 80 years of age. He ascribed it to the higher proportion of male deaths due to hunting accidents (1820:152).

This correlates with Børresen's data on causes of death in Neuherrnhut between 1741-1770. Out of the 118 male deaths diagnosed by the missionaries, 28 were due to kayak accidents, which is almost 24%. On the other hand, 12 out of 158 female deaths can be attributed to accidents and post-partum complications. This constitutes 8% only. Since most of these deaths would occur between the ages of 15 and 40, we can see that the disparity between the number of males and females was indeed due to a higher mortality of males, caused by hunting accidents.

We have seen that the same disparity prevailed in aboriginal Labrador. But can we explain it with hunting accidents as well? Cranz claims that fewer kayak accidents were observed in Labrador than in Greenland, "perhaps on account of the superior size of their boats"(1820 Appendix:293). Dr. Taylor examined the records of the first 100 deaths at Okkak, between the years 1779 and 1819, and concluded that "there do not appear to be significant differences in the proportion of male and female deaths at any age level" (1974:61). The author therefore suggests "that the factors that accounted for the excess of females were somehow mitigated in the post-mission period" (ibid.) and concludes that the responsible factor must have been murders and other sorts of killings prevalent under aboriginal conditions (1974:63). However, as we will see, the numerical disproportion between the sexes continued for a long time during the mission period, and an explanation has to be sought beyond the killings.

When the data presented by Dr. Taylor are examined carefully, the reason for the apparent lack of sex-specific mortality becomes clear. Although 18 females and 17 males died between the ages of 16 and 60, we will discover that at least five of the women were widows, whereas not a single widower is included. This means that three to five males (depending on the degree of polygynous unions) had died prior to their wives coming to Okkak and should be included in Dr. Taylor's calculation. This puts the proportion of male to female deaths between 16 and 60 years to at least 20:18. This proportion changes even more when we include the persons who died above the age of 60. Again, although the ratio is six males to seven females, five women are widows, whereas only one man is a widower. Assuming only four husbands for the five women, and two wives for the widower, all of whom had died before coming to Okkak, and including these into the category of people who died between 16 and 60 years, we obtain a ratio of male to female deaths of 24:20. Therefore, we can safely state that even during the early mission period, more females than males reached old age. Although killings cannot be ruled out as cause of male deaths, I still argue that hunting accidents were more important in this respect. Out of the seventeen males between 16 and 60 years who died in Okkak between 1779 and 1818, only three diagnoses are provided. This is not surprising since many would have died outside the settlement. One out of the three deaths was due

to 'chest ailment', the other two 'died inland' (Taylor 1974:62). When we look at the original entry in the Okkak church book, we discover that what is implied by this 'inland' is 'Rentierjagd' and 'Ripperjagd', which means, while hunting caribou and ptarmigan. Possibly, these are hunting accidents, just like in Greenland, and just as there, they were responsible for male deaths mainly. The fact that not more of these are recorded in early-contact church book entries can be accounted for quite simply: as will be argued further on, most of the people who died in the mission stations prior to 1800, were either too old to hunt, or incapacitated by illness. For this reason, the quantitative data contained in the church books and covering the 18th century, are not representative of the aboriginal Inuit.

Apart from hunting accidents and casualties resulting from feuds, a number of apparently aboriginal illnesses are reported by Cranz as important causes of death. Most prevalent was tuberculosis ("consumption and spitting of blood"), and other pectoral disorders: "Their most common complaint is a stitch in the side or breast" (1820:216). According to the same source, the Greenlanders' "remedies for external injuries are simple and expeditious. Against inward sicknesses they are totally unprovided, and leave every thing up to nature"(1820:215). However, they were perfectly aware of the concept of contamination, and knew how to guard themselves against diseases such as 'leprosy'

("white boils and seurf"): "Separate habitations are allotted to people afflicted with this disease", and "few persons...have the courage to attend the sick, for dread of the infection" (Cranz 1820:214-215). This point is important, as we will see that the missionaries in Labrador were unable to enforce these principles during epidemics of European diseases.

To sum up; I have argued that the Labrador Inuit lived in comparative economic security, maintaining their relatively high standard of living through the application of preventive checks on population, such as infanticide and birth control. Their cosmology was limited to the explanation of the life 'here and now', and death was viewed as the beginning of physical suffering. This life-oriented ideology was identified as contrasting sharply with the Moravians' view of death as the beginning of a better life. Let us now look at the result of the 'clash of cultures' and examine the ideal personality structure of 'Moravian Inuit'.

CHAPTER III

THE MORAVIAN INUIT

> "One suspects,...that the evident qualms of liberal-minded anthropologists about using the word 'primitive' except in quotation marks, or preceded by 'allegedly', 'so-called', and other disclaimers, derive not so much from semantic or sociological scruples, as from their inner doubts about the nature and value of 'civilization', a concept held in almost the same contempt as 'primitive'"(Hallpike 1979:vi).

This chapter describes the transformation of aboriginal Inuit into Moravian Inuit as an example of the civilizing process. Unlike 18th and 19th century evolutionists, I make no value judgements about civilization; if I were to make one, I would quote from Freud's Civilization and its Discontent. Here, however, I am concerned solely with the identification of elements which can be said to contribute to the development of civilization as an objective reality.

Paraphrasing Norbert Elias (1977), we can describe civilization as a particular culture based on the principle of postponement of self-gratification for the sake of an abstract entity. The mechanism by which individual restraint is maintained rests to a large extent on self-control, lack of which is punished by

feelings of shame, acquired during the socialization process. Although the 'civilizing' process of a child (i.e., socialization) can be observed as consisting of learning how to control its drives for affection, nourishment, rest, sexual satisfaction, and other kinds of self-expression, its ultimate purpose is to achieve the highest possible degree of predictability. The level of predictability depends on the kind of society the child is expected to live in. This rationality behind the irrational table manners, for example, is rarely within the consciousness of children who learn these or the adults who instruct them. As we are all full of fears, the most powerful one being the fear of abandonment, the outer or inner voice admonishing us of being ashamed of deviant behaviour suffices in reminding us of the consequences of deviance: abandonment by the family, friends, or society (prison). In a society based on organic solidarity, such as ours, the expectations one is supposed to live up to are not only high, but also diffuse. They correspond to the diffuse nature of our roles which change with almost every person we meet. The fear of failing to live up to the expectations of an increasing number of people becomes transformed into a fear of danger threatening everywhere.

In contrast to European civilization based on organic solidarity, Labrador Innuit lived in a primitive society based on mechanical solidarity. They had a few, well-defined roles, and their fears stemmed from a few, known sources: murder, abduction, famine. Obviously, the Inuit felt responsible to their fellow human beings,

but these were all familiar persons, not an anonymous society. Therefore, the socialization process aimed at educating a child for a concrete future and was based on rationality rather than the irrational element of shame. This is evident from Jean Briggs' analysis of socialization in a traditional Inuit society (1970). Since the Inuit were expected to please a few persons instead of thousands of strangers, it seems to me that one's individuality was not subjected to the same degree of self-control as was the case in Europe. In this sense, Labrador Inuit were more egocentric and less civilized than the Europeans.

Moravian missionaries initiated the civilizing process in Labrador. I agree with James Hiller that their goal was to make Moravian Inuit Christians without the vices of civilization (1971:89), a point emphasized by the missionaries themselves:

> "The public are still told, that the plan of the Moravian Missionaries, is, first, to civilize the heathen, and then to labour for their conversion to Christianity; an assertion than which nothing can be more erroneous" (P.A. 1831:vi).

However, the Brethren suffered from false consciousness, as they were not aware, that, by escaping from a rational Europe, they would not leave behind civilization, but only a particular form of it based on a secular platform. We know from Norbert Elias that the civilizing process had been in progress for hundreds of years by the time the missionaries departed for Labrador. They were already the products of a long education in self-

denial based on shame. What changed in 18th century Europe was not this basis of civilization, but the popular justification for it. Until then, the responsibility for the civilizing process had rested with God; He was the super-ego invoking feelings of guilt and shame when self-control wasn't maintained. With the secularization movement of the Enlightenment, God was largely eliminated and replaced with Society. Consequently, the super-ego was no longer maintained by faith, but by social contract. In Labrador, the Inuit were unspoiled by <u>secular</u> civilization, and therefore receptive to God's function as the super-ego. Nevertheless, the civiling process was supposed to move in the same direction as in Europe: the postponement of self-gratification occurs no longer out of consideration for one's own person and one's immediate relatives, but because one feels responsible to an anonymous entity. Consequently, the first task of the Moravians consisted of re-directing the former kin-solidarity towards a new solidarity with God:

> "...it is necessary, faithfully to inculcate to them, the exhortations our Lord and Saviour gave to his disciples, of denying friends, brothers, fathers and mothers, wives and children. For if they should love any of their relatives better than the Saviour, they must already have fallen, and would thereby incur imminent danger of falling still more, and even losing their own souls thereby" (Spangenberg 1788:98).

In the same sense, children were no longer allowed to be viewed as a source of economic and social status, because they belonged

to God. This meant the abolishment of betrothals in childhood (Unitas Fratrum n.d.:58 311). Polygynous marriages could no longer be contracted (Spangenberg 1788:100), because the rationale behind sexual intercourse was said not to be personal satisfaction, but the production of children for a greater glory of the Lord (Unitas Fratrum 1786:37 007).

This last point is important, as the missionaries were of the opinion that the sexual life of the Inuit was entirely unregulated, and based solely on 'fleshly lust'. Particular attention was given therefore to the discontinuation of wife-exchanges (Nain Diary 1781) and expressions of sensuality:

> "...we must earnestly admonish them, that they are not only to avoid fornication, but also whatever might give occasion thereto, to which the heathenish plays and dancings belong" (Spangenberg 1788:98).

These elements were too much reminiscent of self-gratification and could not be tolerated by the missionaries who described their impressions of unconverted Inuit in this way:

> "Their heathenish customs were frequently the subject of conversation, and some of their stories and remarks manifested considerable humour and great natural shrewdness. In listening to them we felt continually excited to pray the Lord to open their eyes, and grant them the knowledge of His saving truth" (P.A. 1831:118).

The process by which this knowledge was supposed to be acquired, was the one of civilization, with shame as the main controlling mechanism, and with Moravian teachers socializing Inuit 'children'.

The paternalistic attitude of the missionaries toward the Inuit is well reflected in terms like "Our Esquimaux", said to be "poor", "simple", and "wretched" (P.A. 1831:66), and needful of direction:

> "At the love-feast, we delivered the salutations of the Board of Directors and remarked that the great teachers over the water rejoiced greatly to hear good of them, but were much grieved at present to have to hear so many bad things of them; so that they ought to improve the great privilege they possessed of having teachers, and would have only themselves to blame if they lost it" (P.A. 1847:381).

The socialization process of the Inuit consisted of relieving them of their former fears of concrete situations, such as murder, abduction, famine, and death in general, and replacing these with fears of any situation. Thus, it is undoubtedly true that as Cranz observes,

> "...if any temporal advantage must be confessed to have an influence in inducing heathen Greenlanders to join the believers, it is the prevalence of honesty and good order in our congregations, where every one is sure of his property, friendless widows are relieved, none are obliged to marry against their inclination, no wife is turned away, or husband permitted to marry more than one wife, and where all fatherless orphans are maintained and educated" (1820:206-7).

On the other hand, once their temporal state was secured, the Inuit were expected to devote all their thoughts to God, and were constantly admonished "...to see to it that they were always in a state of preparation to meet the Lord, whenever He calls

them hence" (P.A. 1827:250). This implied a constant self-examination and self-control, since the danger of falling into sin was present at any time. The Inuit were expected to become convinced "...of their lost condition by nature..."(P.A. 1827:253), who "cannot obtain deliverance and divine life, but through the merits of our Saviour"(P.A. 1832:253). In short, the Inuit were no longer masters of their destiny. As Cranz put it, they evolved "from the unbounded libertinism of lawless savages, to a voluntary and hearty acquiescence in every regulation..."(1820:225).

The missionaries were convinced that the Inuit were receptive to the new world view because of the 'tabula rasa' in their minds. Just like children, they could be socialized into any direction, and their trustfulness was highly valued:

> "In many things they are still children, in which we could desire them to be men; yet we have great cause to rejoice in the simplicity with which they receive the blessed doctrine of salvation through the merits of Jesus,.... Oh! my dear Brother, could you once be an eye and ear-witness of the extreme simplicity, (an unbeliever would call it silliness or stupidity), which they manifest in their prayers....You would hardly be able to refrain from tears, at such an exhibition of the grace and mercy of God, displayed to our poor Esquimaux" (P.A. 1831:66).

But the children were expected to grow up and acquire the feeling of shame for things they used to practice: shamanism, and other annoying habits were supposedly remembered with shame only, and "almost unknown to the rising generation" (P.A. 1817:239). Obviously, these are stereotypes; let us look at the reality.

Before the Inuit could be expected to develop a sufficient degree of self-control, they had to be subjected to rigid social control exercised by the missionaries. Sedentarization aimed at seperating Moravian Inuit from their heathen countrymen, and at preventing contact with white Settlers who had penetrated northern Labrador. Although it became accepted that such activities as the fall caribou hunt could not be abolished altogether (Unitas Fratrum n.d.:58 300), the missionaries insisted on the Inuit' presence in the settlements during the main church holidays (P.A. 1854:229). It was argued that "the growth of the inner man" was endangered by their nomadic existence,

> "...as they are obliged, in order to gain their livelihood, to remain dispersed throughout the whole of the summer, thus being deprived during six months of regular means of edification and instruction" (P.A. 1851:187).

The most important result of the population concentration in a few settlements was the growing gap between resources and the demand for them, which made changes in the cultural form of the Inuit necessary. The introduction of sealing nets was a very useful innovation as it increased the efficienoy of a traditional pursuit (P.A. 1806:79). The attempt at making Inuit fishermen, on the other hand, was, initially at least, doomed to failure. Despite the abundance of cod fish in Labrador waters, it was soon discovered that "fishing is not their favourite employ" (P.A. 1828:436). Here, the missionaries experienced the delicate

interdependency between cultural form and content. Fishing for cod required a higher degree of future-orientation than the Inuit possessed at that time. Instead of spending valuable time in drying and preserving cod for future consumption, they preferred those economic activities which gave them immediate satisfaction. This lack of foresight was the most frequent complaint of the Moravians, well expressed in this statement:

> "When I heard that a family of six persons had consumed in two days, forty codfish, with a sufficient quantity of flour and biscuit, and at least twenty partridges, which they had shot, and when I asked the father of this family, who came some time after, to beg for bread, what was the reason of this extravagance, he answered that their customs were different from those of Europeans, for that when they had plenty of food they continued to eat of it as long as it lasted" (author's emphasis, P.A. 1846:121-2).

It is undoubtedly true that the initial impetus for the Inuit' acceptance of the missionaries as their patrons stemmed from economic rather than ideological considerations (Kleivan 1966:74; Richling 1978:112). The Inuit expected the missionaries to share their wealth in the same way they themselves did:

> "It is the hardest thing in the world, to make an Esquimaux understand, how a man of his own class in Europe, is expected to work early and late to gain a livelihood; their notion is, that the rich should support the poor, as indeed they are themselves willing to do, when they have abundance" (P.A. 1843:523-4).

The Moravians strongly opposed such an attitude, and set the priorities very clearly in one of the early regulations:

> "Our converts and candidates for baptism who live with us in community, must not think that they will receive presents from us. We are here in order to bring the Inuit to Jesus, the Saviour of all people. When you believe in Him, you will be blissful here already, and will have eternal life" (my translation, Unitas Fratrum n.d.:58 301).

The Inuit interpreted the Moravian doctrine of Providence in the (logical) sense of depending on God for their spiritual as well as material well-being. Combined with their traditional 'here and now' orientation, the imported faith must have resulted not in the emergence of a Protestant work ethic as expected by the missionaries, but rather in fatalism. This attitude can be detected from the following account:

> "The family of J. lost their large newly built boat, containing the property of several other Esquimaux, and ten fox-skins....The expressions of these poor people on this occasion were truly edifying. Resigned to the Lord's will, they said: 'Since the Lord has done it, we will not complain'" (P.A. 1852:331).

Whereas here the tone is one of praise, the missionaries soon discovered that their own notion of resignation differed from the Inuit' fatalism. The Moravians limited this attitude to situations where everything in human power had been done; the Inuit resigned without trying further at the first sign of misfortune (P.A. 1856:167).

Although the missionaries were not able to implant their interpretation of divine providence with respect to material life, they largely succeeded in this at the spiritual level.

It is remarkable that a substantial number of converts continued living in the settlements even in times of economic hardships within them. From the reaction of a party of heathens asked to settle down in Okkak, we can see that other than materialistic considerations must have played a role in the conversion process:

> "They were, as usual, earnestly entreated to turn to Jesus, and were remarkably attentive to what was said. Their answer was to this effect; that they wished to turn to Him, that they might not be cast into the dark place of torment; but they could not possibly leave their native country where they could get a sufficient quantity of food, whereas here the people were often in danger of starving, and every summer many died of diseases. This we could not well contradict" (P.A. 1805:127).

The remark about diseases is important, as I see the Moravians' ability to make death and suffering meaningful and even desirable as an important contribution to their success in winning followers among the Inuit.

When the Moravians arrived in Labrador, its inhabitants had already been in contact with the Europeans in southern Labrador for a long period of time. It is highly probable that this contact resulted in the spread of previously unknown diseases, against which no traditional cures could be applied. But even without the experience of new diseases, the already noted extreme fear of death would have been sufficient ground to the Inuit' listening closely to what the Moravians had to say on the subject of death (P.A. 1798:123). The missionaries were well aware of

this vulnerable point in Inuit culture and used it effectively by further eroding the already faint hope for ending in a happy afterlife. It is remarked that heathen don't like to be reminded "...of the consequence of death;...such conversations make them thoughtful" (P.A. 1832:255). Visiting the people at Saglek,

> "An old woman, who seemed to be tottering on the brink of the grave, was advised to pray to Jesus for the deliverance of her soul, as death was near at hand. 'Oh!' answered she, 'death is a gloomy thing; it is not good to die.' She was told, that if she believed in Jesus, she would be enabled to welcome the approach of death" (P.A. 1840:410).

It will be shown that with regard to bodily suffering, spiritual rather than medical assistance was offered by the missionaries. What they strove for, was indeed to change the Inuit in such a way as to enable them to "welcome the approach of death" rather than prevent it. This was clearly the case with the victims of the first epidemic of measles in Nain, where the missionaries regarded the attitude displayed by the dying people as the coronation of their efforts:

> "Our greatest comfort was the state of mind of the twenty-one persons who departed this life, one seeming more desirous than the other to depart and be with Christ.... In watching the departure of many, we felt indeed as if Heaven was opening to them. Parents were removed from the embraces of their children, and departed with joy, as did many children, out of the arms of their parents. Thus the Lord gathered in a rich harvest. Many of the patients even expressed sorrow at being left behind. This melancholy scene therefore afforded subjects for praise and thanksgiving. Here we reaped the fruits of the tears of our predecessors. Who would have expected this fifty years ago,

> when no European durst shew his face without being unmercifully murdered, not to speak of the human sacrifices offered up by the heathen Esquimaux, to appease evil spirits. Here is, in truth, made manifest the power of the Word of the Cross, among the most benighted nations" (P.A. 1828:440).

It will be shown that this resignation before death, actively promoted by the missionaries, should become extremely important for the demographic situation of the Inuit.

We have seen so far, how the Moravians were trying to change the content of Labrador Inuit culture. Obviously, it is very hard to make any statements about the degree of acceptance of this new content on the part of the Inuit. Although the teacher-pupil relationship could be maintained throughout the entire period under consideration, signs of the Inuit' discontent with their teachers come to the foreground in some missionary reports, especially once the economic situation started deteriorating rapidly in the 1830's:

> "Murmuring against God, for not having done any good for them, their dissatisfaction extends itself to us, and such of their countrymen as had laid by a little, through their own dilligence....So much the more distressing is the condition of S., who with his family, left us some time ago. At peace neither with God nor man, he continues to walk in the ways of sin. He is full of bitterness against us, and endeavors to form a sort of community of persons like himself, whose ruler he hopes to be" (P.A. 1856:165).

This dissatisfaction with the Moravians resulted to a significant degree from their attempts at preserving the cultural form of the Inuit. From the late 1820's on, the southern stations started

experiencing the influx of the Settlers, consisting mainly of Euro-Canadian males who had married Inuit women, and whose presence in northern Labrador begins at the end of the 18th century (P.A. 1798:137). They acted as independent traders, exchanging European products for native articles, thereby undermining the Moravian trade monopoly. The missionaries, trying to preserve the traditional diet (P.A. 1838:419), blamed the Settlers for creating a dependency on imported food on the part of the Inuit (P.A. 1848:306). The same attitude was expressed with regard to traditional clothing (P.A. 1837:212) and housing. As far as the last item is concerned, some controversy exists as to the role the Moravians played in the transition from traditional multi-family dwellings to European-type houses during the 1860's and 1870's. Helge Kleivan claims that,

> "Even though...no mention is made of a direct impulse on the part of the mission, satisfaction is clearly expressed that families desire to live separately" (1966:34).

In support of this opinion, Kleivan quotes a missionary's letter: "That every family should have a house to itself, would in many respects, be a great improvement on the present system" (1966:123). Kleivan fails to say in which connection this statement was made. First of all, the missionary was clearly not commenting on an already existing trend as he wrote from Hebron, the least acculturated community, where no European houses existed at that time

(Kleivan 1966:40). Second, the statement was made in the context of explaining to someone in Europe why single-family houses should not be built in Labrador. This becomes very clear after reading the entire passage:

> "If we educate the Esquimaux youth after our fashion, we are sure to deprive them of the ability to procure their livelihood, in the only way that seems appointed for the dwellers on this coast. That every family should have a house to itself, would, in many respects, be a great improvement on the present system; but, not to mention, that this could hardly be brought about, unless we undertook to build houses for them, the cold is so intense in this climate, that it is doubtful whether a tenement could be sufficiently warmed, were it inhabited only by a few individuals" (P.A. 1847:123).

Here, we can see, that in order to allow for the continuation of the cultural form, certain concessions in respect to European notions of morality (for this was the only reason for thinking about new housing arrangements) had to be made. These concessions were gladly granted by the Moravians, not only because they understood the economic inevitability of these, but because they had to preserve the cultural form of the Inuit in order to change the cultural content. With increasing numbers of Moravian Inuit deserting the settlements and merging with the Settlers, the ideal of the unspoiled, traditional Moravian Inuit was elevated to a powerful symbol and contrasted with the 'civilized', and therefore no longer genuine Inuit, who lived with the Europeans. These 'Southlanders' are compared

with the real Inuit in this description of the house of a family of Southlanders:

> "On entering, I was struck with the cleanliness and order generally prevailing, as well as with its whole internal arrangement, differing greatly from that of our Esquimaux .....In excuse of our people, I may, however, observe, that their whole manner of living is far different from that of the Southlanders. Though the former have already accustomed themselves to the use of European luxuries, especially flour and biscuit, the seal remains their principal food, which they are obliged in winter to skin, prepare, and dress in their houses. The Southlanders, on the other hand, live almost entirely on European food, and the seal-hunt in a kayak...is...in many cases almost unknown. They have, in consequence, lost their independence and have become slaves of the Europeans. They are, in reality, degenerate Esquimaux, unable to endure the hardships which their fathers endured,...." (P.A. 1851:282).

With the impact of the Newfoundland fishermen, beginning in the 1860's, this dichotomy started losing validity. Cod has become an important export article, and although the missionaries were worried about this new competition in trade, it seems to have accomplished what the missionaries had been trying to achieve for decades: the Inuit were gradually becoming fishermen (P.A. 1877:146-7). The summer caribou hunt had to be shortened in order to allow time for fishing, and from at least the 1850's on, fox trapping became a widely practiced winter occupation (P.A. 1861:276). According to Kleivan, this substitution of collectively practiced subsistence activities by individually pursued fishing and trapping led to an individualization of the Inuit (1966:42), reflected in the rapid transition from multi-

family houses to dwellings occupied by preferrably a single nuclear family only (1966:56). Although the missionaries followed suit in selling European food to the Inuit, they still clung to the idea of unspoiled natives, forbidding the use of spirits and cards, introduced by the Settlers (P.A. 1847:336). Quite possibly, the missionaries represented to the Inuit "the direct opposite of happiness and self-expression" (Kleivan 1966:71).

We have seen in this chapter the expectations which the Moravian Inuit were supposed to live up to. They were subjected to a socialization process aimed at elevating them from a 'here and now' - oriented egocentrism to a future - oriented theocentrism. This resembles the civilizing process since it entailed the replacement of a person's concrete responsibility to himself and a few relatives by an abstract responsibility to an anonymous entity. Since the Inuit did not understand their worldly responsibilities as Moravians, their acceptance of Moravian ideological tutelage undermined their potential for coping with a new physical situation, created by the introduction of previously unknown diseases. The demographic consequences of this are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOGRAPHY OF THE MORAVIAN INUIT, 1800–1919

> "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's" (Rom.XIV.8.).

In this chapter I am concerned with the impact of new conditions of life on the demography of Labrador Inuit living in Moravian settlements. It is subdivided into sections dealing with population size, health conditions, life-expectations, fertility, and balance between births and deaths. Some material comes from the Periodical Accounts, but most of it has been extracted from the church books of Hopedale, Okkak, and Hebron. In the latter case, no references are given.

Population size

The figures in table 1 represent mean values for periods of thirty years between 1800 and 1919. The data come from the Periodical Accounts, summarized by Helge Kleivan (1966:Appendix). Since they are means, considerable fluctuations are not reflected. The values for the years 1918 and 1919 were taken directly from the P.A. and show the dramatic decline in population between these two years. Since migrants and unconverted Inuit are included in all figures, the changes do not necessarily reflect natural increase or decrease, but rather a general trend, which is elaborated upon in the subsequent textual part.

Table 1: Population size of Hopedale, Nain, Okkak, Hebron

Congregation	Years of Existence	1800-1829	1830-1859	1860-1889	1918	1919
Hopedale	1782-	180	207	225	175	145
Nain	1771-	210	300	266	243	200
Okkak	1776-1919	335	362	328	263	48
Hebron	1830-1959		191	248	220	70
Total		725	1060	1067	901	463

The three settlements founded in the 18th century experienced a rapid growth period, lasting from the early 1800's until the late 1850's. From the 1860's on, a decline set in which culminated with the 1918-1919 influenza epidemic. The same trend is observable for Hebron, the starting period postponed by some thirty years. We can see that the most pronounced fluctuations in size were undergone by the population of Okkak, whereas Hopedale displays the most stable pattern. This can be explained by the character of the two congregations:

> "The congregation at Okkak in particular, obtains a great increase from year to year, by the arrival of heathen from the coast to the north of the settlement....The number of heathen Esquimaux in their neighbourhood is indeed decreasing, but Okkak may yet be called a 'Mission among the heathen'....Nain and Hopedale are now Christian settlements... and no heathen live in their neighbourhood. Their increase, therefore, depends upon the rising generation"..(P.A.1824:235).

Hopedale's population size had achieved a degree of stability by the 1820's, which is reflected in the numbers of new converts admitted as candidates for baptism (Hopedale church book): 1783-1788 = 33, 1789-1799 = 5, 1800-1808 = 40 ('great awakening'), 1809-1825 = 49. After 1825, only very few adult baptisms took place, involving mainly Settlers or persons of mixed ancestry, who were not living in the community. It was the proximity to the Settlers which explains the stability of Hopedale's population size. Lured by the goods obtainable from these independent traders, and indirectly encouraged by the strict disciplinary measures applied by the missionaries to deviants, frequent mass-outmigrations were a regular characteristic of Hopedale and Nain (P.A. 1832:250; 1843:445), and provided an important safety valve in times of scarcity. Okkak lacked such a mechanism, and although the technical innovations introduced by the missionaries did alleviate the overpopulation problem to a certain degree (P.A. 1806:70), Okkak's size continued growing so rapidly that a new settlement, Hebron, had to be established at Kangertluksoak:

> "There are at present nearly 400 Esquimaux residing at Okkak, and it is very desirable that a portion of them should as soon as possible be enabled to remove to Kangertluksoak" (P.A. 1829:164).

Although Hebron was intended to replace Okkak as the 'frontier community' receiving the northern heathen, the majority of its population consisted of Inuit resettled from Okkak and Nain

(P.A. 1832:255), whereas the northern Inuit chose to migrate to the newly established H.B.C. post Fort Chimo in Ungava Bay (P.A. 1841:98). Therefore, all four settlements were characterised by natural increase in population, described by a missionary to his 'medical friend' in Europe:

> "You inquire whether the Esquimaux nation is at all on the increase, or the contrary. In this respect there is a great difference observable between the heathen and those who are converted to the faith of Christ. Among the former, all kinds of immoral practices are still found to prevail; owing to these (!), and to the murders which are still not unfrequently committed, as well as to the slower but equally sure operation of famine, the heathen Esquimaux are perceptibly declining in number. With our converts the case is otherwise; being taught to obey the divine precepts, both in reference to the life which now is, and that which is to come, they experience that godliness is indeed profitable for all things; and, among other blessings that they enjoy, is that of an increase in their families" (P.A. 1831:64).

It should be noted that the Moravians explicitly encouraged population growth in their settlements. At the same time, they were aware of the problems created hereby in terms of subsistence. Although it was the missionaries' firm conviction that the population problem originated with the Inuit' unwillingness to become future-oriented and set aside provisions (P.A. 1828:436), one category of converts could not be blamed as they had responded directly to the call for "souls weary of the world, and desirous of spiritual communion with Christ" (P.A. 1831:iv). These were the incapacitated people, unable to provide for themselves due to illness or old age. We will see that this category continued

growing with the disastrous development of the health situation. As soon as 1811, Hopedale missionaries report a "considerable number of widows and orphans, depending entirely upon charity" (P.A. 1811:126), echoed from Okkak a few years later:

> "We have a great many widows and orphans, who have no providers (husbands or sons);and as our numbers increase, this class increases also" (P.A. 1826:66).

In my discussion of Dr. Taylor's data on the early converts in Okkak, I have already pointed out the high number of widows in that settlement. As we know from Cranz, widows and orphans had an extremely difficult position in aboriginal Inuit society (1820:176), and it is not surprising that they were among the most willing converts. However, in a few years, the problem was no longer due to the immigration of widows, but due to internal causes. Hence, we hear from Hebron,

> "Sickness has carried off many fathers of families. We have now no fewer than thirty widows, most of whom are left without any means of subsistence. The increase of poverty is a matter of serious consideration" (P.A. 1854:302).

Although Hebron started feeling the impact of immigrants arriving in great numbers after the H.B.C. post in Ft. Chimo had been abandoned in the 1840's (P.A. 1847:289), Okkak's situation with regard to the gap between population size and resources appears to have been the worst of all the settlements. Lacking Hebron's vast northern frontier, Hopedale's and Nain's proximity to the

Settlers, and having reached the dangerous limit of 400 inhabitants once again, only fifteen years after the blood-letting provided by the establishment of Hebron, out-migration seemed the only solution. However, emigration to the southern settlements was discouraged by the missionaries due to the precarious balance between population and resources. When a number of Okkak people settled down in Hopedale despite the mission's opposition, the reaction was very negative:

> "They turned a deaf ear to all our admonitions, to return to their former place of abode....Their remaining here has occasioned us much trouble; for having laid up but little provision, and meanwhile neglected the fish, they had to draw upon our store for the means of subsistence, from January until May" (P.A. 1855:453).

Although this critical attitude to internal migrations is explained by pointing out that "The people at Hopedale do not wish for more inhabitants, since the competition of the Europeans considerably diminishes their means..."(P.A. 1854:230), I don't want to rule out the possibility that, given the corruptive influence of the Settlers, the missionaries tried to preserve at least the northern part of their empire in its natural state, unspoiled by civilization.

Although Hebron continued absorbing small numbers of new converts driven by economic rather than spiritual motives (P.A. 1856:110), the latter half of the 19th century was a period of declining population numbers for all the settlements. In 1867, a decrease was observed for the first time and explained:

> "This results mainly from the mortality arising frequently-recurring malignant epidemics. It seems clear that the people's powers of endurance, under the hardships of their daily life, are diminishing. This may be attributed to their becoming habituated to the use of foreign articles of diet instead of the flesh and fat of seals" (in Kleivan 1966:157).

This declining trend continued into the twentieth century, and, although increased medical attention was given to the Inuit, their only long-time medical doctor spoke this verdict:

> "I do not propose to attempt to forecast the future of the Eskimos; though recent years have suggested strongly that this very interesting race of Nature People is slowly dying out" (Hutton n.d.:68).

This prognosis came close to fulfillment with the 1918-1919 influenza epidemic which meant the end of Okkak, and became "the greatest catastrophe in the history of this Mission field" (last entry in the church book of Okkak in 1919).

Health conditions

This section is introduced with a compilation of causes of death, extracted from the death registers of the church books. Unfortunately, for much of this material I had to rely on microfilm and photographic copies of the original manuscripts which made the deciphering of the entries even more difficult. Since the completeness of the entries varies from missionary to missionary, and from period to period, the listing is not exhaustive.

The diagnosis is that given by the missionary, whenever possible translated by myself into current medical terminology.

The causes of death as reproduced here, are in chronological order, supplemented with information regarding the settlement of first reporting, and the sex and age of the first victim. Nothing is said about the proportional significance of a particular cause of death. Therefore, the enumaration of illnesses and accidents should be viewed as the accummulation of health problems with the lapse of time.

Obviously, not all diseases caused death (but most did), and I discuss the health situation in a more general way in the adjacent text.

Causes of death in chronological order

Okk 1779: gun accident (m,5)
" 1788: infanticide (m,2)
" 1788: 'short illness' (m,45)
" 1789: starvation (m,5 & f,7)
" 1790: 'Blutsturz' - hemorrhage (hemoptysis?) (f,35)
" 1792: ill for only three days: exhaustion in all extremities, vomiting, heat in the throat (diphteria?) (f,70)
" 1802: 'Nervenschlag' - apoplexy (f,70)
" 1811: post-partum (f,40)
" 1812: virulent abscess on the back - suppuration (m,40)
" 1812: chest liiness for a long time (m,40)
" 1812: illness of the lungs (f,40)
" 1815: old age (m,80)
" 1819: kayak accident (m,15)

Hop 1821: broke through ice (f,30)
Okk 1823: murdered by her husband (f,40)
" 1824: 'Hitzfluss' (fever?) (m,0)
Hop 1827: measles (epidemic)
Okk 1828: lack of proper care since orphan (m,3)
Heb 1834: drowning (m,4)
Okk 1838: after a long illness accompanied by blindness (m,40)
" 1842: itch - kallak (child)
" 1842: 'Stechfluss' (child)
Hop 1842: fits of dizziness and cramps (plethora?) (m,55)
" 1844: froze to death (m,45)
" 1844: influenza (epidemic)
Heb 1844: paralyzed (m,40)
" 1845: cold (m,7)
" 1845: inflammation of throat (f,47)
Hop 1845: after 24 hours of nose-bleeding - epistaxis (m,10)
" 1845: epilepsy (f,33)
Heb 1846: consumption - phthisis (f,60)
" 1848: 'schlagartiger Zufall' - apoplectic casualty (m,40)
Hop 1848: after a period of famine ate too much trout (f,33)
" 1849: 'Hüftschmerzen' - arthritis of hip (f,23)
Heb 1852: inflammation (m,58)
" 1852: suicide (f,40)
" 1852: 'Schlagfluss' - stroke (m,60)
" 1853: eaten by the dogs, insane (f,40)
Hop 1853: blood tumor on neck (m,2)
" 1853: 'Schnupfenkrankheit' - catarrh (m,10)
" 1853: 'Gehirnkrankheit' - encephalitis or meningitis (f,6)
" 1853: infection at inner parts of his body (m,adult)
" 1854: scurvy (f,25)
" 1854: illness of the liver (f,41)
Okk 1854: cholera (epidemic)

Hop 1855: caused by his abuse of brandy (m,47)
Heb 1855: 'Leistkrankheit' (hernia?) (m,39)
" 1856: 'Leistentzündung' (f,70)
" 1856: exhaustion (m,56)
" 1858: crushed in bed while asleep (f,0)
Hop 1858: 'hitziges Fieber' (pneumonia?) (m,9)
" 1859: gout (f,27)
" 1859: malignant tumor, unable to erect herself (cancer?) (f,20)
Heb 1860: ruined as a result of sinful excesses (m,27)
Okk 1860: gland of the lungs (m)
" 1861: 'Unterleibsentzündung' (acute abdomen?) (m)
Hop 1861: a fit of cough (f,80)
Heb 1863: pneumonia (epidemic)
" 1863: consumption of wind-pipes (f,43)
" 1864: 'Drüsenkrankheit' - illness of the glands (m,15)
" 1864: 'Wasserfieber' (f,22)
" 1865: vomiting (m,30)
" 1865: headache (m,14)
" 1867: 'Markfluss' (f,27)
" 1867: rheumatism (f,30)
" 1870: asthma (f,51)
" 1875: 'gastroisches Fieber' - gastritis (child)
All 1875: erysipelas (epidemic)
Heb 1876: whooping cough (epidemic)
" 1876: 'Fussgeschwür' - abscess on feet (f,6)
" 1878: menorrhagia (f)
" 1880: blood-poisoning after frostbite (f,28)
" 1884: lack of mother milk (m,0)
" 1885: dropsy (f,5)
" 1891: 'Nabelschmerzen' (hemorrhage of navel?) (m,6)
" 1892: illness of the kidney resulting from cold or sins (m,24)
" 1894: 'Rippenfellentzündung' - pleurisy (m,41)
" 1895: scrophuloderma (m,20)

Heb 1899: typhus (epidemic)
" 1899: typhus of the abdomen (m,23)
" 1900: diarrhoea and vomiting - enteritis gravis (m,5)
Okk 1900: encephalitis (f,2)
" 1900: cancer of the intestines (f,71)
" 1902: appendicitis (f,47)
Heb 1904: 'Zahnkrämpfe - teeth cramps (m,0)
" 1904: heart failure (f)
Okk 1907: syphilis (f,0)
" 1913: bronchitis (epidemic)
" 1913: sclerosis of the brain (f)

It is difficult to show the proportional importance of the enumerated causes of death, but one trend can be identified very clearly: the number of deaths resulting from accidents declined relatively, and quite possibly, absolutely as well. The dramatic increase in deaths related to introduced diseases explains the relative drop in accidents, and a changed subsistence pattern might have contributed an absolute decrease. During the early period (1800-1829), many deaths were recorded as 'occurring while in the interior hunting reindeer', and although some of them might have been caused by illnesses, accidents probably accounted for the majority of these deaths. It has already been said that with the commercialization of Inuit economy, greater emphasis came to rest upon cod fishing than caribou hunting, the former being undoubtedly a much safer activity. With the increasing importance of fishing and with the gradual substitution of European staples

for native food, the seal hunt also came to be practiced on a far smaller scale. This is reported by A. Freitag, the mission's superintendant during the 1850's, who claims that only two or three weeks are spent on that activity in late summer, compared with ten weeks at the beginning of the 19th century (n.d.:15 396). This reduction must have led to a significant decrease of kayak-accidents which almost always resulted in death.

These statements should not be interpreted in such a way as to think that accidents occurred rarely. They continued as a major cause of death for a specific age category, those between the late teens and late 40's who were fully engaged in subsistence activities. However, as the number of people reaching that age declined over the years, so also the significance of accidents declined, when compared to other causes of death. This can be seen from figure 1 which depicts the absolute numbers of victims of epidemics, extracted from the Periodical Accounts. These are minimal values since only those persons are recorded whose death resulted directly from epidemics.

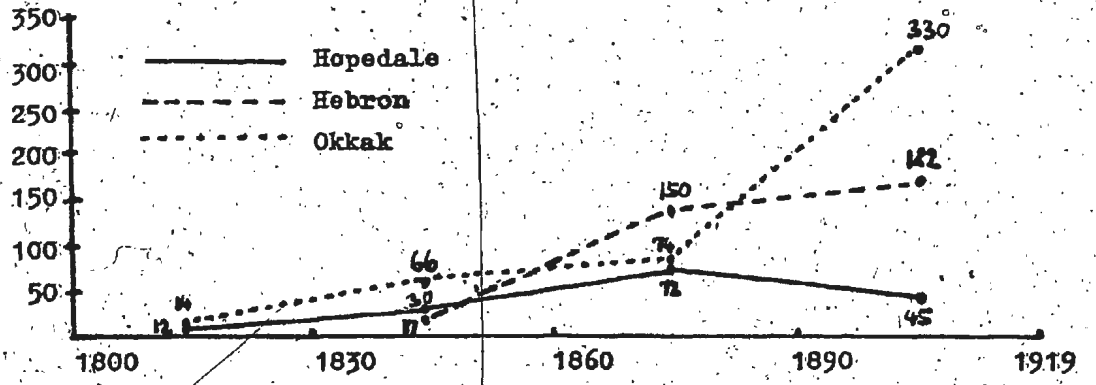


Figure 1: Deaths due to epidemics

Although it wasn't until the 1830's that epidemics became a major cause of death, some later epidemically occurring illnesses seem to have been endemic to aboriginal Inuit. Influenza and pneumonia must have been very common, as references to 'chest illness' and 'illness of the lungs' testify (Hutton n.d.:41). Tuberculosis, on the other hand, is claimed to have been unknown in aboriginal times (Hutton n.d.:28), but we have seen that 'consumption' was recorded as a cause of death already in 1846, and is listed as a traditional disease of Greenlanders (Cranz 1820:214). The same might apply to cancer and asthma, both of which are said to have been absent from Labrador by as late as the early 20th century (Hutton n.d.:35-6). Although it is hard to distinguish between the common abscesses and tumors resulting from suppuration, and those testifying to a cancerous growth of tissue, the 'malignant tumor' noted in 1859 might fall into the latter category. A clear case of cancer of the intestines was reported in 1900. It is also difficult to differentiate between bronchitis and real asthma, but the latter has been diagnosed as such in 1870. Obviously, many of these diseases might have had been prevalent a long time prior to their first reporting by the missionaries.

One remarkable feature of all traditional diseases listed as causes of death, was their suddenness and shortness. We learn that most victims suffered for a few days only, without any previous indication of the approach of the illness. Such was the

case with the Inuit' 'national malady' (possibly diphteria), which is described as "a disorder of a peculiar kind, attended with violent vomiting and perspiration, which ordinarily carries the patient off within twenty-four hours" (P.A. 1826:56). The Moravians were struck not merely by the brief duration of the illnesses, but also by the process of dying:

> "Their fears at the thoughts of death are deeply rivetted and shew themselves even in the believers at the beginning of any dangerous illness, but when death really approaches, the latter are so resigned and willing to depart and be with Christ, that we cannot but be astonished at the change" (P.A. 1798:135).

This resignation immediately prior to the approach of death was not the result of Christian indoctrination, since 'great composure' is said to have been "frequently the case...even when no fruits of faith have been previously manifested" (P.A. 1847:383). This passive waiting for death was often observed with old people whose spouse had died shortly before: although not apparently ill, such a person would lay down and wait until he or she indeed died in a few days of what came to be described as 'old age'. The high number of spouses who died on the same day or within a short while of each other is striking, and I think that a particular form of suicide, resulting from autosuggestion, might have been the real cause of death. Ackerknecht claims for aboriginal Inuit that,

> "People who believe that they are under the spell of a sorcerer, or in the claws of some supernatural force, wither away and die within a few days without any apparent physical reason" (1948:918).

He classifies it as a mental disorder (thanatomania), but I view it as a perfectly normal mechanism aimed at accelerating the approach of death in cases of incurable illness or other situations in which the survival of a person was endangered, such as the loss of one's spouse. The adaptive value of this form of suicide can be recognized if we think of the impossibility of sustaining an incapacitated person under aboriginal conditions. It probably enabled the victims of geronticide or serious illnesses to shorten their sufferings once abandoned.

With the missionaries' arrival in Labrador, incapacitated people were no longer disposed of, but supported by the mission. There can be no doubt about it that the high numbers of widows and ill people among the early converts were attracted by this prospect, but given the very rudimentary medical knowledge and equipment of the early missionaries, their treatment of the sick amounted to a mere prolongation of their diseases. Entries in the death registers testify that very soon 'short illnesses' were replaced by 'years of suffering' and 'prolongued illnesses'. That this treatment of the sick contributed significantly to the acceptance of the missionaries as leaders in spiritual and temporal matters can be seen from one of the many entries concerning this category of converts. A man who died in 1812 is described:

> "Last fall he got a malignant ascess on his back through which he had to lay down for the entire winter; He has always been quite sinful, and he often thanked us with tears for the great care which he was afforded, as well as for the continuous support, since he was unable to provide for himself and his numerous family."

Obviously, these incapacitated persons were not supported by the mission alone, but received assistance from their relatives as well. Given the precarious balance between population and resources, this charity must have put a strain on the entire population.

One way of assessing the medical equipment of the Moravians is to look at the content of their medicine chest. During the second year of Okkak's existence, the order for medicines sent to Europe amounted to some eight pounds of herbs, salts, and salves, intended primarily for personal use by the five missionaries there (Okkak station 1777:microfilm p.54 378). Four years later, stomach drops, gantion root, arabic gum, oil of cinnamon, rhubarb, and orange peels were added, still probably for personal use mainly (Okkak station 1781:54 388). By 1857, the order has increased to a total of twenty-two pounds, including these items: 8lb. of liquorice, 2 lb. of rhubarb tincture, 1 lb. of rhubarb powder, 5 lb. of cream of Tartari, 4 lb. of spiritus fini, and 2 lb. of magnesia carbonet (Okkak station 1857:54 401). The increase in bulk continues, and in 1862, already forty-four pounds of medicines were asked for, an increase of 100% over five years! These were: 12 lb. of cream of Tartari, 10 lb. of 'nitrum', 6 lb. of

'Glaubersalz', 2 lb. of 'China powder', 3 lb. of hemlock leaves, 3 lb. of arnika flowers, 3 lb. of lime-tree flowers, and 5 lb. of 'basilicon ointment'. A year later, for the first time, the category of 'homoeopathic medicine' is included, with this equipment: Aronitum (?), Dulcamara, Belladona, Bryonia, Ignat, Nux vomica, Mercur sol, Pulsatilla, sulphur, Arnia, and sulphur tincture. The experimental nature of this order is underlined by a remark, regarding the quantity of the items requested:"How many grams of the above we do not know how to determine, but we ask you to send not too little of each" (Okkak station 1863:54 423). Two years later, a text-book of homoeopathy was requested as well (p.54 427).

We see that until the 1860's, no genuine medical care could be provided in a place like Labrador. This is reflected in the missionaries' statements concerning the health situation. During the first epidemic of measles in 1827, they were as helpless as the victims:

> "In most of the tents there was not one able to assist his neighbour, nor was it in our power to give them proper medicines" (P.A. 1828:443).

Although a somewhat medically trained missionary usually made part of the staff in Labrador, spiritual rather than material help had to be relied on as can be seen from the following excerpt from a missionary's letter:

> "In the month of May, my dear wife was alarmingly ill of a disorder prevalent in this country, so ill, that I thought I should lose her. In Europe the aid of two or three doctors would have been deemed expedient in a case of this kind, but we had only o n e to resort to, even the Good Physician Himself" (P.A. 1830:383).

The question remains whether the missionaries were at all interested in providing proper health care? How is it possible that one of the first 'doctor-missionaries' had not been properly informed about his task prior to coming to Labrador, a fact admitted by himself:

> "...in general, I must say, that I am called to witness more bodily suffering among them than I had expected would be the case" (P.A. 1847:338).

The answer lies in the afore-mentioned attitude of the Moravians towards death. There can be no doubt about it that bodily sufferings were viewed as a "wholesome chastisement, by which they had been brought nearer to Jesus" (P.A. 1828:444-5). The missionaries came to Labrador in order to save spiritual rather than material lives, and in instances of the death of a person who fell short of the ideal of Moravian Inuit, causality was postulated between his behaviour and his death:

> "Only one adult was lost at sea. He was a single man, whose heart seemed hardened, and who resisted all reproof"
>
> "A most melancholy and affecting occurrence took place.... The wife of N. was literally devoured by the dogs....Our people looked upon her death as a direct judgment of God, whose word she had always despised during her lifetime" (P.A. 1831:62; 1853:235).

The missionaries were using the traditional fear of death of the Inuit in order to strengthen and maintain their position. With increasing mortality, their popularity could be expected to grow, and in at least one instance, the Brethren seem to have actively encouraged the spread of diseases in their settlements. This happened upon the occasion of the visit of a naval officer from St. John's:

> "The benevolent captain of the sloop of war, offered to have the Esquimaux children inoculated with the cow-pox, but we had several reasons for declining his kind offer" (P.A. 1821:160). (3)

The question as to why did the Inuit accept the death-oriented ideology of the Moravians can be answered when we consider that the new epidemics of measles and small-pox must have had a most terrifying effect on the people. No traditional cures were known, and the number of victims must have seriously undermined the viability of continuing the traditional way of life. The reaction to the new epidemics must have been very similar to that of the Greenlanders when confronted with the small-pox in the early 1730's:

> "The miserable savages suffered dreadfully from the effects of this unknown pestilence. As the pustules would not rise, they endured excrutiating pain, heat, and thirst, which in spite of every remonstrance, they would allay by large draughts of iced water, so that they seldom out-lived the third day. Some stabbed themselves, or plunged into the sea to put a speedy end to their torments. One man, stabbed his wife's sister, under the mad presumption, that she had bewitched him to death" (Cranz 1820:13).

As the numbers of converts grew, and as natural increase contributed to a swelling of the settlements, the gap between resources and population widened more and more. The situation became critical with the onset of a long period of unusually early and hard winters, which made the seal hunt difficult or entirely impossible. From the 1830's on, statements like this one from Okkak become an established part of the reports from Labrador:

> "Such a season of want and of suffering has not been known on this coast since the commencement of the Mission.... The leather torn from kayaks and women's boats, the skins of dogs, old boots, sea-grass, and a variety of other things, more than can be named, were resorted to in this extremity, as articles of food" (P.A. 1837:217-8).

It was only 'visitations' such as famines, that impressed the missionaries deeply enough to relax some of their residence requirements:

> "Although we do not, under other circumstances, approve of individual families leaving their homes before Easter, nevertheless, in the present instance, we both urged and assisted them to do so....Had it not been, however, for their thus being dispersed; the distress would have been much greater, and, in all probability, the loss of life from starvation very great indeed" (P.A. 1854:229).

We have seen that it wasn't until the 1860's that serious attention started being paid to the health situation. This period coincided with the growing problem of famines and the declining trend in population size. This was an alarming development which had to be stopped - not out of humanitarian considerations, but

in order to have a justification for the continuation of the mission in Labrador. One of the first persons to raise his voice and point to the deterioration of the settlements, was the superintendant of the Labrador Mission, A. Freitag. In a manuscript, written probably in the late 1850's, he identified the first four decades of the 19th century as a period of prosperity, evident in the increased fertility of Inuit women. This time is said to have been followed by a period of "disguised relapse in their material conditions", caused by the penetration of white traders into the mission's territory, and the "herewith linked influence of unnecessary luxury" (n.d.:15 390-1). At the same time, the financial situation of the Inuit improved as a result of cod fishing; the money earned herewith was spent on European food which had an harmful effect on their constitution. Freitag supports his argument concerning the weakening of the physical condition of the Inuit by pointing out the increase in food consumption: in the past, a settlement of 300 people needed these quantities of European provisions annually: 600 kg of flour, 300-450 kg of ship biscuits, and 300-450 kg of peas.(4) In Freitag's time, the consumed quantity was double that, and additional articles like salted pork, butter, tea, coffee, and chocolate had been introduced (p.15 393). This Europeanization of the Inuit diet was identified as the main cause of their health problems. References abound as to their weakened constitution (P.A. 1860:120), reflected not only in the greater need for energy intake from food, but also from external

sources, such as heating (P.A. 1855:532). However, a careful distinction was drawn between the southern settlements of Nain and Hopedale, and the frontier community Hebron, which, sheltered from the intrusion of the Settlers by the former settlements, was still inhabited by as yet unspoiled Inuit (Freitag n.d.:54 394). In Hebron, European food still proved "insufficient to preserve our people from the pangs of hunger" (P.A. 1856:109), and consequently, "sickness and mortality is, in general, of much less frequent occurrence at Hebron than at our other stations" (P.A. 1854:230).

In 1904, Dr.James Hutton, a Moravian himself, became the first resident physician in northern Labrador. He also adhered to the Europeanization hypothesis, but added three other main causes for the dying out of the Inuit: consanguinity, concentration in settlements, and immorality (n.d.:65). Starting with immorality, Hutton claims,

> "Partly from sleeping in the same room with their parents, and partly from familiarity with the habits of the dogs which abound in every Eskimo village, the children, both boys and girls, fall into the habit of sexual abuse, and continue in excess during adult life. This habit must mean not only a drain on the strength of the individual, but also a lowered vitality in the children born" (p.13).

These relaxed sexual habits led to the spread of syphilis, introduced from the outside world in 1902, and Hutton claims:

> "In spite of the immoral habits of the primitive Eskimos, I can find nothing to suggest that syphilis occurred spontaneously" (p.49).

Venereal diseases might have been introduced much earlier than the early 20th century, since a high number of deaths in the 1850's and 1860's were attributed to infections and inflammations of the abdomen or 'inner parts of the body', and 'sinful excesses' also appear as cause of death. But Hutton is probably right when he attributes the spread of these diseases to the sexual ethic of the Inuit.

On the other hand, Hutton is wrong with regard to consanguinity having always been common, "inevitable in a small nation like the Eskimos" (p.65). It will be shown that consanguineous marriages are of a relatively recent origin in Labrador.

Finally, as far as the concentration of population in settlements goes, it is ironical that after more than one hundred years of enforced sedentarization, a Moravian in Labrador should make this remark:

> "Concentration of the people into settlements is an adverse influence. The Eskimos are by nature nomadic, making their home for the time being where they find the fishing and hunting the most productive. Dwelling, as they do, in villages of two or three hundred inhabitants, not only is there greater competition in obtaining a native food supply, but the danger of epidemic disease is largely increased" (p.66).

Hutton makes an important point which relates to the spread of diseases when he says that, "those habits of refinement which are the very essence of the natural prevention of contagion, are

lacking" (p.13). The same observation is made by the missionaries who relate that "some of the older folks, too, made fun of our precautionary measures and maintained that there was no escaping from anything which God had sent us" (P.A. 1917:370). I have shown that aboriginal Greenlanders were aware of the concept of contamination and took proper care against it. The same had probably been the case in Labrador before the missionaries' arrival who should be blamed, in my opinion, for having eroded the traditional health care system, and replacing it with an ideology which took health measures out of the hands of those who were concerned. (5)

An important point should be mentioned concerning Inuit housing. Although their dwellings (aboriginal and European-style) were often described as "small, ill-ventilated, dirty, and ill-smelling" (Hutton n.d.:12), the transition from aboriginal-type houses to more recent wooden dwellings meant a step back in terms of hygiene. Wilhelm Dege claims for Greenland that the transition from aboriginal to 'modern' houses contributed to the spread of tuberculosis, because unlike the former the latter were structures erected for permanency. In aboriginal houses, unoccupied during the summer, the roof would be removed and the interior exposed to the cleansing influence of wind and rain. However, once structures of a more solid kind were erected, the roof could no longer be removed, and the interior became a hotbed for germs (1965:31). The same situation must have prevailed in Labrador where a missionary from Hebron states:

> "Their vacant houses, remaining open from the spring, till their re-occupation in the summer, get a thorough cleansing by the rain, if they do not, indeed, fall in..." (P.A. 1839:408).

This was certainly no longer allowed to happen in some of the Nain houses which, by the late 1850's were already decorated with wall paper (P.A. 1860:122).

In conclusion to this section, I refer the reader to the appendix of this thesis where I quote at length the annual report from Hebron, covering the period July 1918 until July 1919. It is concerned with the Spanish influenza epidemic and provides a good insight into the conditions faced by the Inuit during epidemics, and into the double task of the missionaries reacting to such disasters as representatives of God and humanity.

Life-expectation

This section contains a number of tables and figures which refer to: a) the mean age reached by persons born in a specific period in the three settlements of Hopedale, Okkak, and Hebron (tables 2,3,4). It must be pointed out that the values in tables 2 and 3 are somewhat deflated, because persons with missing age at death have been excluded from the compilation, although most of them did probably reach adulthood. The discrepancy between the values presented here and those found in reality increases with an increase in the difference between the numerical values

of my sample and the number of all births summarized in table 5, set 1.

b) the proportion of population which died at a certain age (table 5, figures 2,3,4) refers to the percentage of the total number of people born within a given period dying in a certain age-category. It should be noted that due to missing data, the proportion of persons who died between the ages 1-40 years is deflated whereas those dying above 40 years of age belong to a category which is inflated in size. This is because two sets of data have been used for these computations (table 5): data set no.1 consists of all people born in a specific period, disregarding whether ages at death are known or not. This set served for calculating the proportion of younger ages at death (0-40). Data set no.2 consists of those persons only whose date of death is known and was used for the older age-categories (above 40 years). The discrepancy between my values and reality depends on the numerical discrepancy between the two sets of data in table 5. Whereas infant mortality (below one year of age) is virtually unaffected by missing data, the two highest age-categories (41-64 and above 64 years of age) are subject to misinterpretation for the last period 1890-1919. Since some of the persons born at that time are still alive, whereas others died at an unknown date, I have included all people who are still (possibly) alive into the highest age-group (65+). In reality some of these should be

included into the lower category of 41-64 years. In this case, the two data sets in table 5 are merged which means that all proportions were computed from the same total number.

c) the proportion of the total population born reaching a specific age (tables 6 and 7) indicates what percentage of born people reached the minimal age at marriage (17 years), and how many realised their reproductive age. This information is important for the following section on fertility and the chapter on marriage. There, the differences between males and females will be dealt with more fully.

It should be kept in mind that all values presented in the tables and figures refer to Moravian Inuit only, that is, those born as members of the three congregations. Persons who were baptized as adults are excluded since their vital statistics are unknown, and because they had been exposed to the forces of change to a lesser degree.

Table 2: Life-expectation at birth

born between	HOPEDALE			OKKAK			HEBRON		
	no.	males	female	no.	m.	f.	no.	m.	f.
1800-1829	142	29.9	37.6	212	27.7	32.0			
1830-1859	295	25.7	25.7	469	24.2	27.6	160	26.0	28.9
1860-1889	330	11.7	13.1	480	19.8	19.9	304	19.6	20.0
1890-1919	141	9.5	7.4	417	10.1	10.8	346	12.8	13.5

Table 3: Life-expectation at 16 years

born between	HOPEDALE			OKKAK			HEBRON		
	no.	male	female	no.	m.	f.	no.	m.	f.
1800–1829	106	41.5	46.3	141	42.6	44.7			
1830–1859	147	45.7	43.2	256	44.4	44.0	106	40.8	40.8
1860–1889	77	40.0	39.2	226	39.0	37.0	148	39.5	36.8
1890–1919	26	40.5	36.5	111	31.6	32.0	105	40.4	34.4

Table 4: Life-expectation at 40 years

born between	HOPEDALE			OKKAK			HEBRON		
	no.	male	female	no.	m.	f.	no.	m.	f.
1800–1829	57	56.0	58.0	81	51.2	55.8			
1830–1859	76	61.1	59.3	142	57.3	57.6	44	61.1	58.1
1860–1889	29	67.0	65.0	86	53.9	52.6	48	56.0	55.5
1890–1919	9	?	?	24	63.4	58.3	26	60.9	58.6

We can see that although the entire period under consideration was marked by a sharp decline in life-expectations predicted at birth, a person's chance of achieving a high age improved chronologically with the attainment of a certain age. This is consistent with what has been said about the mission as a refuge for old and

incapacitated people. We can also see that whereas this trend continued in Hopedale, it was postponed in Okkak and Hebron by the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 which affected persons of all ages.

The much less favourable situation of women than of men is visible in table 3. Whereas the women born during the first period (1800-1829) displayed a higher life-expectation at all ages, ninety years later the relationship was either reversed or almost balanced. For all settlements it can be said that women were affected by declines in life-expectations more dramatically than men, whereas rises in life-expectations were more substantial for men than for women. I hold that this reversal of traditionally existing differences between the sexes was caused by the decrease of male deaths in hunting accidents, and by the increase in time and energy spent with pregnancies and child-care on the part of the women. The latter point will be taken up shortly.

Another trend is observable when the three settlements are compared. Hopedale's population displayed the highest initial life-expectations for both sexes and for all ages, but it also displayed the lowest life-expectation at birth in the final period. The decline there had been more rapid than in Okkak or Hebron, until the third period (1860-1889) was reached. Then, undoubtedly due to the influenza epidemic, Okkak's and Hebron's life-expectations at birth declined more dramatically (table 2). When we

exclude the unusually grave effects of the 1918-1919 epidemic, then we can say that Hopedale displayed the least stability in life-expectations, followed by Okkak and Hebron, and the rises and declines were more pronounced there than in the two latter settlements. A comparison of the three tables reveals that it was mainly children who were affected by the declines, and older people who gained from the rises in life-expectations. Since this trend was more pronounced in Hopedale than in Okkak and Hebron, I am tempted to attribute this difference between communities to the earlier onset of culture change in Hopedale, due to its proximity to the Settlers. Then it can be said that: the greater the proximity of a population to the centre of modernization, the sharper the decline in life-expectations of children, but also, the sharper the rise in life-expectations of older persons.

Obviously, all these conclusions refer to those people only who reach a certain age. Table 2 shows an unmistakable trend, valid for all settlements and all periods, which indicates that the proportion of persons reaching adulthood was constantly declining. The extent of this trend can be identified from the figures which follow.

Table 5: Numbers of cases referring to age at death

born between	HOPEDALE set 1		HOPEDALE set 2		OKKAK set 1		OKKAK set 2		HEBRON set 1		HEBRON set 2	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1800–1829	84	90	70	72	112	112	107	106				
1830–1859	189	139	168	127	239	239	232	233	89	87	89	87
1860–1889	157	191	150	180	238	251	233	247	151	158	151	158
1890–1919	81	80	81	80	214	245	214	245	187	195	187	195

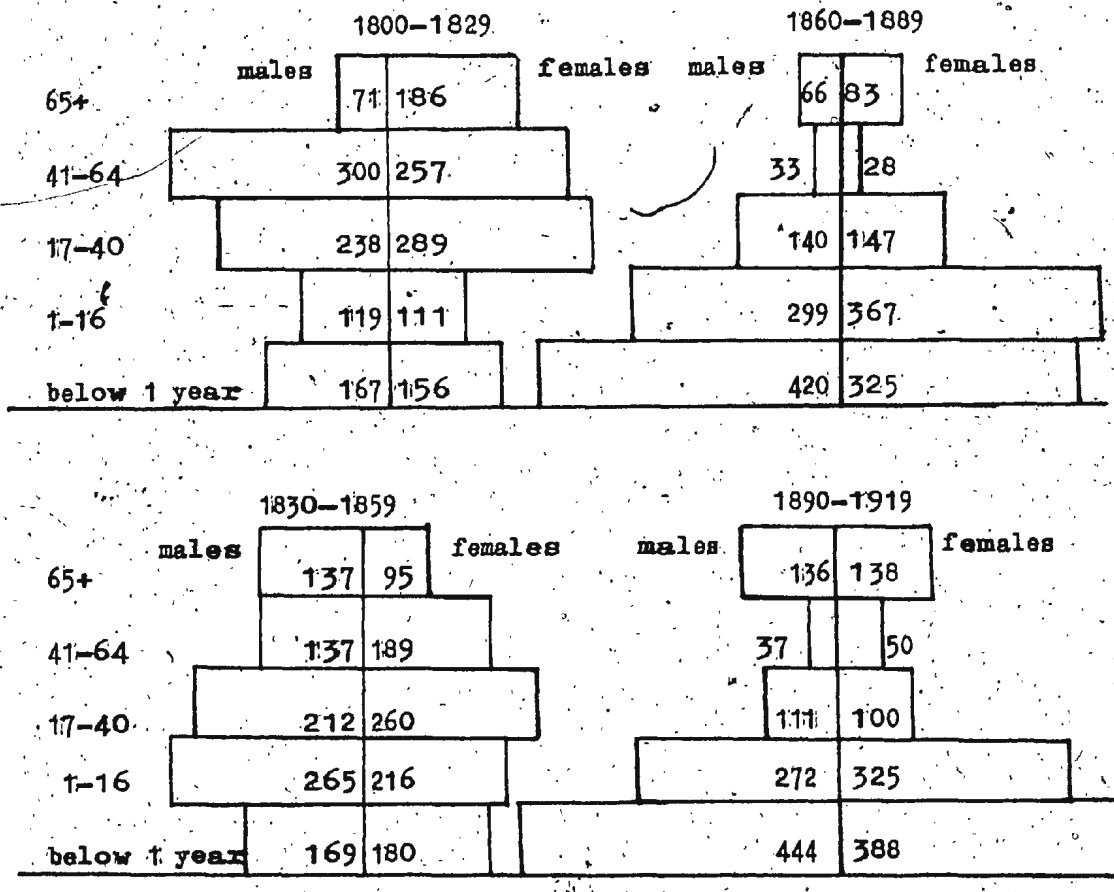
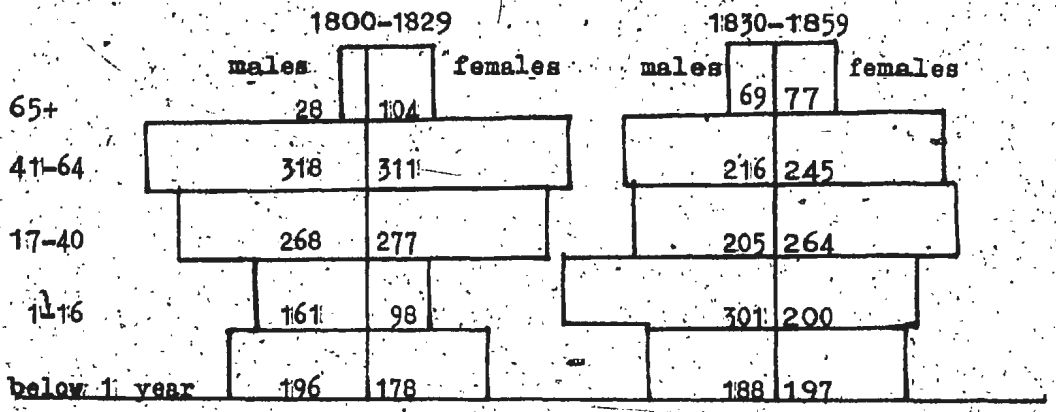


Figure 2: Hopedale, age at death per 1000 births



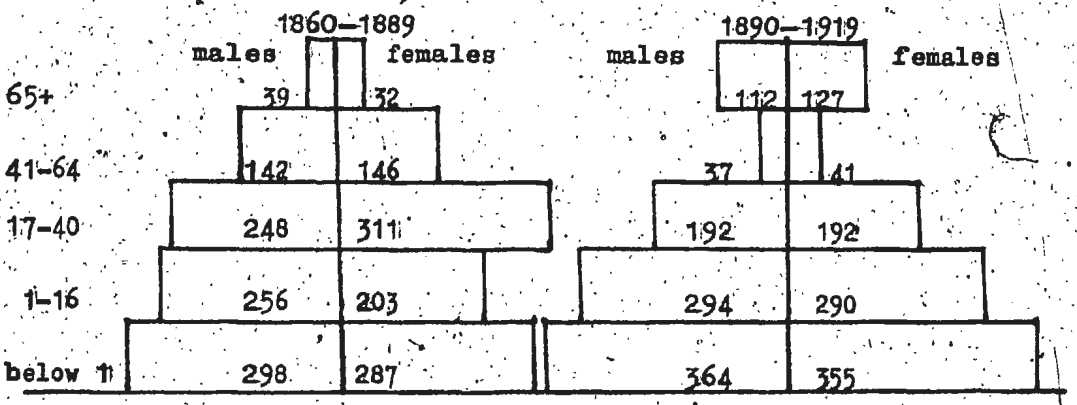
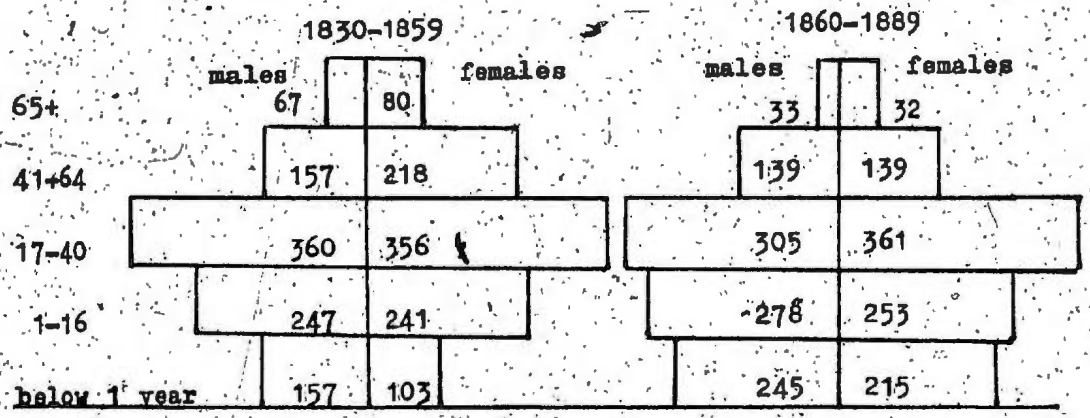


Figure 3: Okkak, age at death per 1000 births



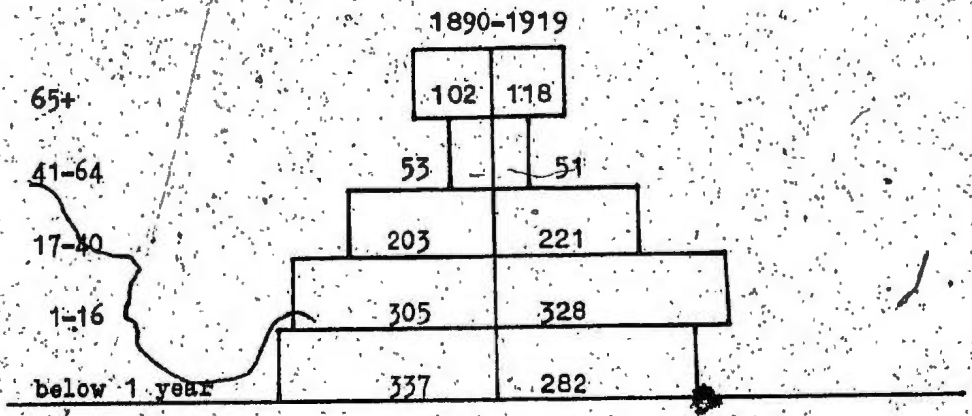


Figure 4: Hebron, age at death per 1000 births

Comparing Hopedale and Okkak during the first two periods (1800-1859), we see that the demographic process was more detrimental for women than men in the highest age-category. Although more men born during the second period (1830-1859) reached the age of 65 or more than their predecessors within the first period (1800-1829), both sexes in all three settlements were subjected to a trend of pyramidization of the proportions reaching a certain age: the higher age-categories were losing ground, whereas the lower ones were increasing in numbers. In other words, all Moravian Inuit were less likely to achieve great age with the passing of time.

This trend is, once again, more dramatically expressed in Hopedale than in Okkak or Hebron. Initially, the population in Hopedale displayed the lowest proportion of infant and child mortality, and the highest proportion of deaths in old age. During the last period (1890-1919), however, both Okkak and Hebron were characterized by a more favourable situation than Hopedale. This is interesting for it has been shown that Hopedale's population suffered less from deaths due to epidemics than did the people in Hebron or Okkak (see figure 1), and it is striking that even with the dramatic impact of the 1918 influenza epidemic, Okkak and Hebron enjoyed a lower incidence of infant mortality than Hopedale. It is significant that infant mortality remained unchanged during the second period in Hopedale, and that it was only after modernization had reached a peak in the third period (1860-89),

that infant mortality increased by more than 200%. This question will be discussed more fully in the section concerned with fertility.

Having considered life-expectations and proportions of deaths at a certain age, we have seen that Hopedale's population had to pay the highest price for acculturation. This conclusion is underlined by the values in tables 6 and 7, indicating that the degree of survivorship to adulthood decreased more substantially in the centre of modernization than at its fringes. The period 1860-1889 was the dividing line for Hopedale: unaffected by the 1918-1919 epidemic, its population recovered during the last period, whereas the downward trend continued in Okkak and Hebron.

Table 6: Proportion of population reaching age 17 (%)

born between	HOPEDALE		OKKAK		HEBRON	
	males	females	m.	f.	m.	f.
1800-1829	61	73	61	69		
1830-1859	49	54	49	59	58	65
1860-1889	24	26	43	49	48	53
1890-1919	28	29	34	36	36	39

Table 7: Proportion of population reaching age 41 (%)

born between	HOPEDALE		OKKAK		HEBRON	
	males	females	m.	f.	m.	f.
1800-1829	37	44	35	42		
1830-1859	27	28	29	32	22	30
1860-1889	10	11	18	18	17	17
1890-1919	17	19	15	17	16	17

Fertility

The data presented in tables 8-11 are mean values, computed for cohorts of women who started producing children in a given period. Tables 8-10 refer to the number of offspring per child-bearing woman, average length of childbearing, and the mothers' mean life-expectation. However, these mean values should not obscure the considerable variation which prevailed in all three settlements. The number of births varied from one to fourteen, and the length of the fertile period extended from one to twenty-seven years. However, in most cases, childbearing was terminated by the woman's death rather than the onset of menopause, which, if reached, occurred in the early forties. Childbearing started in late teens and early twenties, within the first year of marriage.

The last rubric of tables 8-10 contains information on the average number of months elapsing between consecutive (live) births. This material is presented in a more specific form in table 11. Here, distinction is made between the birth interval prevalent after the birth of a child which survives until (at least) its mother bears another child, and the interval elapsing between the death of an offspring and his successor's birth. The percentage of surviving offspring in table 11 refers to the proportion of a woman's offspring who were alive at the birth of her last child. This last child is included in that number. It should be noted that all data in the tables refer to live births only.

Unfortunately, I am unable to comment on <u>fecundity</u> (i.e., the biological potential for bearing children), because I always had to take into account the possibility of a birth occurring in a different settlement than Hopedale, Okkak, or Hebron, and therefore absent from my collection of data. Therefore, all the values presented in this section are minimal ones, based on large samples of childbearing women whose reproductive behaviour could be studied as completely as possible. This last criterion did not allow for the inclusion of Hebron women bearing children in the period 1830-1859. Due to the large proportion of new converts and women resettled from Nain who had certainly been productive prior to their coming to Hebron, the fertility levels for that period would be highly speculative since computed from incomplete material.

Table 8: Fertility of Hopedale women

1st child born between	no. of births	no. of mothers	births per mother	mean product. period	mean age at death	mean birth-interval
1800-1829	166	23	7.2	18.3	53.8	30.5
1830-1859	282	47	6.0	13.7	49.0	27.4
1860-1889	238	39	6.1	11.8	44.2	23.2
1890-1919	88	18	4.9	9.7	42.3	22.8

Table 9: Fertility of Okkak women

1st child born between	no. of births	no. of mothers	births per mother	mean product. period	mean age at death	mean birth-interval
1800-1829	121	17	7.1	18.1	53.8	30.6
1830-1859	360	72	5.0	12.8	47.2	30.7
1860-1889	505	87	5.8	13.4	45.0	27.7
1890-1919	306	68	4.5	8.4	31.6	22.4

Table 10: Fertility of Hebron women

1st child born between	no. of births	no. of mothers	births per mother	mean product. period	mean age at death	mean birth-interval
1860-1889	275	54	5.1	11.9	41.1	28.0
1890-1919	245	57	4.3	8.6	33.9	24.0

The trend displayed in tables 8-10 is one of decreasing length of the childbearing period, due to a significant degree to the drop in life-expectations, accompanied by a reduction of the number of births per woman. When we look at the first period, we see that both, Hopedale and Okkak women bore considerably more children than the three or four postulated for the aboriginal period. I hold that this increase resulted from the imposition of new sexual ethics by the missionaries. First of all, the mission's encouragement of large offsprings (viewed as God's children) must have directly influenced the Inuit' reproductive behaviour. Secondly, the elimination of polygyny and wife-exchange deprived the Inuit of important birth controls and the possibility of spreading a large number of children over more than one woman. Once polygyny was abolished, a man might still have wished for a large offspring, but all these children had to be nourished and looked after by <u>one</u> mother! Given the false sense of security implanted by the missionaries, the Inuit may hardly have realized the implications of this sharp increase in fertility levels. I think that it was this factor which contributed to the far more significant decline in life-expectations of women than men.

Another element contributing to the deterioration of Inuit females' health was the shortening of intervals between consecutive births. It might be suspected that this resulted from the increase in child mortality (see figures 2-4) and didn't affect a mother's health that much since the previous child would already

have been dead at the time of the next birth, allowing the mother to concentrate on a single baby. However, we can see in table 11 that birth-spacing was decreasing for both categories: for those born after the death of the previous child, as well as for those who supplemented a growing offspring. Nevertheless, there seems to be a relationship between child mortality and the length of birth-intervals since the latter decreases as the former increases, and once child mortality starts declining, birth-intervals go up (see Hebron, table 11). However, it is impossible to determine the causality; it could be that the shortening of intervals between births results from the attempt at compensating for lost offspring, but child mortality might also increase as a result of competition between children born shortly after each other.

Table 11: Spacing between births in Hopedale and Hebron (in months)

	HOPEDALE			HEBRON		
1st birth between	% of offspring surviving	birth interval after survival	birth interval after death	% of offspring surviving	birth interval after survival	birth interval after death
1800-1829	81	37	20			
1830-1859	62	33	16	75	38	16
1860-1889	42	32	16	53	33	15
1890-1919	42	31	13	66	31	17

There are indications that the shorter birth-spacing required some fundamental adjustments on the part of childbearing women. Hutton (n.d.:36) reports that around the turn of this century, breast-fed babies were weaned after two years or less which means a considerable reduction from the lactation period of three to four years observed in aboriginal Greenland (Cranz 1820:149). The food which supplemented mother's milk and replaced it after the baby had reached some two years must have been of European origin, such as flour and biscuits. Since these articles were first introduced in the centre of modernization, it makes sense that birth-spacing started decreasing earlier in Hopedale than in Okkak (see tables 8 and 9). From at least the end of the 19th century on, canned milk has been available and bottle-feeding became common:

> "Whereas in the old days the Eskimo mothers were always able to suckle their infants, nowadays bottle feeding is distressingly common" (Hutton n.d.:58).

Hutton implies in other contexts that breast-feeding was not always possible and observes that due to lack of proper hygiene, "the great majority of bottle-fed babies die during the first year" (p.60). Here, we come back to the link between a mother's health and her offspring's chances for survival. With the deterioration of health, new-born babies came into a difficult position, reflected in new causes of infant deaths, such as, 'lack of mother's milk', 'insufficient nourishment', or simply, 'illness of mother'.

These entries became common during the latter part of the 19th century, and were accompanied by another new cause of infant deaths, resulting from suffocation due to overlaying by sleeping mothers. In Hebron, the first case of suffocation in sleep was reported in 1858, followed by another one in 1885, and seven more until 1905 (it might have continued, but my material goes only as far as 1906). Helge Kleivan, using data from Greenland, commented on the possible relationship between crowded sleeping platforms in traditional houses and this cause of death, predicting a decrease in suffocations with the adoption of European-style beds (1966:38). However, since this cause of infant deaths increases rather than decreases with modernization, other factors must have played a role in Labrador. I suggest to link this suffocation of babies to the above mentioned shortage of adequate nourishment, culminating around the turn of this century. Rather than waiting for the baby to die, a mother might have decided to suffocate it consciously, reverting to the aboriginal custom of infanticide. However, unlike its traditional form, modern infanticide seems to have resulted from population pressure due to inadequate resources; therefore, the aboriginal preventive check on population was replaced by a positive one. Without hope for a better future, the deteriorating living conditions of the Inuit led to apathy:

> "Year by year it is becoming more difficult for the Esk. mothers to rear their babies, and it has become quite a common saying now, when a child is born, 'The child will probably die'" (P.A. 1918:305).

One feature of aboriginal Inuit society continued unchaged throughout much of the period under consideration. This is the season of births. Between 1800 and 1889, all three settlements were marked by an expressed seasonality of births, falling into late winter, and ranging from January until March, or from February until April, accounting for up to 40% of the total annual number of births. The most frequent single months of births were March with up to 16% of the annual number, and February with up to 13%. Fewest births occurred during the quarter between May and July, and June until August, accounting for only 10% of the annual number of births. The lowest single months were June, with 4%, followed by May with as little as 3% of the births during the 1830-1859 period in Hopedale.

Rather than relating the season of births to residential arrangements, I would emphasize the season of conceptions as the one consciously chosen. Assuming that an average pregnancy lasts for nine months, the season of most frequent conceptions falls into the summer months of June, July, and August. Since the summer was the season of abundance, warmth, and freedom from the constant supervision by the missionaries, it was probably most conducive to sexual activities. On the other hand, the lowest period of conceptions falls between September and November, a time of high mobility, the caribou hunt, and preparations for the winter. The period 1890-1919 signals the end of clearly expressed seasons of most and least numerous births.

Balance between births and deaths

The figures in table 12 refer to total numbers of births and deaths of Moravian Inuit within each period. Since internal migrations were frequent, and a particular woman might have produced children in more than one settlement, all such children were merged within the congregation of their mother. This means that when a woman from Hopedale bore children in Hopedale and Okkak, her offspring is classified as having been born in Hopedale. Similarly, although some of these persons might have died elsewhere, they appear in table 12 as having died in the place of their birth. The number of cases which are distorted in this way is not large enough to blur the differences between the three settlements.

The figures which refer to Hebron include not only the population which belonged to this congregation, but also persons from Rama (1871-1907) and Killinek (1904-1924). These three settlements are treated here as one unit, because their inhabitants lived in close contact and intermarried very frequently.

An important drawback of the material derives from my consideration of those people only who were born in Moravian settlements. This was necessary in order to preserve a diachronic perspective, following changing conditions in Labrador. Since conversions of adults continued throughout the 19th century, persons previously unexposed to Moravian influences would have distorted the picture. It should be kept in mind that the number of deaths

is deflated until the second period (1830-1859) in Hopedale and Okkak, and until the third period (1860-1889) in Hebron. This is due to the young population composition, from which older age-categories are excluded since they were not born in the settlements.

Table 12: Number of births and deaths, Hopedale, Okkak, Hebron

period	HOPEDALE				OKKAK				HEBRON			
	births		deaths		births		deaths		births		deaths	
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
1800-1829	94	100	27	14	112	112	35	33				
1830-1859	183	139	107	94	239	239	162	131	89	87	32	24
1860-1889	159	192	175	191	238	251	212	237	151	158	113	113
1890-1919	83	77	123	130	214	245	334	376	187	195	221	234
TOTAL	519	508	442	429	803	847	743	777	434	433	366	371

Although the outlined shortcomings of the material do not allow for making any general statements concerning the situation within the first fifty or so years, we can still detect interesting differences between the three settlements. It is visible that Hopedale's population started displaying a negative balance between births and deaths during the third period (1860-1889), whereas Okkak and Hebron had been saved this crisis until the period of frequent epidemics (1890-1919), culminating in the 1918-1919 influenza epidemic. In short, had it not been for the latter

disaster, Okkak's and Hebron's populations would have displayed a better demographic picture than the people in Hopedale. We can see that Hopedale experienced a negative balance between births and deaths at the same time as the diseases reached a peak there (figure 1) and the proportion of those persons reaching adulthood hit the bottom (tables 6 and 7). However, although the birth-rate started falling from that time on, the death-rate declined as well, and the proportion of people surviving childhood actually increased within the subsequent period (1890-1919). There can be no doubt about it that, had it not been for the influenza epidemic, Okkak's and Hebron's populations would have followed the same upward trend, but in a much better shape than Hopedale's inhabitants.

We have seen in this chapter that much of the period under consideration could be termed a demographic disaster: extremely high levels of infant and child mortality, very low proportions of aged people, falling fertility levels, and a precarious balance between births and deaths. Although we do not possess enough evidence concerning the demographic situation of aboriginal Labrador Inuit, it seems to me that the period 1800-1829 resembled the aboriginal situation very closely, with the exception of fertility levels prevailing then and those under aboriginal conditions. The missionaries did not have the means necessary for an effective treatment of aboriginal illnesses or new diseases, and the only positive contribution I can attribute to them was limited to the

care for incapacitated people. This implies that the life-expectations of adults might have been lower under aboriginal conditions. In general, however, the Moravian influence had detrimental consequences for the Inuit. Indoctrinated with an ideology which they understood only partially, the Inuit surrendered the control over their present lives in exchange for the promise of a better future given by eccentrics who were completely ignorant of the Inuit' culture. What this better future looked like has been shown in this chapter. The factors which contributed to the disastrous development of Inuit demography were: the discontinuation of aboriginal population controls, population concentration in settlements, introduction of new diseases, and the general Europeanization of material living conditions, especially with regard to diet. This last point accounts for the demographic differences between Hopedale at the centre of modernization, and Hebron and Okkak at its periphery. It has been shown that the missionaries were aware of the demographic problems and some of their causes. However, they did not take proper measures early enough and waited instead until the crisis started affecting not only people's bodies, but also their minds. Then, once the Inuit had accepted the Moravians' future-orientation (in a fatalistic way), the missionaries had little chance of succeeding in enforcing regulations concerned with saving the lives 'here and now'.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE FORMS

> "Marriage is an arrangement of God which He Himself founded and blessed.... When God united the first people whom He had formed with His own hand, He also gave them His blessing and spoke: Be fertile and multiply, and fill the earth"(Unitas Fratrum 1786).

During the study period of 1800-1919 most children were born to married women and marriage can be seen as a precondition for the reproduction of Moravian Inuit. To some extent, therefore, the institution of marriage had an impact on the demographic situation described in the previous chapter. But, marriage forms are also affected by demographic forces, such as survival ratios of males and females, or trends in life-expectations. Since a knowledge of the demographic conditions is a prerequisite for the understanding of marriage forms in Labrador, this chapter follows rather than preceeds that on demography.

The interrelationship between demographic forces and the characteristics of marriages is outlined in the section on age at marriage. This is followed by a consideration of the extent to which demographic and cultural factors contributed to the emergence of cousin marriages. The chapter is concluded with the section on inter-regional marriages, which also contains some data on inter-ethnic unions.

Age at marriage

The minimum age of marriage was set by the missionaries at 17 years for women and 21 years for men, with the understanding that all unions should be monogamous and last for the duration of a person's life. However, due to differences between the sexes regarding life-expectations and proportions of people reaching marriageable age, re-marriages were very common, and considerable age differences between spouses frequent. It has been said that polygyny was made possible by the higher rate of females reaching adulthood, and since this gap between the sexes did not disappear in Moravian times, polygyny actually continued in a new form of much more frequent re-marriages by males than by females.

Table 12 shows that the proportion of male to female births was close to 1:1 as a total. Considerable deviations did occur, such as the period 1830-1859, which found reflection in the affected persons' age at marriage, but of greater importance was the higher proportion of females reaching adulthood (table 6). Since males had to be at least 21 before being allowed to marry, the disproportion between the sexes widened even more. This can be seen in table 13 which indicates in absolute numbers how many males and females reached their minimal age for marriage in each community (this does not imply that they actually married).

Table 13: Number of marriageable persons

born between	HOPEDALE		OKKAK		HEBRON	
	males	females	m.	f.	m.	f.
1800-1829	59	75	65	75		
1830-1859	97	81	104	139	47	57
1860-1889	32	56	92	125	62	80
1890-1919	21	23	43	71	55	75

With the exception of Hopedale during the second period, the number of marriageable females always exceeded the number of males. One might be led into thinking that the proportion of spinsters must have been considerable, but, surprisingly such was rarely the case. The solution to this apparent paradox lies with the Moravians' frequent remarks about the high numbers of widows in the settlements. However, they never mention widowers. Admittedly, the survival rate of women was higher than that of men, but not sufficiently so as to explain the absence of widowers. What happened in reality was that widowers re-married much more frequently than widows did, encouraged by the large number of single, young females. This can be seen by observing tables 14-16 which display the frequencies of re-marriages for both sexes.

Table 14: Hopedale, number of marriages per person

sex	MALES			FEMALES		
1st marriage between	only one	only two	three or more	only one	only two	three or more
1800-1829	14 (61%)	8 (35%)	1 (4%)	17 (85%)	3 (5%)	
1830-1859	36 (68%)	11 (21%)	6 (11%)	46 (77%)	12 (20%)	2 (3%)
1860-1889	32 (58%)	14 (26%)	9 (16%)	47 (75%)	10 (16%)	6 (10%)
1890-1919	10 (50%)	8 (40%)	2 (10%)	20 (71%)	7 (25%)	1 (4%)

Table 15: Okkak, number of marriages per person

sex	MALES			FEMALES		
1st marriage between	only one	only two	three or more	only one	only two	three or more
1800-1829	very	small	sample	20 (91%)	2 (9%)	
1830-1859	51 (63%)	19 (24%)	11 (13%)	74 (77%)	17 (18%)	5 (5%)
1860-1889	40 (50%)	22 (28%)	18 (22%)	76 (71%)	25 (23%)	6 (6%)
1890-1919	57 (66%)	18 (21%)	11 (13%)	68 (67%)	24 (23%)	10 (10%

Table 16: Hebron, number of marriages per person

sex	MALES			FEMALES		
1st marriage between	only one	only two	three or more	only one	only two	three or more
1830-1859	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	10 (67%)	3 (20%)	2 (13%)
1860-1889	30 (58%)	16 (31%)	6 (11%)	55 (69%)	17 (21%)	8 (10%)
1890-1919	23 (56%)	13 (32%)	5 (12%)	49 (70%)	17 (24%)	4 (6%)

Although the material in tables 14-16 is a partial sample, containing those persons for whom adequate information was available, the proportions are accurate, and the greater frequency of male than female re-marriages is clearly visible. From this picture one would expect that many females who married for the first time had to take a considerably older man for husband. On the other hand, males marrying for the first time can be expected to have had no difficulty with finding a young wife. Analyzing the modal age at first marriage, I discovered that no significant changes occurred during the entire period under consideration. Most girls married between seventeen and twenty years of age, with higher rates for the lower than the higher value. Most men married between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-three, and as expected, the largest gap between males' and females' age at first marriage existed during the third period (1860-1889) in Hopedale. This must have resulted from the coming of age of people born between 1830 and 1859, which was the only period in which more males than females have reached marriageable age due to an unusually large number of male births (see tables 12 and 13).

However, when we look at the age differences which existed not between sexes as such but between spouses, we discover a trend toward growing discrepancies, shown in figure 5.

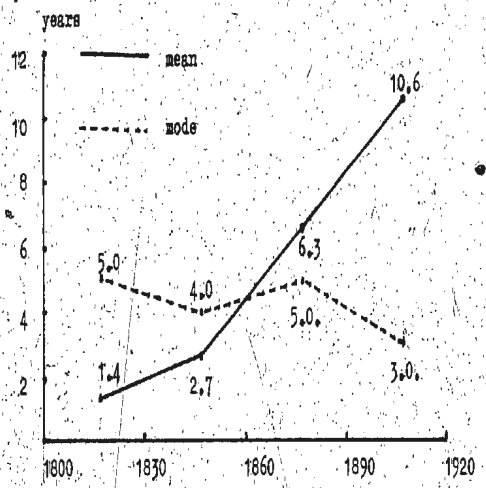


Figure 5: Modal and mean age-difference at first marriage, Hopedale women

Although the most prevalent age-difference between a wife and her first husband corresponds to the normal distribution expected from the differentiation of minimal ages at marriage for the sexes, the mean (i.e., average) difference rises sharply from 1.4 years to 10.6 years. This trend toward marrying a much older man, usually a widower, points to a shortage of younger males, or, to a preference for older husbands. Examining the modal age-difference between the spouses at a female's second marriage, I discovered that this time her husband was always younger! It seems to me that a preference for widows, usually burdened with children, on the part of young men could hardly be argued for, and I conclude instead that older males were preferred by young women, which implies that some young men had to marry a widow in order to marry at all.

It is understandable why widows were not preferred as spouses: their reproductive capacities were partially exhausted, they were less attractive, and often burdened with a different man's offspring. On the other hand, a widower's offspring would usually be raised by his deceased wife's relatives, and he might offer to a young girl greater existential security than a young man. This pattern might have been the same in aboriginal times, but, with the high mortality in young age and a stable or even rising life-expectation in older age experienced by the Moravian Inuit, an old husband might have become an even greater asset during the period under consideration.

Cousin marriages

There is no indication in the Moravians' writings that cousin marriages were practiced in aboriginal or post-contact times. It is only by the early 20th century that consanguinity is mentioned as a medical problem (Hutton n.d.:13). The only form of unions between relatives seems to have involved affines (Taylor 1974:67). Although these were noted in the contert of polygynous marriages, where a man would take his first wife's sister or daughter as his second wife, affinal unions continued even after the discontinuation of polygyny. They took the form of sororate and levirate and accounted for up to 10% of all re-marriages during Moravian times.

During my genealogical research, however, I was confronted with cousin marriages as a major marriage form. Their frequency can be assessed from tables 17-27.(6)

Table 17: Hopedale, proportion of cousins at 1st marriage

1st marriage between	number married	1st cousins	%	1.5 cousins	%	2nd cousins	%
1830-1859	113	6	5	4	4	0	
1860-1889	118	12	10	11	10	8	7
1890-1919	48	4	8	3	6	3	8

Table 18: Okkak, proportion of cousins at 1st marriage

1st marriage between	number married	1st cousins	%	1.5 cousins	%	2nd cousins	%
1830-1859	177	0		0		0	
1860-1889	187	4	2	0		2	1
1890-1919	188	0		6	3	12	6

Table 19: Hebron, proportion of cousins at 1st marriage

1st marriage between	number married	1st cousins	%	1.5 cousins	%	2nd cousins	%
1830-1859	25	0		0		0	
1860-1889	132	2	2	0		0	
1890-1919	111	4	4	4	4	4	4

Table 20: Hopedale, proportion of cousins at 2nd and 3rd marriage

1st marriage between	number married	1st cousins	%	1,5 cousins	%	2nd cousins	%
1860-1889	23 male 16 fem.	2 m	10	1 m	5	2 m 1 f	10 8
1890-1919	10 m 8 f	3 m	30	1 f	12	1 m 2 f	10 25

Table 21: Okkak, proportion of cousins at 2nd and 3rd marriage

1st marriage between	number married	1st cousins	%	1,5 cousins	%	2nd cousins	%
1860-1889	40 m 31 f	1 f	3	0		0	
1890-1919	29 m 34 f	5 m 4 f	17 12	4 m 2 f	15 6	1 m 4 f	3 12

We can see that a marked difference exists between the south (Hopedale) and the north (Okkak & Hebron) with regard to the period of first marriages between cousins and their intensity. This marriage form emerged earlier and more frequently in Hopedale than in Okkak or Hebron. It should be remembered that Hebron's population was originally composed of migrants from Okkak, and most of the cousins marrying in Hebron were connected via an ancestor from Okkak. Therefore, no sharp line can be drawn between these two settlements.

One drawback of these computations derives from incomplete

genealogies of many of the persons included in the total number of married people. Therefore, the proportions of cousin marriages presented in tables 17-21 are minimal ones. Should we discover that the genealogies of Hopedale's population are more complete than Okkak's and Hebron's, the difference between these communities with respect to the frequency of cousin marriages, would wane. The danger of underreporting can be eliminated by calculating the proportion of cousin marriages on the basis of that part of the population only for which adequately complete genealogies exist. This is done in table 22. Here, we find only those persons whose four grandparents are known. The frequency of first cousin marriages refers to this population.

Table 22: Real proportion of cousins at 1st marriage

1st marriage between	HOPEDALE		OKKAK		HEBRON	
	number married	% of 1st cousins	number married	% of 1st cousins	number married	% of 1st cousins
1830-1859	38	16	10	0	0	0
1860-1889	77	15	105	4	25	8
1890-1919	30	15	175	0	73	6

If we concentrate on first cousin marriages only, eliminating the possibility of ignorance of the genealogical links existing between second cousins, it becomes obvious that first cousin marriages were far more frequent in Hopedale than in Okkak or Hebron. This difference between the settlements can be explained in two distinct ways: a) if we view cousin marriages as a demographic necessity, we have to establish demographic differences between the settlements which accounted for a higher proportion of these unions in Hopedale than in Okkak and Hebron; b) we can also view cousin marriages as a cultural preference. Then, it must be shown that the conditions which were responsible for the emergence of this institution were more strongly expressed in Hopedale than in Okkak and Hebron.

The main exponents of the demographic explanation of cousin marriage in arctic societies are Nicholas Gubser (1965:65), Asen Balikci (1970:161), and Ernest Burch (1975). The last author's argument is the most explicit one, supported by historical data. It concerns the situation in Northwest Alaska and runs as follows:

> "The mixing of societal populations that occurred during the early transitional period (1850-1890) no doubt reduced the number of individuals connected on multiple bases..., but the increasingly sedentary life that came with the intermediate period (1890-1940) reversed this trend. Indeed, during the 1920's and 1930's, many villages became relatively endogamous.... This development was a function of the tendency for individuals to marry within rather than between communities. However, most villages were not large enough to sustain high levels of inbreeding for more than two or three generations without resulting in an unacceptably high level of first cousin marriages.

> Before the trend had reached its theoretical conclusion people began to seek mates elsewhere simply because of incest restrictions" (Burch 1975:57).

In other words, people had to marry first cousins because unrelated potential spouses were not available. When we look at table 22, some support for Burch's hypothesis could be found in my data. We can see that Hopedale's marriage-pool was smaller than Okkak's, and that the choice of a spouse was more limited. On the other hand, when we compare the period 1860-1889 in Hopedale and in Hebron, we discover that Hebron's proportion of cousin marriages was lower than that of Hopedale despite a much smaller marriage-pool in Hebron. Also, as we will see in the following section, all three Labrador settlements were marked by a growing degree of out-marriage from the first half of the 19th century on, which would have alleviated the necessity for cousin marriages.

The most powerful argument against the demographic hypothesis was supplied by the computer. I had the machine establish the number of unrelated, potential spouses for all those persons who had married a 1st, 1.5, or 2nd cousin. Although this number was smaller in Hopedale than in Okkak, even in the former settlement sufficient numbers of unrelated potential spouses were present to make cousin marriage appear a non-demographic arrangement. Interestingly, although the number of unrelated potential spouses decreased significantly during the period 1890-1919 in Hopedale, no increase in the proportion of first cousin marriages could be discovered.

On the contrary, once we examine the proportion of cousin marriages on an individual basis, without adhering to the periods of thirty years, we discover that the peak of these unions was reached in Hopedale in the 1870's and 1880's while the marriage pool was the largest in the history of this community! This speaks clearly against the demographic necessity - hypothesis.

Let me now consider the cultural explanation of cousin marriage. As far as I am aware, the only Inuit society for which preferrantial cousin marriage has been postulated are the St.Lawrence Islanders. However, this is not a culturally proper Inuit society since the population is a mixture of Siberian Inuit and Chukchi (Hughes 1960). All other instances of cousin marriage which might be interpreted as institutionalized (VanStone 1962; Chance 1966) are explained as a demographic necessity (Burch 1975).

Should cousin marriages have been preferred by Labrador Inuit above unions between unrelated partners, we can expect that as many people as possible will attempt to obtain a relative for spouse. Through computer analysis I was able to determine the number of first cousins available to each married person. Both potential spouses had to be single, resident in the same settlement, and close to the period's modal age at 1st marriage. In table 23, the number of potential unions between first cousins is reproduced, together with the percentage of actually contracted marriages of this type. The numbers in brackets refer to the factor of choice: how many choices did a person have on average.

Table 23: Potential and actual 1st cousin unions

1st marriage between	HOPEDALE		OKKAK		HEBRON	
	potential number	real %	potential number	real %	potential number	real %
1800–1829	3 (1.1)	0	0	0		
1830–1859	23 (3.8)	12	13 (2.4)	0	0	0
1860–1889	20 (2.8)	30	42 (2.7)	5	13 (3.0)	8
1890–1919	9 (1.6)	22	36 (2.6)	0	14 (2.0)	14

We see again that Hopedale's population actualized its potential for first cousin marriage to a much larger extent that the inhabitants of Okkak and Hebron. It is interesting to notice that although the factor of choice diminished between the second and the third period, the proportion of cousin marriages increased. All of this points to the period of 1860–1889 as an important dividing point in the history of Hopedale.

It has been argued in preceding sections of this study that the mid-19th century was the beginning of a new era for Hopedale. With the impact of Settlers and Newfoundland fishermen, the Inuit were drawn into a position of commodity producers, working no longer for their own subsistence only but for an outside market as well. The economic individualization of fox-trapping and cod fishing was related to the transition from multi-family to single-

family dwellings, which ruptured traditional bonds of cooperation. At the same time, the Inuit started experiencing the effects of modernization on their health. I have argued that for the inhabitants of Hopedale, the period 1860-1889 constituted the culmination of the crisis. This means that at a time when the importance of kinship was being reduced due to economic changes, there was a growing need for assistance at the personal level in times of epidemics, illness, and similar situations. However, the one person who fulfills the function of kin in an individualistic society - the spouse, could not be depended on entirely since the average person had to count on losing his/her spouse before the children had reached an age of economic supporters. In such a situation the choice of a cousin as spouse made good sense since it counteracted the tendency toward isolation without being incompatible with the social norms emerging with new economic forms. Once the sharing of common quarters between siblings and their families became unfeasible due to the introduction of new types of housing and new types of economic arrangements, the traditional sibling unity may have been preserved by means of cousin marriage. Although the siblings no longer lived together, thei children did.

If we accept this explanation concerning cousin marriage as an institution, the difference between Hopedale and Okkak and Hebron can easily be understood. We have seen that the north

had much less contact with the European culture of the Settlers, and the traditional bonds of kinship did not have to be supplemented by cousin marriage since the economic individualization occurred later and to a lesser extent than in Hopedale. The fact that cousin marriage was more frequently practiced in Hebron than in Okkak stems from cultural factors as well. It was in Hebron, the frontier community, where the impact of the heathens continued being felt by the local Moravian Inuit. We have seen that Hebron was originally founded by Okkak's inhabitants, and, interestingly, almost all the cousin marriages contracted in Hebron involved the descendants of these migrants from Okkak. Since many of the new converts came from as far away as the Koksoak River and Ungava Bay, considerable cultural differences must have existed within Hebron. Cousin marriage might have been a suitable way of preserving unity between the original Moravian Inuit.

Obviously, I subscribe to the cultural explanation of cousin marriage in Labrador. Although demographic factors might have played an additional role as described above for Hopedale, they were clearly not sufficient to cause the emergence of this marriage form. I cannot comment on possible terminological changes in 19th century Labrador Inuit society which might have had some influence (Hallowell 1937). However, I judge such a possibility very unlikely since terminology would have changed in all three settlements. The main causative factor must have been the economic change undergone by the inhabitants of Hopedale. This conclusion provides

further evidence that the path followed by Marx, Lowie, and Murdock is a fruitful one (Murdock 1949:137).

Inter-regional marriages

Throughout this study I have been advocating a regional approach to northern Labrador, arguing that important cultural differences divided the area into a southern (Hopedale and Nain) and a northern region (Okkak and Hebron). This regional division is observeable in the distribution of marriages involving spouses from different communities. However, since the cultural distance between, for example, Hopedale and Hebron coincided with geographical distance, it is impossible to say which of the two had a greater importance in shaping the areas of most and least frequent inter-regional marriages. Ignoring for the moment the more common community-endogamous marriages, the inter-regional frequencies were as follows:

Hopedale males married females from Nain, Okkak and Hebron.
Hopedale females married males from Nain, and very few others.
Okkak males married females from Hebron almost exclusively.
Okkak females married males from Nain and Hebron.
Hebron males married females from Okkak and Rama
Hebron females married males from Okkak, Nain, Rama and Hopedale.

We can see that it was apparently easier for the men from Hopedale to marry women from Okkak and Hebron than it was for the men from the northern settlements to marry women from Hopedale. The main reason for this imbalance was, I think, the competition

for women between Inuit and Settler males in Hopedale and Nain. We have seen that migrations into the Settler territory were an important factor in times of scarcity, and there are indications that the shortage of females experienced by the early Settlers was used by the Inuit who tried to extend their family networks to include Settlers. From Nain, two inter-ethnic, pre-arranged marriages were reported within a single year:

> "S. went to Hopedale, and married his youngest daughter to a sailor in the South. M. left us, having married his daughter to a Frenchman...." (P.A. 1833:450).

Although the missionaries were opposed to these unions, they indirectly promoted them through their strict church discipline. It implied the withdrawal of material support and even forced removal of a person from his or her settlement. Such a person usually ended up living with the Settlers:

> "One of the baptized, but who had been some time excluded, conducted herself in so improper a manner, that we were obliged to send her away to Kippokak [Settler territory]" (P.A. 1827:250).

Since Inuit females were more likely to stay with the Settlers on a permanent basis (as spouses) than Inuit males, a larger proportion of men than women had to seek spouses in the northern settlements. The frequency of out-marriages broken down according to sex is reproduced in table 24.

Table 24: Proportion of out-marriages according to sex

1st marriage between	HOPEDALE sample m.	f.	% m.	f.	OKKAK sample m.	f.	% m.	f.	HEBRON sample m.	f.	% m.	f.
1830-1859	53	60	20	12	81	96	7	10	10	15	20	15
1860-1889	55	63	25	14	80	107	10	17	52	80	10	25
1890-1919	20	28	40	33	86	102	21	20	41	70	30	50

The first period 1800-1829 is not included in the table because the majority of people marrying at that time could not yet be classified as Moravian Inuit, being composed from converts arriving from different parts of Labrador. Therefore, little could be gained from speaking of 'out-marriage' or 'in-marriage' as an indicator of a sense of belonging to a specific community. At least fifty percent of these early marriages involved spouses from different mission stations. During the second period (1830-1859), the majority of marriages was contracted between partners from the same community, but the proportion decreased steadily with the effect of demographic constraints described in previous sections of this chapter. We can see that the greatest proportion of in-marriages occurred in Okkak, undoubtedly due to its size which allowed for a better choice of one's future spouse.

This chapter on marriage forms underlined the regional differences in northern Labrador. These stemmed from demographic factors,

such as a settlement's size of the marriage-pool, and from cultural factors, such as the introduction of a new mode of subsistence. Both resulted in different degrees of inter-regional and cousin marriages found in the south and the north. However, one major conclusion applies to all Moravian settlements in Labrador. The Inuit were not willing to accept the missionaries' view of marriage as an arrangement of God, and consequently, "kinship of blood" was not replaced by "kinship of spirit" (Hiller 1971:87). Instead, personal rather than social (i.e., Moravian) considerations played the more important role in choosing a spouse. This has been shown at the example of young girls' preference for older males and the marriage strategy vis-a-vis the Settlers. As soon as the Inuit kinship principle was threatened as the main unifying element of Labrador Inuit society, a counteracting mechanism, such as cousin marriage, emerged and strengthened the bonds between kinsmen.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

After having reviewed more than one hundred years of the demographic history of the Labrador Inuit, a number of key issues can be identified which played an important part in shaping the demographic condition of the Inuit. Foremostly, the Moravians' ignorance of the relationship between culture and demography had a far reaching effect on the course of history in Labrador: the discontinuation of aboriginal population controls (infanticide, abandonment of the aged and infirm, abstinence from intercourse, polygyny and wife-exchange) resulted in overpopulation, aggrevated by the concentration of the population in a few settlements. We have seen that this process was caused by the nature of the culture introduced by the missionaries: civilization implies the abandonment of kinship as the main principle of solidarity in primitive societies in favour of social contract based on solidarity with an abstract entity, such as God. Unfortunately, the characteristics of this new solidarity were interpreted by members of a denomination which placed much more emphasis on feeling than understanding. Hence, the precise nature of their new basis for solidarity never became clear to the Inuit. They expected something in return for accepting God (i.e., the missionaries) as a new super-ego; instead of material support, absolutely essential given the increased density of the population, they received spiritual support which enabled them to cope with, but not overcome material (i.e., physical) hardships. The Moravians' unwillingness

to provide economic and medical support stemmed from their ideology which accentuated suffering as the pre-condition for salvation.

Given these material constraints created by the introduction of a new culture, the lack of alternatives (except for merging with the Settlers), and the rapid pace of economic acculturation, the Moravian Inuit had to develop a new basis for their adaptation to the environment. It seems to me that two important elements were the corner-stones of this Moravian Inuit culture: fatalism and kinship. It is interesting that these elements were used at two different levels: fatalism marked the interaction between the Inuit and the Moravians, kinship continued as the basis for Inuit-Inuit relations.

Fatalism emerged as a response to the Moravians' itroduction of a future-oriented ideology, which the Inuit interpreted in a different way than expected by the missionaries. They knew that they were supposed to prefer the 'hereafter' above the 'here and now', and fatalism was certainly the most extreme way of showing to the missionaries that they indeed did. I think that fatalism has remained a major component of Labrador Inuit culture until the present time. Today, as in the past, fatalism expresses the Inuit' awareness of expectations formulated by agents of change, and their inability to live up to these expectations.

Beside the expectations imposed from the outside, Labrador Inuit continued adhering to their traditional expectations of each other. Foremostly, people had to show solidarity with their kinsmen. We have seen how cousin marriage helped to maintain this ideal in situations where the links between relatives (especially brothers) threatened to be disrupted by new economic arrangements in Hopedale and the influx of new converts in Hebron. This continuation of the traditional concern for the 'here and now', of which marriage arrangements based on worldly rather than spiritual considerations are an important indicator, is reported from contemporary Labrador as well (Ben-Dor 1966). As far as the historical evidence is concerned, there can be no doubt that the present-orientation of the Inuit was a characteristic acquired prior to the arrival of the missionaries, and I dispute any of the hypotheses linking this characteristic with Moravian influence (Kleivan 1966:111; Richling 1978:486).

The Labrador Inuit have survived some two hundred years of exposure to the western world, and one cannot avoid speculating about their fate had they not been acculturated by the Moravians, but by another agent of change. I think, that the example of Greenland shows that a sensitive protection of minorities is not the invention of anthropologists. We know from Dege (1965:33-35) that the Danish government exercised a controlling function in West Greenland as early as the beginning

of the 19th century. This involved a selective trading policy, provision of medical services, and regulations against the concentration of the population in a few large settlements. This involvement of the government contributed to a much more favourable demographic history of the Greenlanders than that of the Labrador Inuit. Although we do not possess the equivalent of the demographic material presented here, Børresen's research shows that life-expectations of the Greenlanders have been rising since the beginning of the 19th century (1936). This undoubtedly caused the increase in the size of the population reported by Dege (1965) and Nørregaard and Schmidt (1975).

However, neither the British colonial office, nor the Newfoundland government, expressed any interest in Labrador's population. Satisfied with the Moravians' pacifying function, the officials in St.John's were quite happy to concentrate on the extraction of natural resources from Labrador waters, leaving the care for the people over to the Moravian mission. We have seen that the missionaries were aware of the demographic disaster occurring in their settlements. They interpreted correctly some of its causes, such as the Europeanization of the diet. However, since the missionaries had waited for too long before starting to promote the material well-being of the Inuit, they were confronted with the natives' unwillingness

to co-operate. Having acquired the Moravian belief in Providence, Moravian Inuit were not likely to assume responsibility which they had to surrender to the missionaries in earlier years. Had the government in St.John's been interested in contributing to the physical survival of the Inuit, they could have introduced obligatory inoculation against diseases, as well as keep a critical eye on the Moravians' activities. However, the government was clearly not interested in the people of Labrador.

That the hardship encountered by the Labrador Inuit during their civilizing process was not inevitable is borne out by my data on the period after the year 1919. From the 1920's on, infant mortality started decreasing, life-expectations started increasing, and fertlity levels began rising again. The single most important factor responsible for this favourable demographic development was, in my opinion, the dispersion of the population following the take over of the trade in northern Labrador by the Hudson's Bay Company (Kleivan 1966:130). Comparing the number of births occurring within and outside the settlements, I discovered that around 50% more children were born outside the settlements from the 1920's on. Undoubtedly, this was a result of the Company's emphasis on trapping.

Unfortunately, too often we have to witness that history repeats itself. Rather than continuing the policy of population dispersion initiated by the H.B.C., recent Newfoundland

governments have adopted the strategy of the early Moravians. In order to provide essential services, most of the Inuit population has been concentrated within three settlements, each of them too large to allow for the continuation of hunting and fishing activities on a large scale. This settlement policy has resulted in a growing material dependency of the Inuit on the government. Combined with the population explosion caused by declining mortality, this settlement policy has created a serious unemployment problem, which will continue for many years. Just like the Moravians, the government has created a dependency in Labrador. Whether this dependency is of material or spiritual nature is of little importance. What is important is the passive role played by the Inuit in shaping their own future. Just as the missionaries decided for them that they had to be brought to Jesus, contemporary officials decide for the Inuit that they have to be brought near television, fish and chips, and unemployment. The content changes, but the structure does not. If history really repeats itself, government officials might very soon express their astonishment at the Inuit' unwillingness to give up their unemployment cheques.

NOTES

(1) The task was made even more difficult by the poor quality of the copies of the church books which I had access to. These microfilms and photographs are stored in the library of Memorial University of Newfoundland. The originals are in archives of the Moravian Church in Labrador and Bethlehem, Pa. Due to this limitation, I spent a full year with reading these handwritten sources and couldn't afford a serious study of the diaries kept by the missionaries in Labrador. I made no systematical use of this material, but I am certain that it contains much data directly relevant to the topics discussed in this thesis. Dr. Garth Taylor has been studying the diaries for more than a decade (personal communication), and I know that some of my claims regarding the motivation of the missionaries in Labrador depend on the result of his research.

(2) The document in question originated very probably in the 1770's. The passage reads:

> "We know moreover that the unbelievers have several bad habits. When they have sick people they let...(?) to heal them by witchcraft. When they have caught a seal, they sprinkle it with water. When they have caught a whale, they build a festival house and sin day and night. They abstain from intercourse and many more things like that."

It should be underlined that this document was written by Labrador missionaries and contained advice given to converts.

Some of the locally (i.e., Labrador Mission) issued regulations were later modified in the comprehensive 'Instruction to be used for the introduction of newly married couples in our heathen congregations' issued in Herrnhut, in 1786. Regarding the point of sexual abstinence, we learn from the latter document:

> "Wenn unsere Brüder und Schwestern aus den Heiden dann ihre Ehe vor dem Angesichte des Herren führen, so findet man nicht ratsam, in Absicht der Tage und Zeit zu ihrer ehelichen Vereinigung etwas entgegensetztes zu bestimmen..., noch dass sie sich so lange ihrer ehelichen Beiwohnung enthalten sollten, als die Frau ihr Kind stillt, eine Regel vorzuschieben" (Unitas Fratrum 1786:36 996-37 007).

This passage limits the freedom of the missionaries to regulate <u>when</u> the converts should engage in sexual intercourse. Of great significance is the fact that the converts should be allowed to abstain from intercourse during the lactation period. This permission is contradicted in the further text of this document, in the passage referring to the Inuit (see main text, p.29). Probably, this inconsistency is due to the Moravians' ethnocentrism who could not understand that the Inuit had to breastfeed their offspring for at least three years. Obviously, the fact that Labrador Inuit did abstain from sexual intercourse is not affected by this inconsistency in Moravian regulations.

(3) It has been shown that the missionaries were not equipped for the medical situation they were facing in Labrador.

This passage shows that they actually declined offers of medical help. Why? Given the ideological background of the Moravians, I strongly suspect that two motives played the most important part: a) by accepting help from the outside they would have eroded their position of omnipotentiality vis-a-vis the Inuit; b) they were not interested in administering proper health care (unlike the Danes in Greenland who were facing the same problems much more effectively - see pp.128-129), because they discovered that it was only in times of illness that the Inuit exhibited Moravian character,i.e., the emphasis on spiritual rather than physical survival. I explained this point on pp. 52-53 and add here another quotation from a missionary letter from Nain:

> "It is indeed both cheering and edifying to attend our poor Esquimaux on their sick beds, to witness how completely they are disengaged from earthly concerns, and even from anxious cares about their children, and how earnestly they desire to depart and to be with Christ. On these occasions we can see what the blood of Jesus can effect on the hearts of the rudest and most depraved heathen, men who formerly trembled at the thought of death..."(P.A. 1831:64).

There is no question about it that the missionaries spent long hours caring for the sick. It was during these sessions that the missionaries examined the results of their spiritual labours. Since the process of dying was usually accompanied by confessions, it served as a good means for indoctrination of the congregation. For this reason, most people were surrounded and watched by members of the congregation during their last hours of life. This is the often mentioned 'edifying effect.'

(4) Freitag gives these quantities in 'Zentner'; this measure can apply equally to fifty kilograms as to one hundred kilograms (i.e., 'metric Zentner'). My computations are based on the assumption that Freitag was using the fifty kilograms Zentner.

(5) Traditionally, shamans were entrusted with health care. We have seen on pp. 39-40 that their treatment of the sick was often very effective, and Cranz shows a great deal of respect for the results achieved by shamans (1820:214) and for these practitioners of traditional science themselves:

> "Those sensible individuals who are best entitled to the name of wise-men, or Angekoks,...have, either from the instructions of their fathers, or from their own observation and long experience, acquired a useful knowledge of nature, which enables them to give a pretty confident opinion, to such as consult them on the state of the weather, and the success of their fishery. They discover equal sagacity in their treatment of the sick, whose spirits they keep up by charms and amulets, while, as long as they have any hopes of recovery, they prescribe a judicious regimen. Their unblamable deportment and superior intelligence, have made them the oracles of their countrymen, and they may be deservedly considered as the physicians, philosophers, and moralists of Greenland" (pp.196-7).

Due to the prestige enjoyed by shamans among the Inuit they posed a threat to the Moravian efforts at converting the natives to Christianity. Therefore, the missionaries tried all means in order to erode the powerfull position of the shamans (Kleivan 1966:69-74). Shamanistic sessions were forbidden, but for some time at least, some of the Inuit resorted to their traditional health care in secret:

"(Several persons) had used heathenish incantations...for the purpose of hastening the recovery of Isaac...from an alarming and imperfectly understood illness..."(P.A. 1841:20).

(6) I could not discover any preference for particular kinds of cousins. By the term first cousin I mean a person who shares with ego at least one biological grandparent. Seconds cousins share at least one biological great-grandparent. The term 1.5 cousin implies that one of the partner's parents was the sibling of the other partner's grandparent.

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APPENDIX

(Rev. Martin, "Hebron annual report, July 1918 - July 1919")

"On the 31st of December, 1917, there were 222 congregation members, distributed over four locations: Napartok, Hebron, Saglek and Rama. Now, there are 75 persons left, seven of these come from Okkak.

On the 27th of October, 1918, the 'Harmony' arrived from Newfoundland. As soon as we boarded the ship, its captain asked us to warn our people to be careful since a contagious disease had affected some of the crew in Newfoundland. We asked our people not to enter the crew's quarters, but some of them did not follow this advice. The vessel left for Saglek, came back, and left again on the 4th of November. This day already some people felt ill. Within 2-3 days, all the inhabitants were sick. In the beginning, however, we were unaware of the horrible things to come, because the illness resembled the normal influenza, and the applied medicine seemed to be effective. After the death of a child on the 7th of November, followed by the unexpected departures of a number of adults on the 9th and 10th of November, we realized the gravity of the situation....

The misery in the houses was horrible. Since our people had come to the station for temporary occupation only, many were lacking the necessary equipment. Frequently, 8-10 patients were sharing a small earth-shack, pressed together, without adequate blankets. Nobody was able to empty the dirty utensils, and the smell in the houses was terrible. Especially disturbing was the lack of drinking water since nobody was able to fetch it and there was little snow around the houses. During a visit, I met a boy in front of a house, hardly able to stand on his feet, his face red with fever. His breathing was heavy and with tears in his eyes, he hollered at me: 'kelerpogut' - 'we are dying!'. He and his fellow persons in the house could be helped with the water I fetched for them, but how many fearful scenes took place in other houses which we knew little about?! It is a long distance to get water here in Hebron, and, as much as I tried to help, it was impossible to supply everyone.

The plague expressed itself in many different symptoms. Some patients were having difficulty with breathing and ware unable to utter a sensible word. Others had no particular pains, but complained of tiredness and sleepines. Others again, suffered from excrutiating pains in their side which ceased only a short while before the end. In most cases death occurred surprisingly quickly. Sometimes, I witnessed it myself. I remember a young patient whose house I visited. He stood up to get some water from the bucket and I wrapped him up into a blanket. Shortly thereafter, I saw him being carried out of the house. The position in which the corpses were found was another indicator of the

quick death. In one case, the corpse of a woman was kneeling before the stove, holding a pot and a spoon in its hands as to prepare a meal. The corpse of a man was lying next to the stove in which the man had been making fire.

At the time of 'Harmony's' departure, there were 100 persons in the settlement. Within one week, 85 were dead,.... We all expected to die, and many fearful nights I faced the question whether I would be able to rise from my bed in the morning. We were at God's mercy. He left a small number of survivors: one man, four women, a young girl, and eight children.

The corpses of the deceased ones were stored in the morgue, but soon we had to use our wooden shack. Within two days, however, it became impossible to haul the corpses out of the houses, since nobody was able to give us help. In some houses, all the occupants were dead, while in others, 2-3 persons were still surviving. These were trying to find refuge in houses still inhabited. When one of these people died, the corpse was stored in an uninhabited house. Once the number of survivors had declined substantially, they all moved into one large dwelling. Once I entered a house which contained the corpses of three adults. The mother was sitting on the bed, holding two infants in her arms, with her seven years old daughter sitting next to her. The children were still alive, but for how long had they been in this situation?....

It was striking to observe, how quickly the corpses deteriorated. Often, the faces blackened, and the arms and the legs displayed large black spots.

The huge number of dogs made the situation even worse. Nobody was feeding them, and they became wild and dangerous, breaking through the windows and doors, and feeding on the corpses..... They were a threat to the survivors as well, and an elderly man, trying to escape into another house, was attacked and killed by them....

So far I have been talking about the material conditions only, but now, I would like to describe the impact of this plague upon people's spirit. I have heard from many of them that they viewed this disease as God's punishment of their sins: 'We had His word, but we didn't want to listen, didn't want to bow. Now, the Lord is breaking us.' Such expressions were very frequent, and many became frightened and made confessions. Oh, what a collection of sins did one gain insight into! It was known to me that the morality of the Hebron people was not particularly good, but I had no idea that it was as bad as the confessions revealed. I could not bar the thought that the sins of Sodoma could not have been worse....

One would think that after such a terrible plague, every soul would have asked God for forgiveness, but, unfortunately, this has not been the case. Some confessions have shown that just at this time, the healthy as well as the sick persons were

practicing the sin of flesh. Also, we saw it with sorrow that those people whose help we depended upon with many tasks, were making use of the conditions for demanding shameless rewards. Everything the Lord had told them, as well as our assistance during the epidemic, seemed to be forgotten. Often, our hearts were getting bitter." (Martin 1919:49 341 ff., my translation).