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THE EAST GREENLANDERS
POSSIBILITIES OF EXISTENCE, THEIR
PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

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WITH 33 FIGURES IN THE TEXT AND ONE PLATE

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FOREWORD

Half a century has elapsed since the last remains of the Eskimo population of East Greenland, at one time rather considerable in numbers, were made to take the immense and dangerous leap from a stone age stage to an existence which, although dependent upon external conditions, was however safeguarded by certain cultural elements. By means of these cultural elements the declining Eskimo community was supplied with such necessities, as were estimated important for its existence and growth during the transition period, until the object—a European hunter's culture—was attained.

Throughout the years the Greenland monopoly, working according to directions given by the Danish Government, has made it possible to exclude all influence from without, and so to give the small and weakened Eskimo community the rest and possibilities of development, which were absolutely necessary in order to make it possible for it to adapt itself to the new conditions resulting from the beginning of the colonization in 1894.

As the population's surplus production of hunting products and its total consumption of imported articles of food, clothing and utensils have passed through the East Greenland stores, which were established by the Administration of Greenland, the accounts of the settlements give a clear picture of all essential changes in production and consumption. By means of this, as it seems, unique material it has been possible, step by step, to follow the wanderings of a primitive people from the stage of complete self-dependence to the form of existence, which according to the Danish point of view is best suited to safeguard a primitive Greenland community.

The object of the following pages is to elucidate this development and, within the various fields, to investigate its material influence on community and individual alike.

This has, however, only been made possible by access to the comprehensive archives of the Administration of Greenland, such as reports of various kinds and all the accounts of the east coast settlements. For

this opportunity we beg to thank the director of the Administration of Greenland, Mr. KNUD OLDENDOW, who has kindly placed all accounts etc. at our disposal, so as to enable us to make more universally known such problems, as may be of importance for the future of the population of East Greenland, and possibly also for those, who are interested in solving the problems arising out of the transition of primitive peoples to a cultural stage under the influence of a civilized nation.

The facts given in the following have, for the greater part, been discussed with Mr. JOHAN PETERSEN, whose personal knowledge of the East Greenlanders is greater than that of anyone else. As a member of Gustav Holm's umiak-expedition in 1883, and as the manager of the Angmagssalik settlement during the first twenty years of its existence, he has thoroughly known the East Greenlanders, both before and after the Danish intervention. Mr. JOHAN PETERSEN has read the manuscript and supplied various important items of information, and we thank him cordially for the work done and for his interest in the preliminaries of this book.

Mr. MAGNUS JENSEN, a later administrator of the Angmagssalik settlement, has also read the manuscript, and we have to thank him for several valuable suggestions.

We further owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. E. FRIIS-NIELSEN, assistant in the Administration of Greenland, and Mr. ARNE HANSEN for the patience, with which they have brought together a large material, based upon the accounts of the settlements, and revised all calculations. And finally we beg to thank Mrs. ASLAUG MØLLER M.A. for the great interest shown in the translation of this book. It is to be hoped that it may acquaint the greater world, which deals with colonial problems of very far-reaching importance, both for the home country and colonies, with the efforts of a small country, which irrespective of selfish interests has spent money and labour in investigating and colonizing a desert stretch of coast, where nothing of value for the home country is to be obtained, but where a greatly weakened primeval tribe has been saved from extinction and been given new living conditions and hopes for the future.

Copenhagen, October 1943.

LIVING CONDITIONS IN EAST GREENLAND IN PRE-HISTORIC TIMES

The coasts of East Greenland have presumably, judging by archaeological investigations, been inhabited by Eskimos from about the time of the 14th century. Recent investigations of the remains of the now partly extinct people have supplied information as to their mode of life and doings, so that it is possible, with a fair degree of certainty, to reconstruct the wanderings of the primeval tribe along the widely extended coasts and their living conditions in the dim past.

On the strength of these investigations Dr. THERKEL MATHIASSEN¹⁾ considers himself justified in assuming that the immigration of the Eskimos to East Greenland took place both by way of the north and south of the country, that the migration of the Eskimos along the south coast to East Greenland began during the 14th century, and that this migration was of essentially greater proportions than that along the north coast.

The immigration and settlement on the coasts of East Greenland have presumably taken place successively, the Eskimos having been obliged to look for new possibilities of hunting, when the food supply of the population was made difficult by the growth of the latter or by the falling-off of hunting conditions. The inborn desire of the Eskimos to change their abode, and to undertake longer or shorter journeys has presumably also contributed to make the spreading along the coasts so comparatively rapid, as the case has been.

In the Angmagssalik district of the present day the Eskimos immigrating from the south found the first fairly large East Greenland area, with such hunting and living conditions as might tempt them to make a stay of some duration. But towards the end of the 15th century a number of the immigrated Eskimos continued their postponed wanderings along the coast and reached the next larger area of habitation, Kangerdlugssuaq.

¹⁾ THERKEL MATHIASSEN, Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimos, M. o. Gr. 92, 4; p. 61.

From Kangerdlugssuaq and northwards along the some 400 km long and very impassable coast as far as Scoresby Sound, no remains have been found of pre-historic Eskimos; but at Scoresby Sound there are again traces of a comparatively large and lengthy settlement in times past.

From Scoresby Sound, which from the point of view of archaeology is the least investigated of the formerly inhabited areas of East Greenland, the Eskimos continued towards north and found comparatively good living conditions in the area of Franz Josephs Fjord, but more particularly on the southern side of Clavering Island.

About the 16th century the forerunners of the Eskimos coming from the south reached the region of Danmark Havn, where they met another tribe of Eskimos, who had immigrated by way of the north of Greenland.

These two Eskimo tribes, who met in about 76° lat. N., came from a common starting point in West Greenland, the Thule district, but had developed differently during the centuries spent under extremely different living and hunting conditions: The Eskimos, who had immigrated by way of the north of Greenland, where ice travelling and ice hunting were the rule, had become experts in sledging and high-arctic hunting, whereas the Eskimos, who came from the south and for centuries had worked along the comparatively ice-free coasts of West Greenland, had developed to perfection sea travelling by means of umiaks and kayaks and were the incontestable masters of the difficult art of sea hunting.

The Eskimos coming from the south carried the West Greenland Inugsuq culture to East Greenland as far as the region round Danmark Havn, where they met the Cape York culture, which the Eskimos travelling from the north had brought from their common native country. These two cultures gradually coalesced, and in this manner a typical Northeast Greenland form of culture arose, containing the elements of the two Eskimo cultures, which were best suited to the given conditions of life.

This Northeast Greenland Eskimo culture gradually spread towards the south from the region of Danmark Havn via Clavering Island to the large system of fjords between Franz Josephs Fjord and Kong Oscars Fjord (Davy Sound), where the settlements are dated at about the 15th and 16th centuries. The first traces of the typical Northeast Greenland form of culture may, however, be found in culture deposits, which Helge Larsen dates from the 17th, perhaps from the latter part of the 16th century.

As yet nothing is known as to whether the typical Northeast Greenland form of Eskimo culture has extended as far southwards as Scoresby Sound, but it has not extended as far as Kangerdlugssuaq¹).

¹)HELGE LARSEN. Dødemandsbugten, An Eskimo Settlement on Clavering Island, M. o. Gr. 102, 1; p. 167.

It seems as if the first migration round the south of the country has been succeeded by a somewhat later migration, which has left its traces along the whole of the coast, presumably as far as Danmark Havn, but at any rate as far as Clavering Island.

About 1700 it is supposed that a third and larger collective migration has taken place from West Greenland to Angmagssalik, whence it is possible to follow its traces farther north, until they are lost somewhat south of Kangerdlugssuaq¹).

These successive migrations and the growth of the East Greenland Eskimo tribes gradually created certain larger centres of habitation, where hunting conditions were good and conditions of life so tolerable, that Eskimos may be presumed to have lived there for generations. The size of the population at that time is unknown, and the only indication of it which, however, is rather uncertain, is the number of house ruins in the districts in question.

The more southerly part of the coast of East Greenland from Prins Christians Sound and northwards as far as Pikiutdleq (about 65° lat. N.) has formed an extensive inhabited area, where 382 house ruins have been counted; they are more particularly found in the following localities:

Lindenows Fjord	34	house	ruins
Auarkat	49	—	—
Anoretoq	32	—	—
Tingmiarmiut	53	—	—
Igluluarsuk	68	—	—
Pikiutdleq	31	—	—

The largest collective settlement in East Greenland was situated between the great fjords of Sermilik and Sermiligaq, that is the greater part of the present Angmagssalik district. In this area 230 house ruins have been counted, to which must further be added the many ruins which are not counted in detail, but which are to be found in the some twenty settlements situated in Kangerdlugssuatsiaq (66° lat. N.). With the addition of these, the total figure of house ruins found in the present Angmagssalik district would increase considerably, and in any case presumably become as high as about 250—300 all told.

These house ruins are of different types, from the oldest small and round one-family houses, presumably with an average of 5—6 inmates, via the larger square houses of the 17th century with accommodation for some more inmates, to the large square houses of the 18th and 19th

¹) THERKEL MATHIASSEN, M. o. Gr. 92, 4; p. 21.

centuries, not rarely accommodating as many as 30—40 individuals, in a few cases with even as many as some fifty individuals in one house.

It is, however, impossible from the number of houses to conclude anything as to the size of the population of the district in question, as all the houses cannot be presumed to have been inhabited at the same time.

The coast from the Angmagssalik district and somewhat farther north has only been sparsely inhabited, but in the Kangerdlugssuaq area in about 68°10' lat. N., where hunting and living conditions are very good within a limited area, there is again a larger collective settlement, some hundred years old and comprising about thirty house ruins.

From the Kangerdlugssuaq region and northwards as far as Turner Sound in 69°40' lat. N. the migrating tribes have not left the least permanent traces, or at any rate such have not been found up to the present time. Still, the Eskimos must in not inconsiderable numbers have traversed this about 400 km long coast stretch in order to get as far as the more northerly East Greenland coast with its comparatively large settlement.

It is most improbable that the Eskimos should have been able to traverse this long, and as a rule ice-filled coast stretch without wintering once or twice, and both living and hunting conditions are in several places as good as in other regions, where the Eskimos have lived for a number of years. According to a more recent theory¹⁾ it may at some future time presumably be found that the Eskimos have, as a matter of fact, settled and lived along this coast stretch, but that their houses—as is also the case in the eastern part of the Kangerdlugssuaq area—have been built in high and almost inaccessible localities, from which there was a wide view, and where there was little chance of unexpected attacks in consequence of the then so common blood-feuds.

This supposition was not known, when the coast was last visited (1932), but future travellers will surely have their attention directed towards this fact, and will then presumably also find the missing link in the chain of settlements connecting the northern and southern inhabited areas of East Greenland.

In the Scoresby Sound area there have been large Eskimo settlements, and 118 house ruins in all are known from this part of the coast. The district is, however, not nearly as fully investigated as other larger inhabited areas of East Greenland, and future investigations will undoubtedly establish the presence of a far greater number of settlements than those which are now known.

On the northern side of Kong Oscars Fjord, on Ella Island and

¹⁾ HELGE LARSEN, *Archaeological Investigations in Knud Rasmussens Land*, M. o. Gr. 119, 8; p. 75.

along the coasts of Antarctic Land, as well as in Vega Sound there are a good deal of Eskimo house ruins, which show that the Eskimos of the past have settled in these regions in rather great numbers. The settlement has, however, been scattered, and beyond fairly large collective habitations on Ella Island (19 house ruins) and on the eastern point of Suess Land (also 19 house ruins) there are within this area only small dwelling places, each with from 1 to 8 house ruins.

Franz Josephs Fjord, but more particularly the southern coast of Gauss Land have provided dwelling places and hunting possibilities for a rather large population, as in all 61 house ruins have been found in this locality.

The largest collective settlement on the coasts of Northeast Greenland is, however, found on the southern and south-eastern coasts of Clavering Island, where 94 house ruins in all have been counted, but from here and farther north the coast has again been comparatively sparsely inhabited as far as Germania Land (the area of Danmark Havn). Here the Eskimos of Northeast Greenland have presumably held out the longest against total destruction, and at one time a fairly large number of people must have lived in this region, where 56 house ruins have been counted.

The Danmark Havn area is the northernmost known locality with a more or less collective settlement. Tent sites found at and north of Skærfjorden show that the Eskimos of a past age have travelled in these inhospitable regions during the summer, but in spite of rather exhaustive investigations no traces of winter dwellings have been identified between Danmark Havn and Eskimonæs and Sofus Müllers Point (in 80° and 81° lat. N.), that is near Nordostrundingen, where the house ruins are the most northerly known winter dwellings on the coasts of East Greenland.

From south to north there are thus house ruins or old dwelling places along the following coast stretches:

1. Lindenows Fjord to Inigssalik	382	house	ruins
2. The Angmagssalik district	250—300	—	—
3. Kangerdlugssuatsiaq to northern Aputitek..	21	—	—
4. The Kangerdlugssuaq district	30	—	—
5. The Scoresby Sound district	123	—	—
6. Kong Oscars Fjord to Cape Broer Ruys...	173	—	—
7. Gael Hamkes Bay (Clavering Island)	108	—	—
8. Sabine Island to Dove Bay	33	—	—
9. Germania Land and Danmark Havn district	56	—	—
10. North of Skærfjorden	2	—	—

In all: 1228 house ruins

This considerable number of ruins is an absolute minimum of houses to be found on the east coast of Greenland, for of the districts mentioned above only nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 and 9 can be said to have been fairly well investigated, whereas much is still lacking as regards nos 3, 5 and 8. And even within the best investigated areas it will undoubtedly be possible to find several more house ruins, particularly of the older types, which in many cases can only with the greatest difficulty be distinguished from the ground surrounding it.

And finally there is the coast stretch from Kangerdlugssuaq to Scoresby Sound, where the Eskimos must have lived, but where up to the present no house ruins have been found at all.

On a map of East Greenland (fig. 1) the areas containing house ruins are drawn in, and a glance at this map shows that practically the whole of the coast of East Greenland has in former times been inhabited by Eskimos.

The number of houses within the different inhabited areas gives a fairly accurate idea of the relative sizes of the Eskimo settlements in these areas, of which the Angmagssalik district presumably has had the largest population in a limited space.

But even though the number of house ruins within a limited area gives some indication as to the size of the old-time settlement, it is hardly possible on the strength of this—or in any other manner—to form a fairly accurate estimate of the number of Eskimos living along the coasts of East Greenland, when the population reached its maximum, probably at the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century. Presumably during the latter half of the 18th century, but at any rate throughout the 19th the population of East Greenland decreased rapidly, and the last Eskimos on the more northerly part of the coast of East Greenland probably became extinct during the former half of the 19th century.

The East Greenland Eskimos of the past were to a certain extent familiar with the use of iron and metal, the early immigrants having brought it from the old Norse ruins of West Greenland, which they had plundered in the course of their migrations to East Greenland¹). After the Eskimos of West Greenland had begun to trade with the Europeans, a kind of "market" came into existence on the island of Aluk off the eastern entrance to Prins Christians Sound. Here for several hundreds of years the East and the West Greenlanders met for the purpose of trading or rather bartering, and from this place very small quantities of iron and metal continued to be brought as far up the coast as

¹) THERKEL MATHIASSEN, M. o. Gr. 92, 4; pp. 61 et seq.

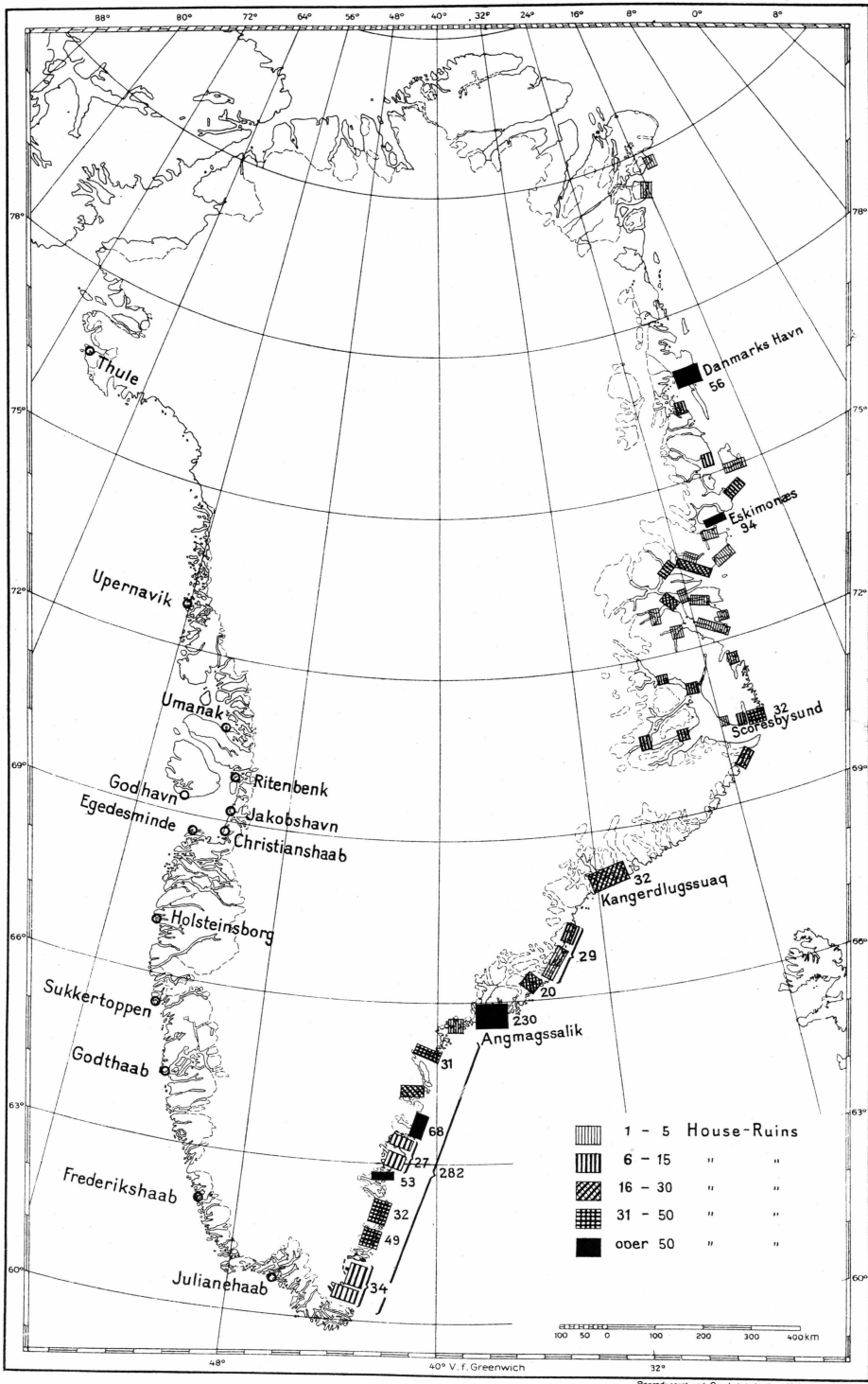


Fig. 1. Localities of principal pre-historic Eskimo settlements.

the Angmagssalik region, where they must have been a greatly valued commodity, which fetched very high prices, as for instance compared with bearskins and foxskins.

Also the inhabitants of Northeast Greenland had a very limited access to iron and metal, presumably in the shape of bolts, fittings and the like from the remains of wrecked whaling ships and boats, which now and then drifted ashore.

Everything considered, however, the amount of metal which has found its way to the natives of East Greenland has been very slight, and by far the predominating material at their disposal for the manufacturing of weapons and implements was stone and slate, in the use of which they achieved great proficiency.

The chief occupation of the earlier East Greenland Eskimos has undoubtedly always been sealing, but judging by the contents of the culture deposits the first immigrants must have carried on a good deal of whaling, and this holds good both for the population of Angmagssalik and for the Eskimos living in more northerly regions. When gradually the whaling of the Europeans reduced and finally entirely exterminated the stock of whales between Spitzbergen and Greenland, whaling became of less and less importance for the Eskimos and at last ceased altogether¹).

From now onwards the only means of subsistence of the Eskimos inhabiting the more southerly part of the coast was sealing, possibly also a little fishing and fowling, whereas the Eskimos living along the coast from Scoresby Sound and farther north on the shores of the great East Greenland systems of fjords, besides sealing, carried on a rather considerable fowling, and further had the possibilities of a fair amount of reindeer hunting. As a means of subsistence for the Eskimos along this part of the coast reindeer hunting played a considerable part from the time of settling and throughout the years, however, judging by the lack of reindeer bones in the youngest culture deposits, possibly with the exception of the last period before the extinction of the tribe²).

As no bones of musk oxen have been found in the older culture deposits and only a few in the younger ones, it may be presumed that the musk oxen from the northern part of the coast have possibly arrived in this part of Greenland at too late a period to be of any noteworthy importance in the food supply of the Eskimos.

When dealing with the living conditions of the Eskimos on the coasts of East Greenland two important problems arise, which archæology

¹) HELGE LARSEN, M. o. Gr. 102, 1; p. 88.

²) HELGE LARSEN, M. o. Gr. 102, 1; p. 170.

can only answer in part or, at any rate up to the present, has not yet been able to solve, viz:

1. Whether the Eskimos of East Greenland have been in contact with European whalers, and
2. Whether any information can be given as to the causes of the dying out of the Eskimos along the whole of the northern part of the coast.

As regards the former question it must be observed at once that although there is a rather comprehensive literature on the doings of the whalers in the waters off East Greenland, there is no report of their having in past times penetrated as far as the coast and met with the Eskimos living there. However, it seems the more likely supposition that the whalers have at an early period come into contact with the Eskimos, without leaving any written information to the effect. This supposition seems to be corroborated by the fact that in the collapsed houses a few objects have been identified, which are of undoubted European origin, and which, judging by the place where they were found and by conditions generally, must have been brought into the houses while still inhabited by Eskimos.

Thus, in a house on the south-eastern point of Shannon Island EJNAR MIKKELSEN found some brownish fragments of a bottle. They lay under collapsed sleeping platforms and the falling roof, and the largest fragment, the bottom of the bottle, seems to have been manufactured into a drinking vessel or the like¹).

In Dødemandsbugten on Clavering Island HELGE LARSEN also found fragments of bottle glass and bits of china²).

Bottles may at a pinch be imagined to have drifted ashore in this northern latitude (about 73°—74°), though with the now known current conditions along the coast of East Greenland this seems most improbable³). But a fragment of china, such as the one found in one of the house ruins of Dødemandsbugten, can by no means float and must have been carried ashore from a vessel or a boat. If there had been no human beings onboard such a vessel or boat, it is likely to presume that the Eskimos would have taken as much as they were able to carry ashore of the good things found, and this would have left an essentially greater number of traces than those known from the well investigated Dødemandsbugten and the surrounding area, where elements of European origin only make up 2 per cent of the findings.

It is thus the more likely supposition that the whalers must have

¹) EJNAR MIKKELSEN, *Alabama-Expeditionen til Grønlands Nordøstkyst 1909—1912* M. o. Gr. 52; p. 133.

²) HELGE LARSEN, *M. o. Gr.* 102, 1; p. 164.

³) EJNAR MIKKELSEN, *De østgrønlandske Eskimoers Historie*; p. 30.

presented the Eskimos with the said elements of European origin, and there must consequently in the past have been some—if ever so casual—contact between the primeval population and the whalers.

The oldest authentic report of a vessel having been near the coasts of East Greenland dates from VOLQUARD BOHN, a native of Rømø, off the southern part of Jutland, who in 1761 and again in 1769 navigated the coast from about $76\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to $68^{\circ}40'$ lat. N., at a distance of 1.5 to 6 miles, probably Danish miles, which means 6 to 24 nautical miles.

VOLQUARD BOHN drew a map of the coast navigated and supplied it with a number of explanatory remarks. This map is, unfortunately, lost, but a description of it and a number of facts relating to the explanatory remarks still exist¹). In these there is no mention whatever of VOLQUARD BOHN having seen Eskimos or traces of them on the shore. He would undoubtedly have mentioned it, if he had seen human beings along the coast, but if the distance from the coast was given in Danish miles, which is the more probable, it would for that matter have been utterly impossible from the vessel to see Eskimos on the shore.

In 1822 the well-known English whaler, WILLIAM SCORESBY junior, navigated part of the east coast of Greenland, and he maintains that, apart from a whaler or two, no one before him had ever been near the coast. SCORESBY and his crew were ashore in several places, and everywhere they found numerous traces of the Eskimo population. At the entrance to Scoresby Sound (Cape Swainson) he found i. a. two depressions in the ground, bordered by stones. This stone-setting had evidently been used as a fireplace; there were still some remains of charred fuel on it and, what surprised SCORESBY most, also a quantity of fine wood ashes. SCORESBY was decidedly of the opinion that the fireplace must have been used during the summer, when he visited the country; the light wood ashes could not possibly have been a year old, as in that case they would have been swept away by the winter storms or carried away by the spring flooding²).

However, RYDER mentions a similar find of ashes on a fireplace far in towards the head at Scoresby Sound, but unlike SCORESBY he is of the opinion that the ashes may lie untouched for many years, which undoubtedly seems to be the case, as it is certain that there were no Eskimos living at Scoresby Sound at the time of the East Greenland Expedition in 1891—92³).

Even though SCORESBY saw no Eskimos, he had not the slightest doubt that they lived on the coasts of Scoresby Sound at the time of

¹) WORMSKJOLD, M., *Det skandinaviske Litteraturselskabs Skrifter*, København 1814; p. 383.

²) WILLIAM SCORESBY, *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery*, pp. 183 and 187.

³) C. RYDER, *Den østgrønlandske Expedition 1891—92*, M. o. Gr. 17; p. 291.

his stay in those parts, and as further proof of this he tells of a whaler who, in 1820, in about 73° lat. N. and within sight of land found a recently killed walrus, in whose body there were two bone harpoons armed with iron. To both harpoons a thong of walrus hide was attached, two and six fathoms long respectively, that is the seal thong generally used by the Eskimos¹).

It may thus, with a fair degree of certainty, be regarded as a fact that in 1820 Eskimos were living on the coast of Greenland, not far from 73° lat. N. The only time they were seen was, however, in 1823, when the English explorer D. C. CLAVERING visited the island, which is named after him. Here in about 74° lat. N. he met twelve Eskimos, who after two days of friendly intercourse were frightened away as the result of a rifle shot, which CLAVERING fired against a seal, in order to show them the effectivity of fire arms. This proved too much for them; they fled, and thus disappeared for ever the only Eskimos, who had ever been seen north of Angmagssalik.

The report of this meeting is therefore the only information given by an eye-witness of the Eskimos in Northeast Greenland²), and as it is rather difficult of access, it has been thought expedient to reprint everything regarding the meeting in this place.

“August 16. 1823. At this station, which was named Cape Borlase Warren, we found traces of the natives, and also several graves, and hoards of blubber, which are piled up along the shores, and are marked by heaps of stones being placed over them, and which also keep birds of prey from devouring them. Their graves did not remain free from our curiosity; we opened some of them, but nothing but a few mouldering bones was discovered.

August 17.—Next morning, after taking the necessary angles and making observations for our survey, we embarked by 9 in the morning, and proceeded westerly along the shores of the bay, still pulling. . . . After an hours constant bailing, we reached the first headland, where we hauled the boat on shore to repair, having made a distance this day of sixteen miles. . . . We found here more recent traces of the natives, so that we began to look anxiously for them.

August 18. In the morning several whales were seen for the first time³).

¹) SCORESBY; p. 334.

²) The Edingburgh New Philosophical Journal for July 1830. Journal of a voyage to Spitzbergen and the Eastcoast of Greenland in His Majesty's ship “Griper”. By DOUGLAS CHARLES CLAVERING Esq. F. R. S. Commander. Communicated by JAMES SMITH Esq. of Jordanhill, F. R. S.

³) I cannot but consider our having seen so few as somewhat remarkable. From the appearance of the sea and ice, the Greenland pilots thought we were upon good ground and were continually expressing their astonishment at the absence of these animals.

We reached our third station at 11 p. m., a distance of seventeen miles which was also found a convenient spot for encampment.

On the yawl's coming up, which had been left much behind, I was informed the natives had been seen about a mile from our present situation. I immediately proceeded to the spot, and found a small tent, made up of seal skins, pitched upon the beach, within a few yards of the high water. There was nobody in it; the inhabitants, having become alarmed on seeing us, had retreated to some high rocks at a short distance. We observed two of them watching our motions. Accompanied by one of my officers, I advanced toward them, making such signs of goodwill and friendship as occurred to us. They allowed us to approach the base of the rocks, which were about fifteen feet high. We deposited a looking glass and a pair of worsted mittens, and retired a few steps, upon which they immediately came down and took them up, withdrawing immediately to the top of the rock. After allowing them a few minutes to examine them, we again approached, when they permitted us to come close to them and shake hands—a ceremony they by no means seemed to comprehend, trembling violently the whole time, in spite of our best endeavours to inspire them with confidence. We now led them to their tent, which we examined more minutely, and which we gave them to understand we greatly admired.

The tent was small, occupying a space about twelve feet in circumference and about five in the highest point in the middle; the framework was composed of wood and whalebone; the former they must have picked up along the shore.

There was a small canoe, capable of containing but one person at the time, which was also made of sealskin, and in no respect different from those described by CRANZ or EGEDE. Their harpoons and spears were lying at the side of it; the handles were of wood, the points tipped with bone, and some of them with iron, which had all the appearance of being of meteoric origin. We now shewed them our boat, which they were unwilling to get into for fear. Leaving them for the present, we returned to our tents for the night.

19.—Next morning we were anxious to renew our intercourse with our Esquimaux friends, and were happy to find that we had been successful in inspiring them with confidence. In the course of the day, men, women and children found their way to our tent. They brought with them large pieces of blubber, being the flesh of the seal and walrus, which they offered for our acceptance, tearing off large pieces with their hands and teeth in the most disgusting manner. We gave them in return biscuit and salt meat; the latter they immediately spat out. They were much surprised at my ordering one of the children to be washed, for they were so stained with dirt and oil, it was impossible,

without this proceeding, to know what was their real colour, which now exhibited a tawny coppery appearance. They had black hair and round visages; their hands and feet were fleshy, and much swelled. The expression of their countenances was extremely stupid and unmeaning; but this was in all probability much increased by their astonishment at every thing they saw. They were clothed in sealskin, with the hair inwards.

Knowing that we should again meet them on our return . . . we left them about 4 in the afternoon . . . Some foxes and white hares were seen, and two of the latter shot. Innumerable traces of grouse were seen, but only one bird, which was perfectly grey. I named this island Jordanhill, after the residence of my friend JAMES SMITH, Esq. . . . We shot some swans, which we found excellent eating . . .

22nd.—We made such progress, that we were enabled to reach our Esquimaux friends the same evening . . .

August 23. and 24.—These two days we spent with the natives, whom we found to consist of twelve in number, including women and children. They are evidently the same race as the Esquimaux in the other parts of Greenland and the northern part of America. Our intercourse was of too short duration to acquire any of their language; but the description given by Captains PARRY and LYONS of the natives of Igluleik, in many particulars resembles those of our friends. I observed particularly the same superstitious ceremony of sprinkling water over a seal or walrus, before they commenced skinning it.

Their amazement at seeing one of our seamen shoot a seal was quite unbounded. They heard for the first time the report of a musket, and turning round in the direction in which the animal was killed, and floating on the water, one of them was desired to go in his canoe and fetch it. Before landing it he turned it round and round, till he observed where the ball had penetrated, and putting his finger in the hole, set up a most extraordinary shout of astonishment, dancing and capering in the most absurd manner. He was afterwards desired to skin it, which he did expeditiously and well.

Wishing to give them further proofs of our skill in shooting, several muskets were fired at a mark, but without permitting them to see us load. A pistol was afterwards put into their hands, and one of them fired it into the water; the recoil startled him so much, that he immediately slunk away into his tent. The following morning we found they had all left us, leaving their tents and everything behind, which I have no doubt was occasioned by their alarm at the firing.

August 26.—We now pursued our way towards the ship. . . . Some whales were again seen this day . . . A large bear was seen at a distance upon a hill . . .”

After this extract we proceed to the second question: The causes of the decay, which ended with the total extinction of the once relatively numerous East Greenland population. As to this nothing is known for certain, but various details can be found here and there, and one may try to assemble them into a completed picture.

As mentioned there is a probability that the means of subsistence of the Eskimos have been fairly tolerable up to the time of the desertion of the houses investigated. This opinion is supported by the find of great quantities of animal bones in and at the houses excavated, and by the incontestable fact that when CLAVERING met the Eskimos, at a time when the decline of the tribe had long been in progress and was nearly completed, he noticed the presence of large depots of meat and blubber in several localities along the coast, which shows that there must at least have been rather large quantities of seal. Whales and other animals were also observed, according to CLAVERING'S report.

The absence of whale bones in the latest culture deposits, however, seems to point towards one of the reasons, why it has become more difficult to maintain the occupations hitherto followed. It can presumably be taken for granted that the successive cessation of whaling as a result of the Europeans' exterminating the whales off the coasts of East Greenland has caused a decrease in the possibility of providing means of subsistence, and this perhaps at a time when the tribe's power of resistance was diminished for other reasons.

If the causes of the disappearance of the Eskimos had exclusively been starvation or mortal disease, for instance an epidemic, which had been brought to the country by the whalers, the skeletons and utensils of those last deceased would probably have been found in the houses, where they had been overtaken by the catastrophe. But this is only the case in a single place far towards the south in the Angmagssalik region, where it must be supposed that the whole population of a settlement has been exterminated by poisoning, possibly from eating tainted meat.

The coast between 72° and 75° lat. N is the best investigated of the Northeast Greenland Eskimos' areas of habitation, but on this long stretch there is nowhere any suggestion that such a catastrophe has taken place, and not even a single human skeleton has been found in one of the many excavated and carefully investigated house ruins, where the only human remains are a number of lower jaws; these must presumably have been preserved for reasons, which are now unknown.

It must, therefore, be presumed that the Eskimos from this district have decreased comparatively slowly in numbers, possibly as the result of a certain degeneration caused by their isolated existence, and that the last survivors from a district or a settlement have attempted to find

better living conditions elsewhere on the coast, possibly also kinsmen whose collaboration might help to make their hard lot easier. There is reason to suppose that the last survivors from the—at one time—rather densely populated district between 73° and 75° lat. N. have gradually wandered northwards along the coast, until Fate at last overtook them in the region round Danmark Havn. Here some houses have been found with skeleton remains of the former inhabitants, as well as other uncontrovertible proofs that the latter died in that very place, possibly as late as the middle of the 19th century.

In the Scoresby Sound area there has been a corresponding decrease in the number of inhabitants, and it may be assumed that the last remains of the population have gradually assembled round Cape Tobin, where there is very good sealing, and where human skeleton remains were found in the house ruins.

In the Kangerdlugssuak area in about 68° lat. N. it is possible, stage by stage, to follow the successive dying out of the isolated tribe, as it appears that the rather roomy communal houses have gradually become too large for the surviving Eskimos to inhabit, and more particularly to heat, for which reason they have divided them first into two compartments, then into three, while the last survivors have evidently had sufficient accomodation in the closed-up house passage, where their skeleton remains and utensils were found¹. The Eskimos in Kangerdlugsuaq are presumed to have died out some time in the course of the 19th century².

Isolated examples may, however, be given of the extinction of the population of a whole settlement as a result of a catastrophical event. Thus in 67° lat. N. at Nualik, AMDRUP, as mentioned above, found a house with many skeletons and great quantities of utensils, and from this find it is possible to conclude that the inhabitants have died suddenly as the result of some accident, presumably from eating putrefied seal meat. The Eskimos of past times, as even here and there at the present day, considered this a delicacy, but it is possible that the putrefying process had been so far advanced as to make the meat poisonous³.

It is known that the inmates of the Nualik house left Angmagssalik after a period of acute starvation, a couple of years before the arrival of GUSTAV HOLM in 1884, and when the house was found in 1899, they had been dead for a number of years.

¹) MAGNUS DEGERBÖL, The Former Eskimo Habitation in the Kangerdlugsuak District, M. o. Gr. 104, 10, pp. 41 et seq.

²) HELGE LARSEN, 119, 8; pp. 37 et seq.

³) G. AMDRUP, Carlsbergfondets Expedition til Øst-Grønland, M. o. Gr. 28; pp. 303 et seq.

THE POPULATION OF SOUTHEAST GREENLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF HISTORIC TIMES

The first direct information about the Southeast Greenland Eskimos dates from BJØRN EINARSON JORSALFAR, who on a voyage to Greenland about 1380 is said to have met Eskimos on Gunbjørns Skær, probably the Angmagssalik of the present day¹).

It was, however, not until after HANS EGEDE's arrival in West Greenland that the information regarding the population of Southeast Greenland began to take shape, as he was greatly interested in East Greenland, where he supposed that the old Norse settlement, the "Østerbygd", was to be found. Thus HANS EGEDE reports how he had been told by Dutch whalers that once in a while they had been able to navigate the coasts of Southeast Greenland, where they had carried on a profitable trade with the natives²). Two old cairns in 61°45' and 62°20' lat. N. near excellent harbours and one of the favourite resorts of the Eskimos (Tingmiarmiut) seem fully to corroborate this report³).

In 1733 an old woman told HANS EGEDE that she had been so far north on the east coast of Greenland as the latitude of Godthaab, and that she there met "enough" people everywhere. She could also report of a fairly considerable trade or rather bartering between the West and the East Greenlanders, the latter obtaining ironware, such as needles and knives in exchange for skins⁴). These reports were corroborated by the historian of the Moravian Brethren, DAVID CRANZ, who in "Historie von Grönland" tells of the migrations of the Eskimos between the east and the west coasts, and more particularly gives information of an East Greenlander, who in the middle of the seventeen-fifties wintered in the latitude of Godthaab.

1) Grønlands Historiske Mindesmærker vol. I; pp. 111 et seq.

2) HANS EGEDE, Det gamle Grønlands nye Perlustration; p. 21.

3) HOLM and GARDE, Den danske Konebaads-Expedition; pp. 177 and 267.

4) HANS EGEDE, Relationer fra Grønland, M. o. Gr. LIV; p. 267.

From 1752 we have the first authentic information of the Eskimos of Southeast Greenland. It was obtained by PETER OLSEN WALLØE, the first European who made a journey to the then entirely unknown coast of Southeast Greenland in an attempt to reach the Østerbygd. On this journey he met several Eskimos, but the information given of their number is very vague, and he only mentions that he saw "enough" people everywhere. From him originates the information that north of the place, where he arrived (about 61° lat. N.), Eskimos were found in larger quantities in four districts on the coast between Aluk and Sermilik, beyond which locality "no one dared to go", as there was said to be a dangerous whirlpool, which even swallowed up large icebergs¹).

The inhabited areas mentioned by OLSEN WALLØE, viz. Auarqat, Umivik, Naviaome? and Sermilik are said to contain 2—4 houses each, and there were two or more days' journeys between the places²). It is very peculiar that OLSEN'S informant does not mention the two largest centres of habitation in Southeast Greenland, Tingmiarmiut and Igluluarsuk.

As long as Frederikshaab was the southernmost Danish settlement of West Greenland, the West and East Greenlanders, as already mentioned, met on the island of Aluk at the southern entrance to Prins Christian's Sound³). Here they traded with each other, the East Greenlanders giving bearskins and foxskins, which for them were only of value as a sort of finery, in exchange for ironware of various kinds, such as needles, knives and little bits of hoop iron, which they manufactured into harpoon blades, saws and the like. These iron objects were traded from hand to hand along the whole of the south-eastern coast of Greenland, and in the course of time they reached the areas traversed by the Angmagssaliks when travelling south to Umivik and Umanak in order to hunt and to acquire the greatly coveted ironware⁴).

Later on the travelling of the Angmagssaliks became more extensive, but as far as is known, the first umiak (o: women's boat) from the actual Angmagssalik region only reached a southwestern Greenland trading station in 1883.

The trade between the East and West Greenlanders has undoubtedly become more comprehensive after the establishment of the Julianehaab settlement in 1777. Of still greater importance for the East Greenlanders was, however, the founding of the trading post of Nanortalik in 1797, and in 1798 fourteen hunters came and settled permanently in the neighbourhood⁵). Every hunter may be estimated to have had a household

¹) OLSEN WALLØES *Dagbøger*, Det Grønlandske Selskabs Skrifter V; pp. 95 et seq.

²) OLSEN WALLØE; p. 85.

³) OLSEN WALLØE; p. 85.

⁴) G. F. HOLM, *Geographisk Undersøgelse af Grønlands sydligste Del*, M. o. Gr. Bd. 6; p. 156.

⁵) JOH. CHR. MØRCH, *Avhandling om Grønland 1799—1801*. Norges Svalbard- og Ishavsundersøgelser, No. 52. Udgivet af H. OSTERMANN, note p. 130.

of at least five individuals, and the immediate result of the foundation of the Nanortalik station was thus that at least 70 East Greenlanders settled permanently in Southwest Greenland.

The temptation must also have been great, as they were now able to trade directly with the Danish settlements, where the selection of goods was naturally greater, than it ever could have been on Aluk, and where they were paid better prices for their skins than by the West Greenlanders, who had hitherto acted as intermediaries at the Aluk "market". Still Aluk for many years continued to be a favourite meeting place between the East and the West Greenlanders.

Further, the Danish and more particularly the Moravian missionaries naturally began to direct their attention towards the conversion of these heathen Eskimos. This became of great importance for the development of the population of Southeast Greenland generally, as the missionaries tried to make them settle in West Greenland, where it was easier to continue missioning among them and influence them towards Christianity, than if they still had their homes in East Greenland.

With the increasing European influence in the Julianehaab district an essential difference sprang up between the mode of life in southern West Greenland and Southeast Greenland, the most weighty economic factor being the store. This attracted the East Greenlanders, partly because they were here able to obtain iron, which greatly facilitated hunting and all other occupations, and partly because the gay kerchiefs and other materials proved a strong temptation for the women.

When the East Greenlanders, on their comparatively frequent visits at the store, came under the influence of the missionaries, they were as a rule easily persuaded to remain in West Greenland, and this resulted in a successive depopulation of southern East Greenland.

This depopulation progressed still more rapidly, when the Moravian Brethren, who as early as 1774 had established a mission station at Lichtenau, in 1824 obtained permission to establish another in the southern part of the Julianehaab district. This station was named Friedrichsthal (now Frederiksdal), and its special object was to carry on mission work among the heathen East Greenlanders, for which reason it was placed quite close to the travelling route, which they usually followed on their visits to the store at Nanortalik.

This removal of the East Greenlanders to the most southerly part of West Greenland was regarded with some anxiety by the civil authorities, as the increasing population caused a concentration, which limited the individual hunting possibilities, and as early as June 27th, 1803, this is mentioned as a regrettable state of affairs in a report written by Inspector M. N. MYHLENPHORT¹).

¹) Det Grønlandske Selskabs Aarsskrift 1918; p. 8, note 3.

It is, however, difficult to obtain a general view of the migrations of the East Greenlanders during the early years, but a hint may be gathered from the information given in Table 1¹⁾.

Table 1. Number of baptized and unbaptized Eskimos in the Julianehaab district.

Year	Total population in the Julianehaab district	of these		Unbaptized per cent of population
		baptized	unbaptized	
1803.....	1797	1003	794	44 per cent
1815.....	1903	1122	781	41 —
1820.....	1963	1310	659	33 —
1822.....	1942	1418	524	27 —

When comparing these figures with the corresponding ones from the remaining part of West Greenland which, over and above the population of Julianehaab, in 1815 numbered in all 3933 individuals, only 102 or 3 per cent of these being unbaptized²⁾, one receives a strong impression that the mission at Julianehaab was very much behindhand as compared with the remaining part of West Greenland. Whether this was due to the fact that the mission at Julianehaab began much later than those farther north, or to the immigration of unbaptized Eskimos from East Greenland can hardly be ascertained at the present time.

From 1822 the church registers of Friedrichsthal give the following facts as to the number of East Greenlanders baptized at the mission station³⁾ (Table 2).

From this table it appears that 725 East Greenlanders in all were baptized in the period 1822—1900, which figure must be regarded as an absolute minimum of the East Greenland immigration to West Greenland during the period in question, as it is very probable that several other East Greenlanders have been baptized by the Danish mission, and that again others have moved to the west coast without applying for baptismal instruction.

The migrations of the East Greenlanders to West Greenland have not taken place gradually, but in periods, and are apparently due to external causes. Thus the first immigration on a larger scale took place immediately after and presumably as a result of the foundation of the mission station. The next impulse for immigration seems to have been

¹⁾ Grønland i Tohundredaaret for Hans Egedes Landing, M. o. Gr. LXI; p. 470.

²⁾ Collegial-Tidende for Danmark XX, 1817; p. 666.

³⁾ G. F. HOLM, Den østgrønlandske Expedition 1883—85, M. o. Gr. X; p. 202.

⁴⁾ WILLIAM THALBITZER, The Ammassalik Eskimo, M. o. Gr. XXXIX; p. 181.

⁵⁾ M. o. Gr. LXI, p. 467.

Table 2. East Greenlanders baptized at Friedrichsthal.

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1822	8	1841	2	1861	10	1881	2
1823	8	1842	0	1862	10	1882	12
1824	68	1843	1	1863	4	1883	0
1825	75	1844	0	1864	1	1884	0
1826	48	1845	2	1865	4	1885	0
1827	22	1846	4	1866	3	1886	0
1828	19	1847	4	1867	2	1887	50
1829	19	1848	19	1868	2	1888	1
1830	39	1849	12	1869	0	1889	0
1831	29	1850	4	1870	9	1890	0
1832	23	1851	3	1871	1	1891	0
1833	20	1852	15	1872	10	1892	21
1834	16	1853	3	1873	0	1893	0
1835	15	1854	0	1874	2	1894	2
1836	8	1855	1	1875	0	1895	0
1837	2	1856	1	1876	0	1896	0
1838	5	1857	2	1877	0	1897	0
1839	0	1858	9	1878	1	1898	2
1840	3	1859	17	1879	0	1899	0
		1860	10	1880	0	1900	40

given by the journey undertaken by GRAAH in 1829—30. Then followed a number of years without any larger immigration, but about 1850 and 1860 another fairly large group arrived in West Greenland. After HOLM's stay at Angmagssalik another, also comparatively large group arrived in West Greenland, and the last actual migration from East Greenland took place in the year 1900.

As has been mentioned above, it is probable that the migration from east to west has been greater than expressed by the figures of the table, seeing that a considerable number of East Greenlanders may very well have moved to West Greenland because of the store and the easier living conditions, and only later on have been baptized and entered into the church registers of West Greenland. Thus it is known that 135 East Greenlanders arrived in Southwest Greenland in 1830, while only 39 are given as baptized in the table. From 1846 to 1850 the new arrivals from East Greenland were 107 (in the table 43), but it is known that forty of these left again for their home country¹⁾. Nothing is, however, known as to whether the majority of these people returned to East Greenland, or whether they were baptized at some other mission and entered into the registers as baptized heathen, the distinction between West and East Greenlanders hardly being as sharp at this early period, as it became later on.

When bearing in mind that the statistical material is very incomplete

¹⁾ M. o. Gr. LXI; p. 466.

with regard to the wanderings of the East Greenlanders and only comprises the period from 1822, before which time considerable wanderings took place, it may be presumed that more than a thousand East Greenlanders have migrated to West Greenland, which is a considerable figure as compared with the contemporaneous West Greenland population, consisting of 6—7000 inhabitants, of whom about 2000 in the Julianehaab district.

As mentioned above, MYHLENPHORT had already in 1803 begun to feel some anxiety about the great immigration from East Greenland, but not until 1893 did the Administration of Greenland make a serious attempt to stop it. Or rather, it tried to ward off the threatening and imminent depopulation of East Greenland by establishing the outpost Itivdleg under the most southerly main settlement of West Greenland (Julianehaab), but situated on the east coast at the entrance to Prins Christian's Sound. However, it was too late to remedy the lack of foresight of former times. A store was now no longer sufficient to stop the emigration from East Greenland, for the missionaries worked unswervingly to get hold of these people, who, when once baptized, considered it their duty as Christians to attract heathen relations. In the year 1900 the last Southeast Greenlanders—40 individuals in all—left their homes to take up a permanent abode near the trading and mission stations of Southwest Greenland¹⁾, and from then and for many years to come the some 650 km long coast stretch from Angmagssalik and southwards was totally depopulated, although the Angmagssaliks continued to make hunting expeditions, each extending over a couple of years, to good and familiar hunting grounds along the northern part of the now deserted coast.

The first census of the population of East Greenland was undertaken by W. A. GRAAH in 1829, the figures being as follows (Table 3):

Table 3. Census of the population of East Greenland in 1829.

The Lindenows Fjord district.....	20 individuals
Kutak	25 —
Iluileq	12 —
Auvarqat	20 —
Anoritoq	50 —
Tingmiarmiut	42 —
Umanaq.....	9 —
Akoninarmiut.....	58 —
Igdluuarssuk	165 —
Umivik.....	130 —
Underway to Aluk from various dwelling places	50 —
In all...	581 individuals ²⁾

¹⁾ M. o. Gr. LXI; p. 470.

²⁾ OLUF KOLSRUD, Til Østgrønlands Historie; Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift, No. 3, 1935; p. 403.

Besides these 581 East Greenland Eskimos a comparatively considerable number of individuals lived in the then unknown Angmagssalik district and possibly even farther north (Kangerdlugssuaq), and it is surely not an exaggeration to estimate the total population of Southeast Greenland in 1829 as constituting at least 1100 individuals.

On his way back to West Greenland in 1830 W. A. GRAAH recorded that the population had been considerably reduced during the past year, and he estimated that about 120 individuals had emigrated to Southwest Greenland since his last stay in those parts. Thus

the settlements and dwelling places in the Lindenows Fjord district

—	—	-	-	Kulak	—	—
—	—	-	-	Iluileq	—	—
—	—	-	-	Auvarqat	—	—

were deserted, and even from the most northerly dwelling places, more particularly from Igdlularssuk, people had emigrated¹⁾.

GRAAH foresaw the total depopulation of Southeast Greenland, which already in his day had progressed far, and all the East Greenlanders, with whom he came into contact, were able to inform him that there had in former times been a much larger population along the coast, but that those living farthest south had already at an earlier period emigrated to Southwest Greenland, whereas the inhabitants of the more northerly settlements (the Angmagssalik region) had been greatly reduced as the result of starvation during the immediately preceding years²⁾.

In 1884 GUSTAV HOLM travelled along the same stretch of coast and found that in the intermediate years the population had been reduced from 581 to 135, and when comparing the information given by GRAAH as to the number of inhabitants with that of GUSTAV HOLM, we have a fairly reliable statistic material to illustrate the depopulation of Southeast Greenland (Table 4).

When in 1884 GUSTAV HOLM reached more northerly regions than W. A. GRAAH, he found in the present Angmagssalik district a tribe consisting of 413 individuals, who had not before then had any direct intercourse with Europeans. The meeting with these people was, however, not totally unexpected, as GRAAH had heard of East Greenlanders living in more northerly localities than those visited by himself, and the name of Angmagssalik was heard for the first time in 1849, when the Ethnographical Museum of Copenhagen received a couple of objects from "Angmarsalik", which was said to be a place on the east coast, situated some-

¹⁾ W. A. GRAAH, Undersøgelses-Rejse til Østkysten af Grønland. p. 149.

²⁾ W. A. GRAAH, pp. 118 and 140.

Table 4. Depopulation of Southeast Greenland.

District	1829	1830	1884
Lindenows Fjord	20	—	—
Kutak	25	—	—
Huileq	12	—	—
Auvarqat	20	—	—
Anoritoq	50	about 50	—
Tingmiarmiut	42	42	37
Umanaq	9	about 9	36
Akorninarmiut	58	— 58	44
Igdluarssuk	165	— 140	18
Umivik	130	— 130	—
Underway to Aluk	50	— 50	—
In all...	581	about 480	135
Angmagssalik	about 500 ¹⁾	— 500 ¹⁾	413
East Greenlanders	about 1081	about 980	548

what farther north than the part visited by GRAAH²⁾). Some years later, in 1861, the assistant U. ROSING learnt, that the most northerly inhabited place on the east coast, Angmagssalik, lay seventeen days' journey by kayak north of Aluk. It was also told that many people lived up there, and that some years before thirteen umiaks had left Angmagssalik in a northern direction, and only three of them had returned, so that the others must have been wrecked along the dangerous coast. Further, it was reported that the old sealing methods, which had been abandoned on the west coast, were still used at Angmagssalik, where the lack of iron was so great that some harpoons were manufactured of bone³⁾).

From conditions found by GUSTAV HOLM in the Angmagssalik district it was quite clear that the number of inhabitants had decreased very much during the last generation or two; according to the information, which GUSTAV HOLM obtained from the natives, there were said to be about 40 house sites at the Angmagssalik Fjord itself, which were supposed to have been inhabited at the same time in the olden days⁴⁾). In 1884 there were only 225 individuals in all in this region.

As to the causes of the depopulation of this entirely untouched district the Eskimos told GUSTAV HOLM that hunting conditions had gradually deteriorated, and that many of their kinsmen had died of

¹⁾ Estimated figure, though probably too low.

²⁾ M. o. Gr. LXI; p. 655.

³⁾ M. o. Gr. LXI; p. 655.

⁴⁾ M. o. Gr. X; p. 213.

starvation. From information collected by GUSTAV HOLM during his stay in the district it appears that some 70 individuals, or about 16 per cent of the members of the then living tribe, had perished of starvation, or as a direct consequence of starvation in the years 1881 and 1882¹⁾, and that they often fared so badly that the survivors had to eat the bodies of their relatives, who had starved to death, in order to save their own lives²⁾.

In the course of HOLM's journey along the coast of Southeast Greenland, as well as during his stay at Angmagssalik, an accurate census was undertaken (with a specification of age, hunting implements etc.) of the Eskimos found (Table 5), and from then and until now it has been possible to follow the changes in the number of inhabitants and the various age classes as well as in the number of hunting implements etc.³⁾.

Table 5. Census of the population of Southeast Greenland in 1884.

	Number		Males				Females					Number		
	houses	in all individuals	married	unmarried	under 12 years	in all	married	widows	unmarried	under 12 years	in all	kayaks	umlaqs	tents
Tingmiarmiut..	2	37	7	2	4	13	7	1	4	12	24	9	1	3
Umanaq	2	36	6	2	6	14	6	4	7	5	22	8	2	3
Akorninarmiut	2	44	7	3	10	20	8	2	2	12	24	12	2	4
Igdlluarssuk..	1	18	3	1	1	5	3	3	1	6	13	3	1	1
In all...	7	135	23	8	21	52	24	10	14	35	83	32	6	11

In Angmagssalik the number of inhabitants, distributed according to settlements, which are reckoned from south to north, were as in Table 6.

If these two tables are coordinated, the East Greenland population in 1884 totals the numbers given in Table 7.

This newly discovered Eskimo tribe in the Angmagssalik region had lived without any outside influence being brought to bear upon it, and it can therefore be regarded as a fair standard of Eskimo communities, such as they had developed, in the course of time, on the east coast of Greenland.

As it is also the human basis, from which the East Greenland community of the present day has grown up under Danish protection and under conditions differing greatly from the pre-historic ones, the figures

¹⁾ EJNAR MIKKELSEN, *De østgrønlandske Eskimoers Historie*; p. 46.

²⁾ *M. o. Gr. X*; p. 90; *M. o. Gr. XI*; p. 163.

³⁾ *M. o. Gr. X*; pp. 185 et seq.

Table 6. Census of the population of Angmagssalik in 1884.

	Number		Males					Females					Number		
	houses	in all individuals	married	widowers	unmarried	under 12 years	in all	married	widows	unmarried	under 12 years	in all	kayaks	umiaks	tents
Sermilik	1	42	6	—	7	6	19	7	3	5	8	23	10	3	3
Ikagteq	1	58	10	—	9	7	26	13	—	8	11	32	19	4	4
Sivinganarsik . . .	1	31	8	—	4	2	14	9	1	5	2	17	12	—	2
Servinganeq	1	31	8	—	2	4	14	8	1	—	8	17	8	2	2
Akerniaq	1	12	3	—	—	2	5	3	2	—	2	7	3	1	1
Tassiusarsik	1	35	7	—	4	6	17	8	1	5	4	18	9	3	5
Umivik	1	19	5	—	2	3	10	5	—	1	3	9	7	—	2
Kuarmiut	1	28	6	—	5	3	14	6	1	4	3	14	9	2	2
Ingmikertoq	1	37	9	—	3	9	21	9	1	2	4	16	10	2	3
Norajik	1	47	10	1	5	4	20	11	1	8	7	27	12	2	4
Norsit	1	25	6	—	—	7	13	6	—	2	4	12	7	4	3
Kangarsik	1	34	8	—	2	5	15	9	1	2	7	19	9	3	4
Sermiligaq	1	14	3	—	1	1	5	4	—	2	3	9	3	2	1
In all	13	413	89	1	44	59	193	98	12	44	66	220	118	28	36

of the tables should be studied a little more closely in order to get a clearer view of the subsequent development of this community.

Table 7. Total population of East Greenland in 1884.

	Number		Males					Females					Number		
	houses	in all individuals	married	widowers	unmarried	under 12 years	in all	married	widows	unmarried	under 12 years	in all	kayaks	umiaks	tents
Southern coast . .	7	135	23	—	8	21	52	24	10	14	35	83	32	6	11
Angmagssalik . . .	13	413	89	1	44	59	193	98	12	44	66	220	118	28	36
In all	20	548	112	1	52	80	245	122	22	58	101	303	150	34	47

It appears i.a. from the figures that in all the dwelling places at Angmagssalik there was only one house, which on an average contained 31.8 inmates, and that the greatest and smallest number of inmates in a single house was 58 and 12 individuals, respectively. In the summer the population was distributed in 36 skin tents, each of which must thus on an average accommodate 11 individuals.

In Table 8 the population is divided into age groups, which for the younger ones must be supposed to be fairly correct. On the other hand, there is some possibility of mistakes in the ages given for

the older persons, but according to GUSTAV HOLM¹⁾ there was certain evidence, that is, whether such and such a person had been born before or after—and then approximately how long before or after—GRAAH's journey in 1830, or before or after DONATI's comet in 1858 had illuminated the sky and created a great sensation. These two events had become landmarks in the chronology of the Eskimos, and as their age was given in relation to the one or the other, it is not likely that very essential errors can have been committed.

Table 8. Age groups of the East Greenland population.

Age	Males	Females	In all
0—4 years.....	24	30	54
5—9 —.....	37	41	78
10—14.....	38	54	92
15—19 —.....	17	24	41
20—24 —.....	18	23	41
25—29 —.....	17	32	49
30—34 —.....	32	21	53
35—39 —.....	24	31	55
40—44 —.....	12	14	26
45—49 —.....	7	11	18
50—54 —.....	6	7	13
55—59 —.....	4	5	9
60—64 —.....	2	2	4
65—70 —.....	2	1	3
unknown.....	5	7	12
	245	303	548

It appears from this table that the number of females of all age groups (only excepting that of 30—34 years) was essentially greater than that of the males, and that there were only 808 males as against 1000 females. This proportional varies somewhat from the oldest to the youngest age groups, seeing that there were only 779 males as against 1000 females in the age group from 0 to 19 years, and 838 males per 1000 females over 20 years of age.

No satisfactory explanation can be given of the peculiar fact that there is an essentially greater number of males as compared with females in the age group 30—34 years, and upon the whole it would seem that some caution should be shown in drawing conclusions from the table, because of the uncertainty as regards the age assigned to individuals of the various groups, particularly the older ones.

¹⁾ HOLM, M. o. Gr. X; p. 184.

One is apt to suppose that the very great difference in the numbers of males and females must be due to the great mortality, which is the result of the men's dangerous occupation, hunting, and this also finds expression in the fact, that the number of widows in this small community is given as 22, or 14 per cent of all females over 19 years of age. But this explanation is not sufficient, seeing that there are, as mentioned above, proportionally even fewer males from 0 to 19 (that is before one had to reckon with the risk involved in hunting) than over 20 years of age, the proportionals being

0—19 years: 779 males per every 1000 females
 20—70 — 838 — — — — —

Though no particular attention was paid to the welfare of small children in the former East Greenland community, and though it is known that infant mortality was very great, it must, however, presumably be taken for granted that the mothers were at least as careful of the boys—the future bread-winners and the supporters of their old age—as of the girls, and that mortality therefore should have been somewhat smaller among the boys than among the girls.

GUSTAV HOLM divides the adult part of the population into married and unmarried, which however only signifies whether a man and a woman live together or not. The term has been maintained with a view to later comparisons.

The number of married men is 112, while that of married women is 122, which shows that a plurality of wives was not rare in the East Greenland communities of the past, where in 1884 10 men in all had 2 wives.

The number of children per co-habiting couple, or perhaps per woman co-habiting or having co-habited with a man, appears from the

Table 9. Number of families in 1884 with 0—7 children.

Age of mother	Number of children per family							Number of families	Average number of children per family	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6			7
17—19 years.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0
20—29 —	18	17	10	2	..	..	..	..	47	0.9
30—39 —	4	15	14	9	7	2	2	..	53	2.3
40—49 —	4	4	6	1	3	5	..	..	23	2.4
50—59 —	3	1	2	1	2	1	..	1	11	2.5
60—69 —	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	0.7
Unknown age.....	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	3	2.3
	34	37	33	14	13	8	2	1	142	1.8

table given above (9), which has been evolved from the census taken by GUSTAV HOLM.

From the table it appears that 145 women had co-habited with men, and of these women 37 or a little more than 25 per cent were childless, whereas 70 women had at most 2 children. Only 38 of the 145 women co-habiting with men had 3 children or more, and the average number of children per married woman was only 1.8.

With this low birth-rate the small and weakened East Greenland community was bound to stagnate and would hardly have survived for any length of time, for apart from the small number of births the number of deaths was comparatively very great. During the ten months which GUSTAV HOLM spent at Angmagssalik, there were only 10 births, while 13 individuals died, viz. 8 men, 3 women and 2 children. The experience of ten months, it is true, is not much to build on, but there is no reason to believe that the proportion between births and deaths was essentially different in former times, or would have been essentially different in the future, in case the population had continued to live without intercourse with the outside world.

It appears from the figures given by GUSTAV HOLM that the East Greenland Eskimos of the past kept the tools of their trade in good order, and all males of more than 15 years (with one exception) possessed a kayak and other hunting implements. As the number of kayaks was 150 and that of male individuals of more than 14 years 146, it appears that all men, who were able to work, had a kayak. The East Greenlanders were also well provided with umiaks, of which there were in all 34. As the population consisted of 548 individuals, there were only 16 individuals per umiak, but setting aside the kayakers, who never travelled in umiaks, there were 11.8 individuals per umiak.

This good supply of umiaks and other means of communication by water were of the greatest importance for the population, who were incessantly travelling from one hunting district to another. Even within a single hunting district voyages were often undertaken in umiaks, for instance for the gathering of berries, which played a comparatively great part in the nutrition and well-being of the Greenlanders.

The next authentic information from the Angmagssalik district dates from 1892, when the area was visited by C. RYDER, who stated that since 1884 the population had decreased rather considerably in numbers, the total population being now 293 as against 413 in 1884, which decrease, however, was largely due to the fact that 118 of the inhabitants were travelling south along the coast in order to settle in Southwest Greenland.

The Eskimos left in the Angmagssalik district were distributed over the various areas of habitation in the following manner (Table 10):

Table 10. Areas of habitation in 1892.

Area of habitation	Number of individuals	
	1884	1892 ¹⁾
Inigsalik.....	..	18
Sermilik Fjord.....	174	51
Angmagssalik Fjord.....	147	90
Cape Dan area.....	78	91
Sermiligaq.....	14	43
In all at Angmagssalik.....	413	293
Travelling south.....	..	118
In all: Angmagssaliks.....	413	411

Although in 1892 the actual Angmagssalik area was thus on the point of becoming depopulated for the same reasons as the coast farther south, that is, because of immigration to West Greenland, the direct decrease in the number of the Angmagssaliks during the intervening eight years was trifling or none at all, as a miscalculation of two individuals is very probable.

This, however, does not agree with the fact that in the past eight years, according to information collected by RYDER, the number of children born in the district was 92 (42 boys and 50 girls), while the number of deaths was 107, distributed as follows according to sex and age groups²⁾ (Table 11):

Table 11. Number of deaths from 1884—92.

Age	Males	Females	In all
0—10 years.....	6	3	9
11—20 —.....	7	12	19
21—30 —.....	12	6	18
31—40 —.....	13	14	27
41—50 —.....	11	8	19
51—60 —.....	5	4	9
Over 60 years.....	3	2	5
	57	49	106
No age given.....	..	1	1
Deaths in all.....	57	50	107

¹⁾ C. RYDER, M. o. Gr. 17; p. 143.

²⁾ C. RYDER, M. o. Gr. 17; p. 145.

When the two groups of information do not agree, the reason may be either that people have moved to Angmagssalik from a more southern region, or that the number of births has exceeded the information supplied to RYDER. Which of the two explanations is the more correct cannot now be settled.

The causes of death were given as follows:

Table 12. Causes of death from 1882—92.

Cause of death	Males	Females	In all
Illness.....	36	40	76
Death by violence.....	16	5	21
Cause of death unknown.....	5	5	10
	57	50	107

About 20 per cent of all deaths thus seem to be due to violence, the causes being given as follows:

Males: 8 perished in kayaks

- 3 murdered
- 2 killed by bears
- 2 drowned
- 1 committed suicide

Females: 3 committed suicide

- 1 fallen down and killed
- 1 found dead on the seashore¹⁾

At Angmagssalik RYDER was informed that the Eskimos, who had left the district in the winter 1891—92, were to be found in the following wintering places²⁾:

Table 13. Wintering places outside Angmagssalik in 1891—91.

Wintering places	Males	Females	In all
Umivik.....	38	48	86
Igdlularssuk	3	5	8
Orkua	9	7	16
Unknown locality	2	6	8
	52	66	118

¹⁾ C. RYDER, M. o. Gr. 17; p. 146.

²⁾ C. RYDER, M. o. Gr. 17; p. 145.

It is known from other sources that 71 individuals had left Southeast Greenland since 1884, and as at that time 135 individuals in all lived south of the Angmagssalik district, distributed over various localities, all that could now be left of the original Southeast Greenland population would be at most 64 individuals.

The total number of inhabitants on the east coast of Greenland was thus:

Table 14. Total number of East Greenlanders in 1884 and 1892.

	1884	1892
Settled in Southeast Greenland.....	135	64
Left Angmagssalik for Southeast Greenland.....	..	118
The Angmagssalik district.....	413	293
Total population.....	548	475

The actual decrease in the number of inhabitants of Southeast Greenland was thus 73 individuals during a period of eight years.

In 1893 the Norwegian vessel the "Ino" visited the Angmagssalik region in order to barter the skins which the Eskimos, encouraged by RYDER, had collected in view of the imminent colonization. The vessel was forced to winter at the Cape Dan Islands and left the coast the following year, a few days before the Danish vessel arrived with the materials etc. for the establishment of the Angmagssalik settlement. No information is available as to the conditions which the "Ino"'s crew found in Angmagssalik, any more than of their intercourse with the native population.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ANGMAGSSALIK SETTLEMENT

After having spent the winter 1884—85 at Angmagssalik GUSTAV HOLM had arrived at the conclusion that the remainder of the East Greenland community, the Angmagssaliks, had outlived themselves and were bound to perish, unless an attempt was made from without to change the trend of development and to create a new foundation for the continued existence of the tribe.

The reasons for the deterioration of the tribe were several, the principal one being the steadily increasing difficulties in getting the necessary means of subsistence, which in particularly difficult years brought about death by starvation and frequent cases of infanticide. Numerous family feuds with manslaughter and the resulting blood feuds cost the lives of many of the younger men, which again sapped the strength of the community, as those men were its bread-winners, and with the death of each hunter it became more and more difficult for the survivors to get the necessary means of subsistence.

Suicide for apparently quite unimportant reasons were also rather common, and to this must be added diseases, which the population itself could not cure, if they were a little out of the ordinary.

The community had also become so small and weakened that the increase of the population by propagation could no longer keep pace with the decrease, and another hunger catastrophe, like the one in the years 1882—83, would probably irrevocably have shaken the foundation of the community, which without any support whatsoever from without waged an unequal fight for holding its own in one of the most inhospitable regions of the earth.

It might also have been expected that intermarriage in such a small community would have led to a certain degeneration, which then again would tend towards its weakening. This, however, does not seem to have been the case. The East Greenlanders encountered by GRAAH and HOLM were, according to their reports, physically equal or perhaps on an average even superior to the West Greenlanders. In this context

it should, however, not be forgotten that human life was of very small significance in the former Angmagssalik community, and that all newborn babes, which looked as if they might grow up as weaklings, were put out to die. And if an individual at a later age should develop physical or psychical deformities, the person in question, according to the unwritten law of the tribe, was committed to death, the resources of the community being so heavily taxed that it was utterly impossible to provide means of subsistence for persons, who were not able to support themselves.

The lack of producers of food, viz. the hunters, was so great that some of the women of the tribe were trained as such; they then had kayaks, hunted seal and bear, just like the men, and had all the rights of a man within the community.

When GUSTAV HOLM returned to Denmark, he approached the Administration of Greenland and the Ministry of the Interior with a proposal for the establishment of a settlement at Angmagssalik, as in West Greenland, in order to make an attempt to prevent the total depopulation of the coast of East Greenland.

The Government apparently regarded the proposal as fully justified and in agreement with Denmark's obligations towards Greenland, and in a letter of November 10th 1886, addressed to the directorate of the Administration of Greenland, they asked for its opinion on the possibility of establishing a settlement in the Angmagssalik region.

In the memorandum of the Administration of Greenland, dated November 26th, 1886, attention is called to the fact, that the Angmagssalik district had a larger population than each of the West Greenland colonies, Ritenbenk, Jacobshavn and Christianshaab. Further, it is mentioned that the very small trade intercourse, which in former times had existed between the Angmagssaliks and the settlements of South-west Greenland, had gradually ceased after the depopulation of the southern part of the coast of East Greenland.

The comparatively obvious idea of encouraging the Angmagssaliks, if possible, to emigrate to the west coast is rejected as impracticable, and attention is called to the fact that

“such an emigration would be fatal both to the inhabitants of the east coast and those of the west coast. . . . as it has unfortunately proved that the East Greenlanders, who had (formerly) emigrated to the west coast had as a rule, within a comparatively short time, succumbed to diseases, particularly “sting” epidemics (Influenza?).”

In the memorandum mention is not made of the unfortunate effects, which an emigration might be supposed to have on the inhabitants of

the west coast, but perhaps a fear has existed that the most southerly dwelling places should become overpopulated.

The memorandum explicitly states that

“when the Danish Government intends to maintain its suzerainty of Christian IX’s Land (Southeast Greenland) this can, under existing circumstances, only be done by means of measures taken in the country itself”.

Attention is further called to the fact that

“The inhabitants of Christian IX’s Land being heathen, the first object of the Government must presumably be to found a mission station in the country; when in the future the mission is kept up by the Government, the latter will in the best possible manner maintain Christian IX’s Land as a Danish possession. The mission must, however, have a constant intercourse with the mother country, from which the commodities required for the maintenance of the staff of the mission must be brought up to Greenland, and there will thus be occasion also to found a trading establishment in Christian IX’s Land, though in such a manner that the trade, which as already suggested should only be of secondary importance, is restricted by consideration of the behoof of the native population”.

As to the trade with the natives the memorandum sets forth the principle, which from the very first and until now has been the guiding one in the trade intercourse with the Angmagssaliks, viz.

“The more detailed regulation as to the arrangement of the trading establishment will in particular be dependent upon the fact, whether blubber is to be “traded in”¹⁾ or not. It must be admitted that the trading in of blubber may prove obnoxious to the conditions of life of the population, and according to what has been reported by HOLM regarding the population of the east coast, it seems that the latter are rather unfavorably placed as to means of subsistence. It is true that a change may take place in this respect, when the population becomes possessed of fire arms, but at any rate until such a change has actually taken place, and it may be supposed

¹⁾ “Trade in” and “trade out” are the literal translations of the Danish “ind-handle” og “udhandle”, which designate the special form of trade intercourse existing between the natives and the store established by the Administration of Greenland. The natives “trade in” such of their hunting products, as the Administration judges that they are able to part with, and for which they receive a uniform price, while the store “trades out” imported foreign commodities, for which the natives pay a price fixed every year by the Administration of Greenland.

with certainty that the population produces a surplus of blubber, for which it has no immediate use, blubber ought not to be traded in."

Thus it will also be possible

"in the interests of the population to restrict the trading out, which should only include means of acquiring subsistence (fire arms, fishing gear etc.) ironware, which the population now entirely lacks, tobacco and some articles of clothing, whereas all sorts of provisions may be excluded from the list: the trading out of these commodities exercise an essential, and probably in several ways a harmful influence on the mode of living of the population".

As to the trading in of skins the following is emphasized in the memorandum:

"The skins to be traded in will be bearskins, foxskins and, possibly with some limitations, sealskins."

The Administration of Greenland expressed the opinion that the establishment of the settlement would only be a question of time, and stated that the mission work commenced by HANS EGEDE ought to be continued on the east coast; it further stated that a mission work of this kind had, as a matter of fact, been commenced by one of the members of Gustav Holm's expedition, viz. the Greenland catechist HANSERAK.

The memorandum concludes with the following words of admonition:

"But apart from this it must be regarded as being beyond a doubt that Christian IX's Land, now that the investigations of HOLM have made it generally known that the said country can be navigated in autumn, will be exposed to visits of whalers and fishermen, who will try to barter bearskins and foxskins for spirits and the like, and thus establish an intercourse with the natives, which may prove pernicious to them. Against this danger the population is entitled to the protection of the Danish Government."

This deliberate memorandum, so characteristic of the Danish administration of Greenland, roughly indicates the principles, which came to be applied from the first day of the colonization and for many years to come, viz.

1. The Angmagssaliks should be christianized.
2. The trading intercourse must be established for the sake of the population, irrespective of whether it pays or not.
3. Blubber must not be traded in, in order not to tempt the population to deprive itself of essential hunting products.

4. Trading out must be restricted to fire arms, ironware, tobacco and a few articles of clothing.
5. Articles of food must not be traded out, as this is thought to be detrimental to the future of the population.
6. Sealskins must only be traded in, in so far as it is estimated that the native population has sufficient for its own consumption.
7. Denmark ought to protect the East Greenlanders against uncontrolled trading intercourse and its consequences.

Denmark's object in the colonization of Angmagssalik was thus of an ideal nature and entirely dictated by consideration for the natives. The establishment of a store at Angmagssalik, under the supervision of the Greenland Administration, might be an invaluable support for the population towards achieving better conditions of life, i. a. by making it possible for the hunters gradually to have the harpoons replaced by the more effective fire arms, in which manner the hunting proceeds might justly be expected to increase, and the food supply consequently to become better.

There was no question of attempting to make the settlement pay its way. On the contrary it was decided, as a matter of principle, not to trade in the only hunting produce, which might have made the settlement pay, viz. blubber, and this holds good to the present day.

Although the proposal for a colonization of Angmagssalik on the West Greenland pattern was favorably received by the Danish Government, the carrying out of the project was delayed from year to year, more particularly because it proved difficult to find a suitable missionary. However, in 1891, F. C. RÜTTEL applied for the post and was ordained missionary at Angmagssalik on March 28th, 1892. In order to become somewhat familiar with the difficult Eskimo language he was in the summer of 1892 sent to Julianehaab, and at the same time RYDER was able to inform the Eskimos in the Angmagssalik district that the settlement would soon be established.

On August 26th 1894 the "Hvidbjørnen", under the command of GUSTAV HOLM, arrived in the Angmagssalik district, and under the direction of the appointed manager¹⁾, JOHAN PEDERSEN, and the missionary, C. F. RÜTTEL, the first steps were taken towards establishing a trading and a mission station at Angmagssalik.

¹⁾ The Danish "Kolonibestyrelser" has no exact equivalent in English, and has therefore here and in the following been rendered by "manager" as being the nearest substitute. The duties of a "Kolonibestyrelser" consist in superintending the trade and the commodities sent up to the settlements from Denmark, in keeping the accounts of the colonization area and in taking charge of the property of the Danish State in the settlement. Besides, he has of later years held police authority and judiciary power in minor offences.

However, the Eskimos had not, for the comparatively long span of years, been able to support their belief in the promise made by GUSTAV HOLM that a settlement would be established, and they had, as already mentioned, begun to wander southwards with Southwest Greenland as their final goal. In 1892 RYDER recorded this pronounced tendency to leave the Angmagssalik district, and even after his very definite promise that the settlement would now be established in a couple of years, the emigration continued, and in 1894—95 there were only 247 Eskimos left in the district.

Within the period 1884 to 1894 the population of the Angmagssalik district proper had thus decreased by 166 individuals, the greater part of whom were, however, still wandering towards south along the coasts of Southeast Greenland. When in 1896 the report of the establishment of the settlement reached these migrating Eskimos, about 110 individuals returned to their native country, the population thus being brought up to 372 individuals, and after 1900 the last remainder of the population of East Greenland were assembled at Angmagssalik.

The establishment of the Angmagssalik settlement stopped the decrease of the native population, and it began to increase so rapidly as to surprise even those, who had believed most in its continued possibilities of existence.

This was first and foremost due to the diminished risk. Before the establishment of the settlement the existence of the population was characterized by uncertainty as to acquiring that which was the base of their existence, viz. the greater or smaller hunting proceeds. This risk was considerably heightened by the constantly decreasing stock of sea mammals, whales and seals, which decrease was principally the result of the hunting of the Europeans in the pack ice far beyond the hunting grounds of the Eskimos. The fluctuation in the hunting proceeds might in years, when the hunting was difficult, cause a decided danger of hunger and even death by starvation, while the hunting with harpoons and darts in the ice-filled waters was dangerous and caused many deaths. Although it was not possible to remedy the decrease of the stock of sea mammals, attempts have of late been made to create new possibilities of existence for the population, as for instance by developing shark fishing into an actual form of industry.

The risk involved in hunting was, however, considerably diminished by the introduction of fire arms, which the hunters very quickly acquired, and in years when the hunting failed, the Greenlanders were no longer threatened by absolute starvation. They now had the supplies of the store to fall back on, as they might either exchange such hunting products, as for them were of less value, for European articles of consumption, or they might even, when in particularly great straits, receive direct emergency aid from the stock-in-hand of the settlement.

Besides the risk involved in getting together sufficient quantities of meat and blubber etc. for the subsistence of the tribe, there was the further risk, to which most of the men of the former East Greenland community were always exposed, viz. bitter family quarrels, frequently leading to murder and then inevitably to blood feuds, the consequences in both cases being very hard on the women and children, who thus lost the bread-winner of the family.

Finally, there was the general danger of wounds and diseases, which danger was increased manifold by the insufficient nursing and more particularly the lack of knowledge of the treatment of internal diseases, as well as the total want even of the most elementary cleanliness, both personal and in huts or tents.

In all of these respects the establishment of the settlement implied the warding off, or at any rate the very considerable diminution of the risks, which had resulted in the constant decrease of the population.

From a purely sanitary point of view the establishment of the settlement, on the other hand, meant a risk, which had been unknown until then, i. e. the danger of diseases, more particularly of colds frequently terminating in death, which was an inevitable consequence of the yearly communication with Denmark.

Also from other points of view the establishment of a store, where the population could acquire hitherto unknown commodities, held an element of danger for the until then quite untouched Eskimos, as it might be feared that they would try to acquire imported commodities, which were either unknown and therefore particularly alluring, or which gave them a greater immediate enjoyment, and that they would do this at the cost of the hunting products, which were essential to their existence and of the greatest importance for their nourishment and well-being.

By a judicious selection of the hunting products and imported commodities, which the population might either sell or buy at the store, it had been attempted, from the first beginning of the colonization and far into the years, to counteract this inclination—so understandable and so general in all primitive peoples, viz. their inclination to try something new. Thus up to the very latest years the East Greenlanders have not been able to sell seal blubber, as it was feared that improvident and thoughtless hunters would sell the blubber produced in summer, when they had ample supplies of it, and thus expose themselves and their families to the want of this hunting product, which is so absolutely indispensable for them during the winter. Neither was the population at first allowed to sell sealskins, before the manager was quite sure that the seller would not run the risk of suffering want of skins for clothing or for the covering of kayaks and umiaks.



Fig. 2. Women and children outside a tent at Angmagssalik about 1900.
(JOH. PETERSEN phot.).

This latter restriction in the right of the population to dispose freely of their hunting products has, however, been abolished long ago, but in practice the managers still abstain from buying the skins of large seal, which can be used for the coverings of kayaks and umiaks, as these kinds of seal are becoming rare in Angmagssalik, and there is consequently a great lack of skins for the purposes mentioned above.

From the beginning of the colonization the commodities, which the Greenlanders were allowed to buy at the stores, were restricted to absolute necessities, and as long as at all possible the authorities hesitated to release such commodities—excepting only tobacco—as might in any way be classed as luxuries. Most of these restrictions, however, ceased about 1920, and since then the natives have been able to buy all the commodities, which the store has in stock, and which they are able to pay for. When sending up the supplies for the settlement and fixing the prices, due regard is, however, still paid to the greater or smaller importance of the various commodities for the population. Spirits of any kind whatsoever, even malt for homebrewing, or coffee and similar luxuries, have not yet been for sale at the store of Angmagssalik.

Also on other points the policy of the Administration, the object of which has principally been to diminish the risk, has borne good fruits for the population.



Fig. 3. Winter hut and some of its inmates about 1900. Note: the low entrance and the seal skin covering on the roof. (JOH. PETERSEN phot.).

Manslaughter and the inevitably resulting blood feuds, which ravaged the Eskimo communities of the past, ceased almost immediately after the establishment of the settlement. The teaching of the mission that, in case of wrongs inflicted, one should not take the law into one's own hands, and that upon the whole one must consider others as well as oneself, has resulted in a different manner of thinking on the part of the population, which has furthermore been softened by the present easier conditions of life. Besides, the Administration of Greenland and Danish friends of the East Greenlanders (the Scoresby Sound Committee) try to help those in distress, more particularly orphans, invalids and old people who, before the colonization, in times of need were put out to die or were killed as burdensome parasites on the few possibilities of subsistence of the community.

The result of this line of policy is that the formerly so pronounced decrease of the population has now been replaced by a strong increase, the total population having risen from 436 individuals in 1900 to 1071 in 1938, or with 146 per cent. This is an increase which, within the same space of years, is hardly equalled anywhere in any other country. But however satisfactory this increase is, and however probable that it will continue, it nevertheless gives rise to serious problems as regards the future economic policy to be followed in East Greenland, and it will therefore be necessary time after time to return to the increase of the

Table 15. The population of East Greenland 1884—1938.

	Men					Women					In all
	Married	Widowers	Un-married	Under 12 Years	Total	Married	Widowers	Un-married	Under 12 Years	Total	
1884..	89	1	44	59	193	98	12	44	66	220	413
1892..	..	..	..	..	132	..	..	..	..	161	293
1894..	..	..	..	..	—	..	..	..	..	—	} 247
1895..	..	..	..	..	108	..	..	..	..	139	
1896..	..	..	..	..	161	..	..	..	..	211	372
1897..	..	..	..	..	166	..	..	..	..	206	372
1898..	..	..	..	..	165	..	..	..	..	193	358
1899..	..	..	..	..	184	..	..	..	..	219	403
1900..	..	..	..	..	—	..	..	..	..	—	411
1901..	..	..	..	..	209	..	..	..	..	227	436
1902..	..	..	..	..	212	..	..	..	..	236	448
1903..	..	..	..	..	201	..	..	..	..	227	428
1904..	..	..	..	..	218	..	..	..	..	256	474
1905..	87	1	51	94	233	89	25	53	101	268	501
1906..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1907..	91	2	49	108	250	92	27	44	126	289	539
1908..	91	3	49	110	253	91	26	49	126	292	545
1909..	96	2	48	106	252	96	29	49	128	302	554
1910..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	565
1911..	94	3	60	117	274	94	33	55	120	302	576
1912..	95	3	59	121	278	95	37	49	134	315	593
1913..	98	2	55	132	287	98	39	48	130	315	602
1914..	90	8	54	142	294	90	30	40	145	305	599
1915..	91	5	69	133	298	91	37	55	121	304	602
1916..	93	2	71	132	298	93	38	61	125	317	615
1917..	93	3	64	143	303	93	31	60	138	322	625
1918..	87	6	85	127	305	87	38	71	136	332	637
1919..	89	4	88	124	305	88	36	81	132	337	642
1920..	96	4	83	134	317	96	31	85	134	346	663
1921..	100	5	84	136	325	100	31	89	138	358	683
1922..	104	5	84	146	339	104	27	90	145	366	705
1923..	108	3	96	136	343	108	28	93	137	366	709
1924..	117	3	102	134	356	117	28	88	146	379	735
1925..	110	10	105	134	359	110	36	81	158	385	744
1926..	123	6	104	141	374	120	31	87	159	397	771
1927..	120	7	102	155	384	120	33	95	169	417	804
1928..	122	7	98	173	400	121	36	95	169	421	821
1929..	127	7	98	181	413	127	36	101	174	438	851
1930..	128	6	102	192	428	129	36	109	181	455	883
1931..	137	5	99	204	445	138	34	109	192	473	918
1932..	144	3	95	207	449	145	35	111	206	496	945
1933..	139	4	104	217	464	140	41	126	207	514	978
1934..	150	3	106	214	473	151	43	113	219	526	999
1935..	140	10	102	231	483	140	49	107	237	533	1016
1936..	128	11	97	240	476	130	50	109	236	525	1001
1937..	131	7	106	256	500	132	53	119	238	542	1042
1938..	140	4	121	255	520	142	49	132	228	551	1071

Table 16. The population of Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound 1925—1938.

Year	Angmagssalik			Scoresby Sound			East Greenland		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1925.....	319	340	659	40	45	85	359	385	744
1926.....	327	350	677	47	47	94	374	397	771
1927.....	336	363	699	51	54	105	387	417	804
1928.....	349	364	713	51	57	108	400	421	821
1929.....	362	380	742	51	58	109	413	438	851
1930.....	373	398	771	55	57	112	428	455	883
1931.....	387	415	802	58	58	116	445	473	918
1932.....	387	433	820	62	63	125	449	496	945
1933.....	401	447	847	63	67	130	464	514	978
1934.....	412	461	873	61	65	126	473	526	999
1935.....	408	447	855	75	86	161	483	533	1016
1936.....	397	434	831	79	91	170	476	525	1001
1937.....	414	445	859	86	97	183	500	542	1042
1938.....	429	443	872	91	108	199	520	551	1071

population and its effects on the conditions of existence of the East Greenlanders.

At this point in the history of the development it will be natural to look a little more closely at the tables 15 and 16, showing the increase of the population, and the diagram belonging to it (p. 49).

From these tables it appears that the population has been increasing rapidly since 1895/96, and that this increase has been fairly even throughout the fifty years, which have passed since then. From the figures for the individual years it appears that the increase has been interrupted by a smaller decrease of the population in the years 1898, 1903, 1914 and also by a rather considerable decrease in 1935/36.

These decreases of the population are almost exclusively due to deaths from epidemic colds. Such originate every year, as an unavoidable consequence of the contact with the outer world, when the vessel of supply has been on its annual visit at the settlement. As a rule these epidemics are comparatively mild, but in some years conditions arise, which cause complications of the lungs in connection with the colds, the result being a rather considerable mortality.

This was the case in 1898 (19 deaths), in 1903 (15 deaths) and in 1914 (46 deaths, which, however, include the crew of an umiak of 11 individuals, who were all drowned), but particularly in the winter 1935/36 complicated colds ravaged the settlement, so that 71 individuals (8 per cent of the total population of Angmagssalik) died of influenza and lung complications.

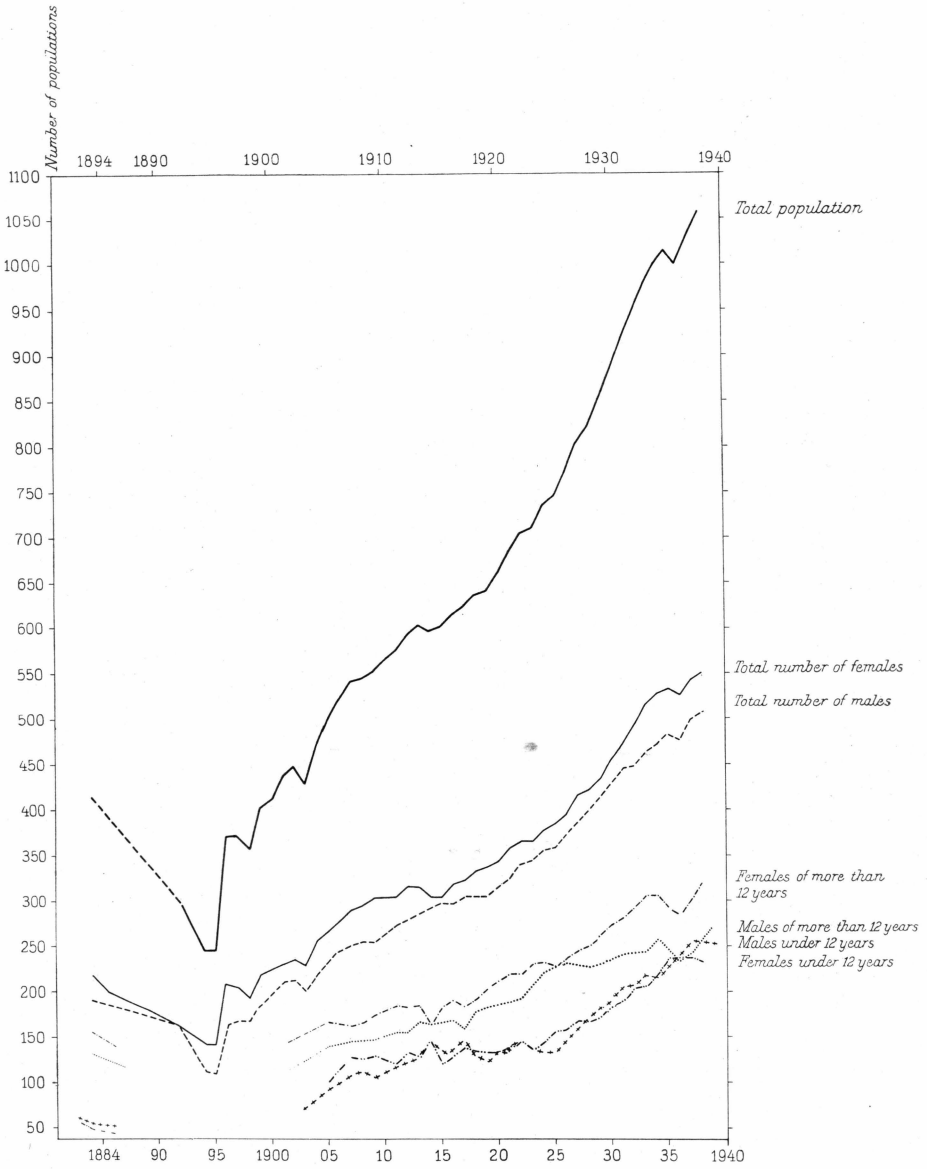


Fig. 4. Population of East Greenland 1884—1938.

The individuals who died in the winter of 1935/36 were

- 15 over 50 years
- 47 between 20 and 50 years
- 9 under 20 years

and the number of deaths was equally distributed over both sexes.

In 1925 the population of Angmagssalik split up, 85 individuals moving to the then newly founded Scoresby Sound settlement. The number of inhabitants in both places is elucidated by the table on p. 48, from which it appears that the increase of the population at Scoresby Sound has been comparatively greater than the increase at Angmagssalik¹).

The great and gradual growth of the population of East Greenland must be taken as an expression that living conditions have been fairly satisfactory since 1895. This has caused a not inconsiderable rise in in the number of births, and the better and safer conditions within the colonization period has caused a comparatively lower percentage of deaths during most years.

It is interesting to investigate the distribution according to age at the beginning of the colonization and later. As a census is now taken every ten years, the material from the census of 1930 will be used²), however, with the exception of the families transferred from West Greenland. In the table given below (17) this material will be compared with the corresponding information from GUSTAV HOLM'S first stay at Angmagssalik.

Table 17. Distribution of population according to age in 1884 and 1930.

Age	Males		Females		In all	
	1884	1930 ²)	1884	1930 ²)	1884	1930 ²)
0—4 years	24	92	30	75	54	167
5—9 —	37	72	41	67	78	139
10—14 —	38	41	54	56	92	97
15—19 —	17	58	24	48	41	106
20—24 —	18	34	23	45	41	79
25—29 —	17	31	32	36	49	67
30—34 —	32	28	21	22	53	50
35—39 —	24	14	31	15	55	29
40—44 —	12	18	14	21	26	39
45—49 —	7	12	11	8	18	20
50—54 —	6	7	7	14	13	21
55—59 —	4	1	5	8	9	9
60—64 —	2	3	2	1	4	4
65—69 —	2	..	1	4	3	4
Age unknown	5	..	7	1	12	1
	245	411	303	421	548	832

¹) In the future the term of "East Greenlanders" will be used as a general name for all the inhabitants of East Greenland, whereas the terms "Angmagssaliks" and the "population of Scoresby Sound" cover the population of the two colonization districts.

²) The last year from which figures are at hand, the census as mentioned above taking place every ten years.

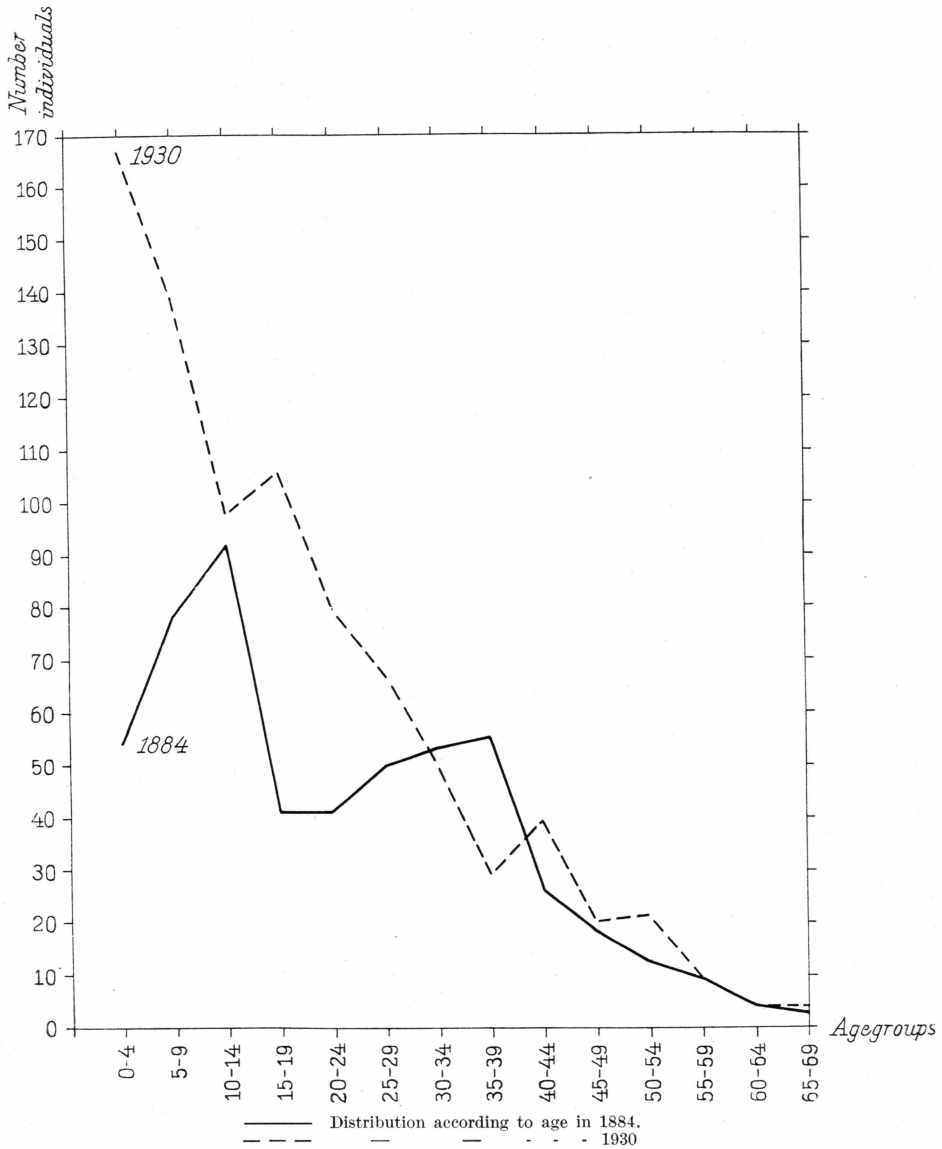


Fig. 5. Number of individuals in age groups, 1884 and 1930.

It appears from the table and the subjoined diagram (fig. 5) that a relatively great change in the number of individuals within the age classes from 0 to 19 years has taken place from 1884 to 1930. In 1884 it was the age group 10—14 years, which was the most numerous, whereas in 1930 the age group 0—4 years predominated, which also appears from the figures given in Table 18.

It seems as if the number of births must have failed from about 1870 and throughout the years until 1884, presumably because of the

Table 18. Percentage of individuals within certain age groups.

Age group	1884	1930
0—4 years.....	9.9 per cent	20.1 per cent of the total population
5—9 —	14.2 —	16.7 — - - —
10—14 —	16.8 —	11.7 — - - —
15—19 —	7.5 —	12.7 — - - —
	48.4 per cent	61.2 per cent of the total population

poor state of nutrition. The birth rate has, however, been very great in the years before 1930 (and for that matter also later), and whereas the community in 1884 principally consisted of older people, this has changed entirely, and young people are now by far predominant.

Another noteworthy change is that, whereas in 1884 there were 28.5 per cent more girls than boys under 19 years, there were 7 per cent more boys than girls in 1930.

The number of children per marriage will be seen from the table given below (Table 19 and the diagram, fig. 6) for 1930 (after the census for Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound), as compared with the same figures given by GUSTAV HOLM for all East Greenlanders in 1884.

From this it appears that the number of children per marriage is greatly increasing in all age groups (the age of the mother), into which the table is divided. This is a confirmation of the facts given above as to the great increase of the population.

Table 19. Number of children per marriage in 1884 and 1930.

Age of mother	No. children		1 child		2 children		3 children		4 children		5 children		6 children		7 children		8 children		Number of families		Average number of children per family		
	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	1884	1930	
	17—19.....	2	4	..	3	2	7	0	0.4
20—29.....	18	6	15	17	9	19	1	17	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	64	0.9	2.1
30—39.....	4	1	17	2	15	3	10	5	6	3	3	7	2	10	..	4	..	..	..	53	35	2.3	4.5
40—49.....	4	2	4	2	6	5	1	3	3	5	4	2	1	8	..	3	..	1	..	23	31	2.4	4.2
50—59.....	3	4	1	3	2	2	1	4	2	2	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	11	16	2.5	2.3
60—69.....	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	0.7	0.6
Age unknown..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	2.3	..
Mothers with number of children.....	34	17	37	29	33	29	14	29	12	15	8	10	3	18	1	7	..	1	..	142	155	1.8	2.4

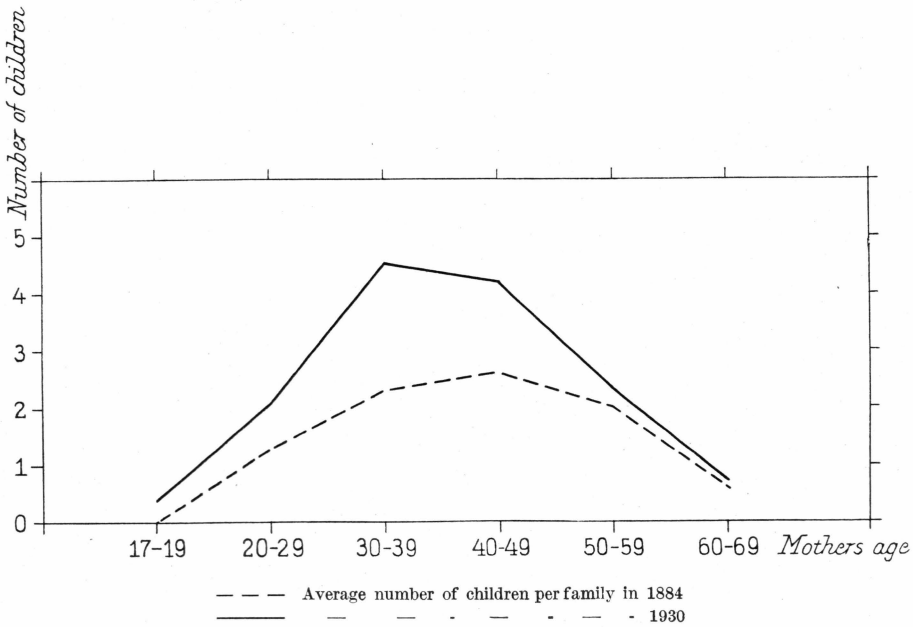


Fig. 6.

A special cause of death for men is, at the present day as in the past, the great risk involved in hunting, and the many accidents have caused the number of men to be considerably smaller than the number of women. This is elucidated in detail by Table 20.

The great excess in the number of women before 1901 was not only due to the risks, which the men ran in carrying out their occupations, but also to the fact mentioned that before the colonization a comparatively large number of men were murdered. The table shows a decrease in the preponderance of women from 22 to 6 per cent. This latter preponderance (6 per cent) is presumably only due to the risk involved in hunting,

Table 20. Number of males and females.

Year	Number		More females than males	
	Males	Females	Number	Percentage
1884.....	193	220	27	14
1892.....	132	161	29	22
1901.....	209	227	18	9
1920.....	317	346	29	9
1930.....	428	455	27	6
1938.....	520	551	31	6

which even with the better hunting implements of the present day is much greater than the workmen's risk in other countries.

A contributory cause of the apparently smaller risk involved in hunting may possibly also be looked for in the fact that most East Greenland households have now a small spare depot of commodities from the store, and the men are consequently not obliged to go out hunting under particularly bad ice and weather conditions, as the hunters of the past sometimes had to do in order to get sufficient meat for the daily consumption.

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLING PLACES IN THE ANGMAGSSALIK DISTRICT IN MORE RECENT YEARS

The Angmagssalik district has natural boundaries, the large glaciers at southern and northern Ikersuak (in $65^{\circ}30'$ and $66^{\circ}30'$ lat. N., respectively) extending as far as the sea and, as it were, framing the area, which measures about 250 km along the coast. It is a typical Alpine landscape, with peaks of up to more than 2000 m in height, and only in a few places there are habitable lowlands. The district is divided into several smaller areas by the great fjords cutting into it, viz. Sermilik, Angmagssalik Fjord (which is, however, also partly a sound) and Sermiligaq. The greatest of these is the Sermilik fjord, which measures 90 km from the outer coast to the margin of the inland ice. There are, further, a quantity of smaller fjords and sounds, and also a very great number of islands and skerries. At certain places between these islands and skerries there is as a rule a strong current which, excepting in the very coldest periods, partly cuts away the ice in winter, and partly keeps the drifting ice in constant motion, thereby preventing the waterways from freezing solid in winter and the pack ice from accumulating in great quantities in summer. Most of the settlements are found near these places, where it is generally possible to reckon with open water also in winter, in consequence of which these places are common resorts of the seals.

In this district the East Greenlanders have had their dwelling and hunting places from the first settlement of the coast until now, although a great number of the inhabitants in former times emigrated, for shorter or longer periods, to good hunting places either to the north or to the south of the principal district.

Everywhere in the extensive Angmagssalik district there are house ruins (about 260) and also numerous tent rings, which show how large and widely spread the population was in former times, though more particularly along the coasts of the Angmagssalik fjord, with its some fifty dwelling places, and the Sermilik fjord, where there have been about thirty dwelling places.

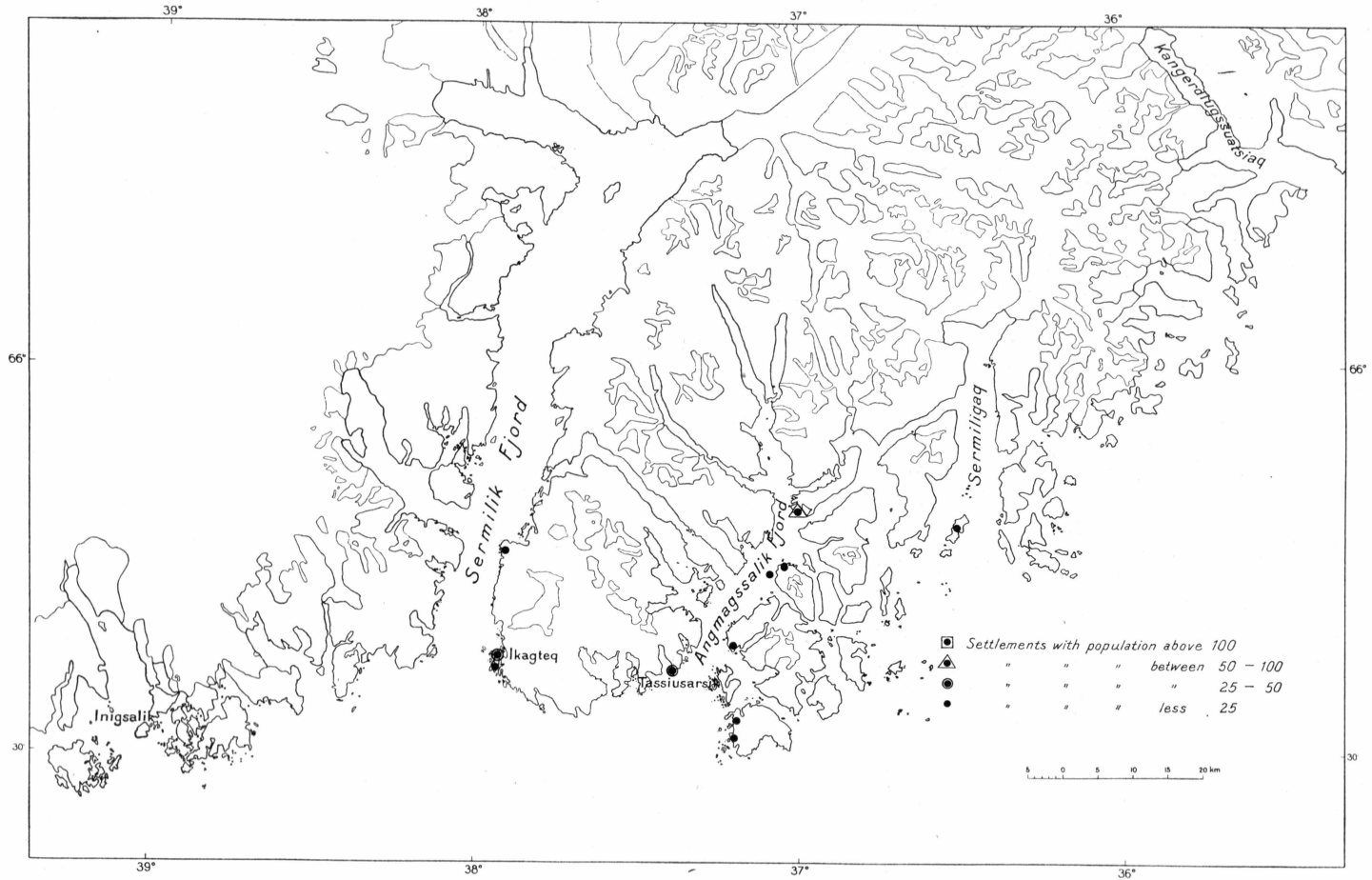


Fig. 7. Dwelling places in the Angmagssalik district 1884—85. (No dwelling place with a population above 100).

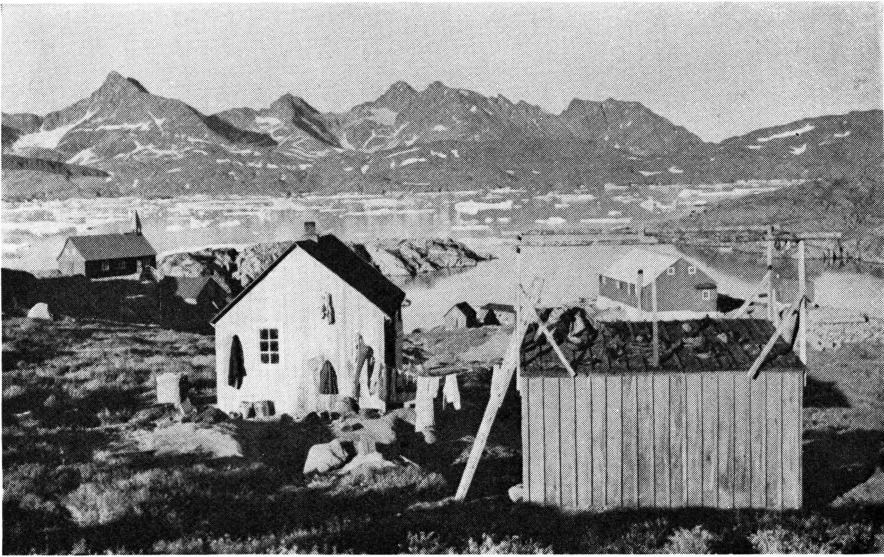


Fig. 8. The harbour at Angmagssalik with church and store and native employees' houses.

Within the inhabited area the Angmagssaliks have always led a very nomadic existence, and in former times they did not as a rule spend two years running in the same place. This constant moving about was very much facilitated by the presence of the many house ruins everywhere in the district, which might easily be made habitable, as it was an old established custom that the timber of the roof belonged to the house, even if the settlement was deserted.

As long as no interference from without had been brought to bear upon the Angmagssaliks, the different families as a rule kept to fairly definite areas within the district, such as the Angmagssalik fjord, Sermilik, Sermiligaq or the Cape Dan islands, but they constantly moved from one dwelling place to another within these areas.

This constant moving about within one area was—of course unconsciously—of very great importance for the population, both from the point of view of subsistence and from that of health.

From the point of view of subsistence the importance consisted in the fact that the animals of capture were not constantly exposed to pursuit from one and the same dwelling place, but that the hunting was distributed over a large area, so that no essential decrease of the stock took place in a given locality. Neither were the animals so frightened or difficult to approach, as if the hunting had taken place year after year from the same dwelling place.

The sanitary importance of the moving about is equally evident, as wind, sun and rain would thoroughly remove all dirt from every

corner of the empty and roofless houses, which after having been uninhabited for a number of years again were clean and suitable as winter dwellings.

All this was, however, entirely changed by the establishment of the permanent settlement and mission. Formerly unknown factors, such as store, church and school, now entered into the development, and caused a change in the demands of the population as to what a dwelling place could and should offer them. Only comparatively few years after the colonization had been started, the easiest possible access to the store and its commodities, or to the church and school, became of far greater importance for the population than the formerly so natural and unalterable demand, viz. that a dwelling place should first and foremost be situated near a good hunting ground, where the greatest possible amount of articles of food could be provided with the least possible exertion.

The trading station, the Angmagssalik settlement of the present day, with the great attractions it held for a primitive population, was naturally established near a good harbour. However, no Eskimos had before then lived in this place, which was known as a poor hunting ground, and the possibilities of hunting, always very small in the neighbourhood of the settlement, have become essentially poorer in the course of years. But the attraction of the store was always there; the mission also needed Eskimos to carry on its work, and irrespective of the fact that the hunting possibilities were bad and conditions generally speaking unfavorable, some families were easily persuaded to move there in order to receive baptismal instruction.

It was easy enough to make the Eskimos settle near the trading and mission stations, but it was much more difficult to induce them to move away, after they had been baptized. About 1905 it became necessary to issue an order, to the effect that no family was allowed to stay at the main settlement for more than two years at a time, and at first this order was more or less obeyed. However, in the long run it could not be maintained; and whereas the manager, in his own interest and that of the population, tried to make them move out to the good hunting grounds of the district, this was opposed by the clergy, who considered it necessary, for religious reasons, to keep the population as near the church as possible. Thus opinions were divided as to what was best for the population, but as the ideas of the clergy corresponded with the inclination of the Angmagssaliks, who wanted to stay in the neighbourhood of the main settlement, its population grew rapidly in spite of all well-meant directions issued by the Administration of Greenland for the benefit of the community.



Fig. 9. School-chapel in the Cape Dan area (Kulusuq).

At the present time some 130 Greenlanders live at the main settlement. A number of these are the employees of the Administration and cannot move from there. But their relatives, and more particularly their children, also remain at the main settlement, instead of resorting to the good hunting grounds, even after they have reached the age, when they might be supposed to be independent bread-winners. The boys of the main settlement are generally not trained as hunters, and the men living there have often lost their former proficiency, and perhaps even no longer possess a kayak or hunting implements fit for use. Neither are the girls from their childhood brought up to the many different tasks of a hunter's wife, and they are consequently, if they do marry hunters, not very well able to manage the work at a smaller settlement or dwelling place—quite apart from the fact that they cannot as a rule tear themselves away from the trading station and the attractions offered by it, as compared with the smaller dwelling places, which are rarely visited by travellers, and where there is no store.

In this manner a proletariat is being created—or has in fact already been created—which can only exist by means of their earnings from more or less casual work and by the public aid, which may be obtained in times of need.

This development is most regrettable, but it can hardly be stopped now, and in time there will in all probability be more and more permanent residents at the main settlement, though the old order about a two-

years' stay is now once more being enforced, and other measures have been taken with the object of putting obstacles in the way of these protracted sojourns.

The establishment of the trading post has had less influence as regards the mode of living farther out in the colonization district, but also here the new conditions have caused great changes.

Thus the economic life of the population has suffered a good deal from the fact that in 1909 a combined school and chapel-house (the so called school-chapel) was built in the Cape Dan area, at a place where it was easy to unload and land the building materials, but where hunting conditions were comparatively poor. Before the building of this school-chapel there lived about 80 individuals in this area, being distributed over 3 dwelling places. In 1910 so many people had moved to the vicinity of the school-chapel that the population had increased to 161 individuals, distributed over 6 dwelling places, but in 1937 the number of the latter had decreased to 3, with 208 inhabitants in all. These 208 individuals were distributed in such a manner that 168 lived at the settlement, where hunting is poorest, but where the school-chapel is situated, while 14 and 24 individuals lived in the two other dwelling places, which supplied about half of the hunting proceeds of the whole area.

A somewhat similar development has taken place in the Kungmiut area, from which 19 old settlements and dwelling places are known. From 1884 and until now there have been in all 9 inhabited places within this area, where hunting conditions are comparatively good, and where in particular fishing is good.

In 1915 a school was founded at Kungmiut, and in 1926 a school-chapel was built. After that the changes in this locality, as to the number of dwelling places and their population have been as follows:

In 1914	there were	3 dwelling places	with	61 inhabitants
- 1916	— —	5 — —	—	118 —
- 1937	— was	1 dwelling place	—	142 —

The only way to counteract this inclination to gather round the school-chapel is, it seems, to do that which has been done quite recently viz. to establish a smaller school at each settlement or dwelling place. Then at least the population has not the formerly so popular excuse for moving to one of the larger centres of habitation, that their children were craving for more enlightenment, which craving could only be satisfied in places with schools and school instruction.

In areas without a school-chapel an essentially smaller concentration has taken place, but the tendency has everywhere been towards a rather considerable increase of the population at the individual dwelling places.

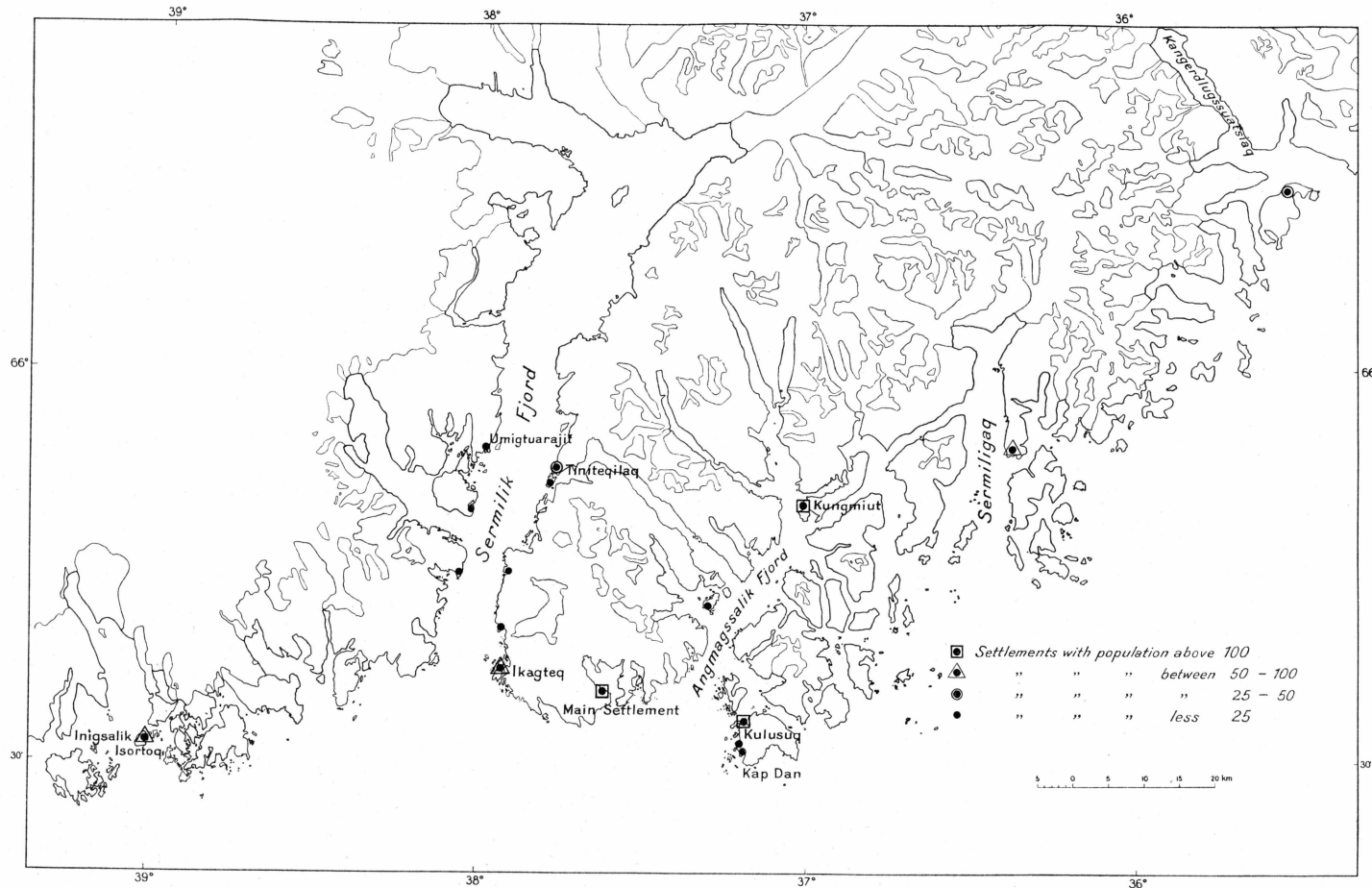


Fig. 10. Settlements and dwelling places in the Angmagssalik district 1937—38.

This appears from the following table (21), showing the changes which have taken place after the colonization.

Table 21. Changes in settlements and dwelling places from 1884 to 1937.

	1884		1904		1910		1920		1930		1937 ¹⁾	
	S	I	S	I	S	I	S	I	S	I	S	I
Kangerdlugssuatsiat.....	..	..	..	..	1	38	1	37	2	28	1	25
Sermiligaq.....	1	14	1	27	..	..	2	66	1	49	1	57
Kungmiut area.....	1	47	3	60	2	60	5	133	2	83	1	142
Angmagssalik fjord, western coast	1	35	1	29	1	20	1	25	1	24	1	19
— — eastern —	3	84	1	28	1	10	1	15	1	11	..	..
Cape Dan area.....	2	59	3	80	6	161	4	141	5	221	3	208
Trading and mission station ...	..	..	1	59	1	68	1	91	1	112	11	130
Sermilik fjord, eastern coast ...	4	132	4	136	3	84	3	84	4	128	3	162
— — western — ...	..	..	..	..	4	80	1	17	1	17	3	59
From Sermilik to Inigsalik ...	..	..	3	55	2	16	1	18	1	88	1	67
Travelling.....	..	28	..	..	..	24	..	36	..	10	..	..
In all...	13	413	17	474	21	561	20	663	19	771	15	869
Average population per dwelling place and settlement.....	32		28		27		33		41		58	

S = number of settlements and dwelling places.

I = individuals per settlement and dwelling place.

From this table and the diagram fig. 11 it appears that the number of inhabitants per dwelling place were 32 in 1884, and at that time the large communal houses were still in use. In 1910 there were only 27 inhabitants per settlement, but then the number increased again, and in 1937 there were 58 individuals per settlement. At the beginning of the colonization period, under the understanding guidance of the manager JOHAN PETERSEN, the number of settlements and dwelling places fortunately increased from 13 in 1884 to 21 in 1910, but then a decrease set in as regards the number of dwelling places, particularly viewed in relation to the increase of the population.

As a result of the concentration of the population, the hunting from the individual dwelling places has become more difficult and their subsistence by means of hunting products consequently poorer. The increasing number of hunters at a dwelling place must therefore look

¹⁾ The figures from 1937 have been used instead of those from 1938, as in the early summer of 1938 about 160 individuals emigrated to the more southerly part of the coast, which brought about a total change in the settlement conditions.

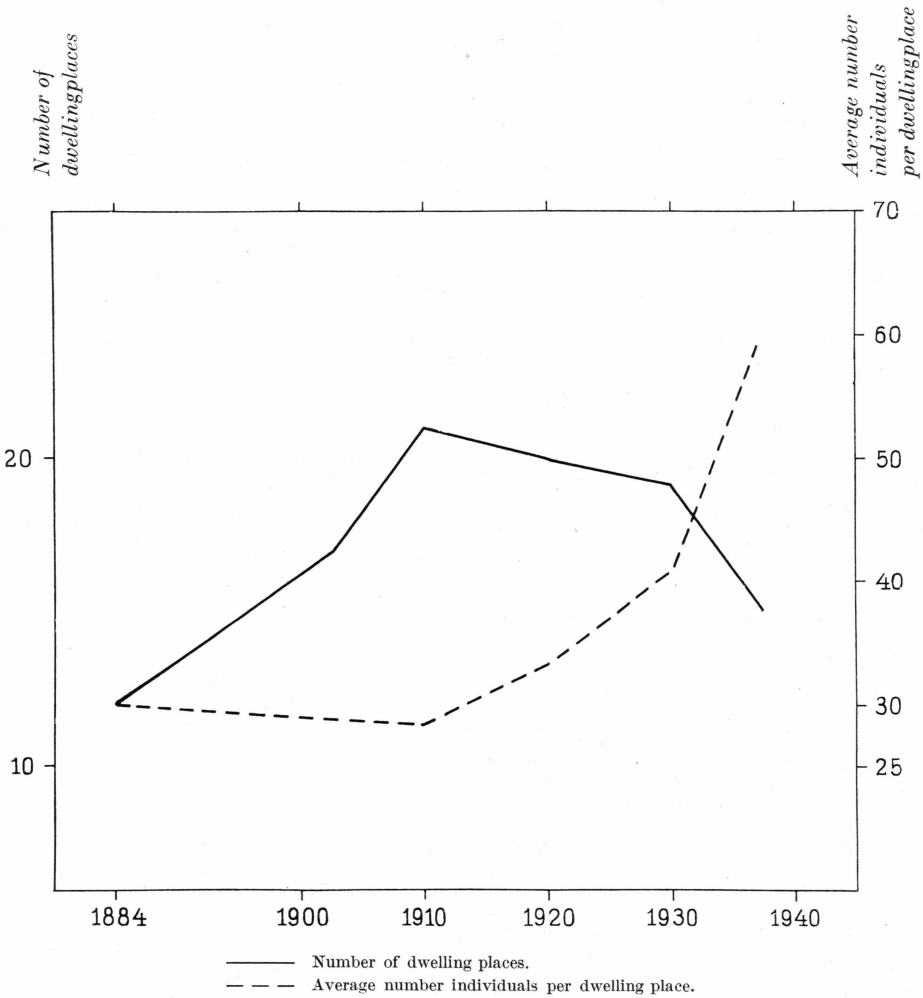


Fig. 11. Changes in dwelling places and their population from 1884—1938.

farther afield in order to get the necessary game, which becomes more and more difficult, as the number of seals has also decreased, so that hunting possibilities have generally become less than before. On the other hand, the concentration has also been of importance, as the possibility of the inhabitants coming under the influence of the Danes and each other has been greater than with the former, more scattered habitation.

A closer inspection of the settlement conditions shows that the Angmagssaliks now, in a much lesser degree than before, lead a nomadic existence, and several of them have become permanent residents, even

though in summer they still move out to the good summer hunting grounds.

The result of this is, among other things, that the Angmagssaliks are now able and willing to spend more on their houses than formerly, when they moved every year, and several houses have now wooden floors, wooden ceilings and even wooden panelling. A few of the best hunters at Angmagssalik (and all the Greenlanders at Scoresby Sound) have wooden houses of a European pattern with a stove for heating instead of the blubber lamp of the past. This development has resulted in a sort of right of property in the houses, which was unknown in former times, and has been a contributory cause to the decreasing number of the large and warm communal houses in the Angmagssalik district, where one-family houses are now the most common. The partial abandonment of the old type of houses, with many people living together and helping each other in times of adversity, has not been altogether to the benefit of the population and has brought about a considerable change in their mode of life.

The change from larger communal to one-family houses and the number of inmates per house appears from Table 22.

Table 22. Individuals per house.

	Number			Individuals per house in West Greenland
	Individuals in all	Houses	Individuals per house	
The winter 1884/85	413	13	32	9.3
- — 1897/98	372	11	34	..
- — 1910/11	556	26	21	6.9
- — 1920/21	663	35	19	6.3
- — 1930/31	771	52	15	6.1
- — 1938/39	872	76	11	..

The constantly greater number of people living at the dwelling places has been a contributory cause towards making existence by hunting difficult, and it is also necessary to make hunting more intensive, when the population has increased so greatly, as is the case in the Angmagssalik district.

As a result of this, the district is on the point of becoming overpopulated in relation to the given living and hunting conditions, and in 1925 this resulted in the transfer of 82 individuals to Scoresby Sound. By this means some—though only temporary—relief was effected, but

for the present as well as for the future the constant increase of the population continually forces home the question: whether to move some of the Angmagssaliks to entirely different regions along the coast of East Greenland, or else to try to induce them to resume hunting expeditions, lasting for a year or more, to the good hunting grounds outside the Angmagssalik district—such as was the unalterable and excellent custom before the colonization of Angmagssalik.

HUNTING EXPEDITIONS OF THE ANGMAGSSALIKS TO THE OUTLYING DISTRICTS

When trying to understand in detail the living conditions of the Angmagssaliks, one must first of all realize that there is an essential difference between the area, where all the dwelling places now in use are situated (the district as an area of habitation, the Angmagssalik district in the strictest sense of the word) and the area, where in former times the population hunted and acquired a very essential part of its means of subsistence (the district as a hunting area, the Angmagssalik district in a wider sense). Whereas the former area, as already mentioned, includes a stretch of coast of some 250 km, the latter measures some 900 km from north to south.

In the days before the beginning of the colonization the population from the above-mentioned area of habitation undertook hunting expeditions extending over several years to the northern and southern parts of the coast. The populations of the Cape Dan islands and the Kungmiut region mostly travelled north, whereas the families from the Sermilik fjord and the adjacent areas went to the hunting grounds on the more southerly stretch of coast.

Towards the north the Angmagssaliks extended their hunting expeditions as far as Aputiteq (about 67°45' lat. N.), but as a rule they did not penetrate farther than the Kialineq region in about 67° lat. N., where comparatively good hunting conditions were found in the waterways between the rather numerous islands, and where there were also bear and narwhal. Towards the south the hunters penetrated as far as the Puisortoq glacier in about 62° lat. N., but it was particularly to the large fjord systems such as Tingmiarmiut, Akorninarmiut (Igduluarsuk), Umivik and Pikiutdleq that the hunters of the past went with their families, both for a change and in order to hunt, the animals of capture being principally the large seals, which were so indispensable for clothing and hunting implements (kayak and umiak).

These hunting expeditions brought a welcome change in the otherwise rather monotonous existence of the East Greenlanders, who thus saw new land and got to know new conditions of life. But before all,

these journeys were of great importance towards giving the population the best possible means of subsistence. For one thing the hunting area became much greater, and for another the constant changing of hunting grounds over the some 900 km long stretch of coast gave the animals the rest to propropagate and the time to get over their fear of human beings, so that it was easier to come within striking distance of them with the old-fashioned short-range hunting implements.

From these journeys in a northern and southern direction, and extending over several years, the population returned to the Angmagssalik district as their central home. Only in exceptional cases, or when driven by the greatest need, they let themselves be lured to the coast of West Greenland with the easier living conditions and support from the West Greenland stores.

Some information about these hunting expeditions may be gathered from the reports of the few European travellers, who in former times passed along the coast. Thus, on his journey to Southeast Greenland in 1829, GRAAH heard of the comparatively densely populated Angmagssalik district, and though not expressly stated in his notes from the journey, it may be taken for granted that the some 130 East Greenlanders he met at Umivik (Aluik Island) were Angmagssaliks, who from the north had resorted to the hunting ground which, by the Angmagssaliks of our day and presumably also of the past, was considered one of the best on the southern part of the coast. When in 1884 GUSTAV HOLM arrived in Southeast Greenland, about 33 per cent of the native population stayed along the southern stretch of coast between Angmagssalik and Tingmiarmiut, and in 1892/93 about 40 per cent of the population were living at the same hunting grounds.

There is consequently at any rate some basis for the supposition that, before the colonization, about a third of the Eskimos stayed at hunting grounds outside the district proper. Further, on the strength of all the information available, it may be supposed that the hunting journeys to the outer districts were regarded as an inevitable part of the living conditions forced upon the population by the nature of the country.

The changed conditions and mode of life in the Angmagssalik district, which was the immediate and direct consequence of the establishment of the trading post, greatly influenced the participation in the extensive hunting expeditions. The number of partakers in these expeditions fell from about 30—40 per cent in 1894/95 to a mere 5 per cent in 1898, the original high percentage never being reached at any later period. In the years 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1914 and 1915, the natives never left the Angmagssalik district, which would surely have been unthinkable in former times.

Table 23. Participation in hun

	N. Lat.	1883	1892	1895	1898	1899	1903	1906	1908	1
Kangerdlugssuaq.....	68°00'	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nualik.....	67°15'	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Itivsalik.....	66°50'	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tasisaq.....	66°40'	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pikiutdleg.....	65°00'	..	..	..	..	39	34	21	29	
Umivik.....	64°25'	..	86	..	19	..	..	..	..
IgdloUARssuk.....	63°35'	18	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Akorninarmiut.....	63°20'	44	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Umanak.....	62°50'	36	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tingmiarmiut.....	62°40'	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unknown locality.....		..	8	130	..	..	..	..	..
		135	118	130	19	39	34	21	29	
In percentage of the population of Angmagssalik.....		33	40	34	5	11	8	4	5	

Whereas the establishment of the settlement was tantamount to easier living conditions and, through the introduction of the rifle, also at first greater proceeds from hunting, the rapidly increasing population soon made it more and more necessary for the ablest and most enterprising hunters to undertake hunting expeditions to the old and familiar regions. This necessity, however, was counteracted by a certain reluctance to leave the region near the store, and therefore special measures had to be taken to revive the interest in the hunting expeditions, which were of such great importance for the whole of the community.

During the early years after the establishment of the settlement its first manager, JOHAN PETERSEN, at his own expense, gave loans to the Angmagssaliks, who wanted to undertake the long hunting expeditions, but who did not possess the means to acquire a fairly adequate equipment, and these loans exercised a great influence towards maintaining the interest in the hunting expeditions.

The manager, who succeeded him in 1916, was authorized to issue these loans at the expense of the Administration of Greenland, and at the same time they were fixed at kr. 75 for every bread-winner, who intended to go for a year or more to the hunting grounds of the outer district. The object of this granting of loans was that the bread-winner might thus get the means to supply himself with sufficient ammunition etc. to safeguard his and his family's stay far from the store or other possibilities of help.

These loans, the smallness of which for the given object must be

ditions to outlying districts.

	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925 ¹⁾	1926	1927	1928	1931	1934	1935	1936	1938
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..
	..	..	..	..	..	45	..	..	..	..	..	..	86	..	..	..	..	..

	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..
9	27	..	..	21	8	..	20	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	22	..	..	..
	..	57	27	..	28	..	47	13	24	..	..	11	..	47	18	..	31	..
	..	..	..	27	..	78	34	76	74	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	74
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	88
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..

9	27	57	27	48	36	151	101	89	98	22	28	45	117	47	40	14	31	152
3	4	9	4	7	5	22	14	12	13	3	4	6	16	6	5	2	4	18

viewed against the background of the formerly small cash income of the population (for the period 1911—15 on an average kr. 47.30 a year) for a time stimulated the inclination to travel to the hunting grounds of the outer districts, and in the years 1916—28 (both inclusive) a smaller or larger number of Angmagssaliks constantly stayed outside the boundaries of the district. As to further details see the above table (23) showing the number of those, who in each of the years took part in the hunting expeditions to the various districts²⁾.

It appears from the table that the hunting areas most visited were those to the south of Angmagssalik, and here it must also be supposed that there was the greatest possibility of hunting the coveted large seals.

The demands both as regards the quality and the quantity of supplies to be taken on these hunting expeditions were bound to increase, and with the constantly rising prices of necessary commodities, such as ammunition, articles of food and not least tobacco, without any corresponding rise in the amount of the loans, the latter very largely lost their importance as a stimulus for the undertaking of hunting expeditions. Another factor, which played a part in the partial abandonment of these expeditions, was that the strain on the population for a time was somewhat lessened by the fact that a number of Angmagssaliks in 1925 had been moved to the then newly established settlement at Scoresby Sound.

¹⁾ 85 individuals emigrated to Scoresby Sound.

²⁾ Partly from THERKEL MATHIASSEN, M. o. Gr. 92, No. 4; p. 130.

The constantly increasing population in the Angmagssalik district and the development from many smaller to fewer larger settlements have caused the hunting of seal—at least in certain localities—to have become too great in proportion to the stock of animals, for which reason the proceeds per hunter have decreased very considerably. This has naturally caused a lessening of the food supply, and large seals, which are indispensable for the soles of kamiks and as coverings for umiaks and kayaks, can no longer be obtained in sufficient quantities within the inhabited Angmagssalik district.

The resulting need, which often causes actual hunger and lack of skins, can only be finally remedied by the establishment of new trading centres on the now uninhabited coast, or by hunting expeditions undertaken to the unexploited hunting grounds north and south of the Angmagssalik district, and all hunters quite realize that by undertaking such hunting expeditions, they can easily ward off the constantly increasing lack of meat and skins of large seals.

Although the advantages of going away for a year or two are obvious to all the inhabitants of Angmagssalik and the object of many discussions and yearnings, it nevertheless becomes more and more difficult for them to make up their minds to do so. It seems as if one of the unfortunate consequences of the colonization has been a change in the whole mental attitude towards the nomadic existence, and the formerly so pronounced desire to trek from one hunting district to another is disappearing, and even seems to be on the point of undergoing a change in the direction of a tendency to secure a permanent abode.

There are several causes of this, the primary one being that the Angmagssaliks have come to depend on the commodities, which can be purchased at the store, and that they are therefore reluctant to move too far away from it. The many different and easily obtainable commodities have also, to a certain extent, made the Greenlanders unaccustomed to trust to their own strength and ability to get along by means of the produce of the country. In former times the hunter could, by means of harpoons and other implements manufactured by himself, procure all that was necessary in the line of food, clothing and, to a certain extent, housing (the skin tents of the summer) for himself and his family, and the Eskimos of the past, who knew no authority or dependence in any form whatsoever, felt at home and happy, wherever they were on the coast, alone or together with other families—that is, as long as they had enough meat, blubber and skins.

But this is not the case any more.

The Angmagssaliks have now great difficulty in getting along without cereals, sugar and other ordinary groceries, or rather: they will not dispense with those and other articles bought at the store, which

can only with great difficulty be taken along in an umiak, at any rate in sufficient quantities for a fairly long stay outside the boundaries of the settlement. In particular it is very difficult for them to renounce the stimulant, introduced with the colonization and now so much in requisition both with men and women, viz. tobacco. The lack of tobacco, or even the fear of having to do without tobacco, has in several cases caused them to interrupt a stay in the outer districts with their rich hunting possibilities, in order to return to the store of the settlement and the essentially poorer hunting and means of subsistence in its immediate neighbourhood.

In former times practically every older bread-winner had his own umiak and was able to go wherever he wanted, without asking the permission of anyone. But the number of umiaks has decreased considerably since the colonization—thus in 1938 the 122 hunters at Angmagssalik had at most 28 umiaks in all at their disposal, that is an average of 4 families per umiak—and besides, these umiaks are at present generally the common property of a rather widely branching family, under the control of its oldest member, man or woman. Many bread-winners, who have the initiative to go to better hunting grounds, have not even the possibility of acquiring the right of disposal of the indispensable umiak, and even those, who belong to a family possessing an umiak, are dependent upon the oldest member. And if he (or she), as often happens, has become attached to the place he lives in and is satisfied with his lot, but on the other hand is reluctant to give up the control of the family umiak for the benefit of the more enterprising younger members of the family, he can prevent such an undertaking.

And even supposing that a hunter possesses an umiak and, as in former times, has the full right of disposal of it, the coverings of the umiaks are frequently—owing to the scarcity of skins—so old and worn that the head of a family, with a feeling of his own responsibility, dare not take the risk of making the long journey through ice-filled waters to the far-away outer districts.

Thus, as contrasted with the time before the colonization, when life was considerably simpler, there are now many difficulties and hesitations to overcome for an Angmagssalik family, who by going away intends to improve its means of subsistence and to procure skins for fresh coverings of kayaks and umiaks. Unfortunately the project frequently remains unfulfilled, as the difficulties in the way of carrying it out may seem—and often also are—unsurmountable.

But if all doubts and hesitations are overcome, and if the means of carrying out the expedition, viz. the umiak, is at hand, then the provider is first and foremost faced by the problem of getting the necessary funds or credit for the purchase of the commodities, which are now

essential for the safeguarding of the family's existence during a year's stay in the outer district.

The outfitting loan of kr. 75, which even in 1916 was too small to purchase the most necessary ammunition and provisions for a stay extending over a year, is now only a fraction of the amount, which must be at their disposal for buying such an equipment. For one thing, all commodities have become essentially more expensive than before (provisions about 10 per cent, clothing about 60 per cent and arms and ammunition 20—30 per cent); for another, much more is now required for such a long journey by way of provisions, clothing and ammunition. To this must be added the necessary spare rifle, in case the one brought should be lost, as very few (if any) of the East Greenland hunters of the present day would be able to safeguard the existence of their families by means of harpoons.

As a rule this comparatively expensive equipment, which is necessary for a sojourn in the outer districts, can be had by friendly arrangement with a manager, who understands the social importance of the matter. But the transport of such a great quantity of goods is a problem, which adds to the difficulties attached to these expeditions, and which there is no means of remedying, as long as the whole equipment must be brought along from home. It is also necessary that two or more families should go together, for a hunter may be drowned or die a natural death, and if this happens, and there is only one hunter among the travellers, the remainder of the family would invariably die of hunger. As a rule they all go in one umiak, and when at last the whole equipment has been crammed into it, together with women and children, dogs, sledges, tents etc. the vessel is too heavily loaded to be so easily handled in the ice, as is necessary in the case of such a frail and vulnerable craft. And besides an overcrowding of this kind may prove dangerous, for a heavily loaded umiak has a considerable propulsion, and as it consequently strikes the ice harder than a lightly loaded one, it is extremely apt to spring a leak, which necessitates the quickest possible unloading. An unloading is, however, in any case a very circumstantial affair—not least because of the Greenlanders' lack of organizing ability and their disobedience of those in authority—and the total loss of umiak and equipment is not infrequently the result of a serious leakage. And if this happens far from any inhabited place, or on a particularly deserted coast, the travellers are decidedly in danger of their lives.

These transport difficulties will increase proportionally to the demands of the Greenlanders for a larger and better equipment, and will probably end by preventing the long hunting expeditions, which from time immemorial have been a necessity for the existence of the Angmagssalik community and which now, no less than before, are of such

extremely great importance for the development and well-being of the tribe.

As it will appear from subsequent chapters on hunting and production, a highly perceptible decrease in the quantity of animals of capture is not a possibility of the remote future, but a much to be regretted present reality, and it may be maintained, without any reservation whatsoever, that the greatly increasing Angmagssalik population must before long come to suffer a very pressing want of the most necessary hunting products, if in the future it is forced to keep within the boundaries of the Angmagssalik district proper.

Add to this that the coast outside the actual areas of habitation can no longer—as in former times—be exclusively regarded as the incontestable hunting area of the East Greenlanders. And this is partly due to an error. A number of years ago GUSTAV HOLM was requested to mark off and circumscribe the area, within which the Angmagssaliks had their settlements and their real homes. He then laid down the boundaries through northern and southern Ikerssuak, thus including all more or less permanently inhabited localities in the Angmagssalik district, but he never for a moment reckoned with the possibility that these boundaries would gradually come to be regarded as the official outer boundaries of the inhabited and hunting areas of the Angmagssaliks.

When the discussion started between Denmark and Norway regarding East Greenland, this fact had been entirely forgotten, and when the coast of Southeast Greenland, according to the agreement of 1924, was opened to Norwegians (later on also to other Europeans) for hunting purposes, the lines drawn by GUSTAV HOLM for an entirely different purpose were regarded as marking the extreme boundaries of the Angmagssalik hunting districts towards North and South.

European hunters were, therefore, by this agreement given the right to establish themselves on the coast and to hunt as far as these boundaries, and as the Danish authorities did not consider it as being in the interest of the Angmagssaliks to have uncontrolled intercourse with European hunters, they were prepared to prevent their hunting expeditions to the old grounds, however necessary for the continued well-being of the community. European hunters have, however, in vain tried to wrench a base of existence from this stretch of coast, to which they had been accorded access by the agreement mentioned above. But although they have not been able to make the hunting pay and so have been obliged to give it up for the present, the rights still exist and put further obstacles in the way of the journeys of the Angmagssaliks to the areas along the now open coast, where their fathers had unlimited freedom to move about, and where most of the Angmagssalik hunters of the present time have themselves carried on hunting.



Fig. 12. Angmagssaliks leaving the main settlement for the outer districts in 1938.

On the surface it may possibly seem strange that the Europeans, with their good hunting implements, cannot exist where the East Greenlanders manage so well with their more primitive methods, but it must be borne in mind that for the latter the chief animal of capture is the seal, which is pursued for the sake of meat, blubber and skins, whereas European hunters, in order to make their enterprise pay and attain some profit, must hunt animals, which fetch higher prices, such as foxes, bears etc. In other words, the Greenlanders hunt in order to get food, whereas the Europeans must have a certain cash profit to show for their work, and this naturally makes a great difference in the valuation of a district as a hunting area.

In order that the Angmagssaliks may thrive also in the future, they must have unhindered access to their old hunting areas. It is, however, no longer sufficient to close the coast again for all except East Greenlanders. More is now required to safeguard the future of the population, for as mentioned above, the Angmagssaliks can no longer manage without imported goods, and not until their Danish guardians establish a depot with the necessary commodities in a suitable locality along the southern coast or, better still, a settlement with a store and a school, will the Angmagssaliks be able fully to exploit the hunting possibilities of the coast, and in future generations continue to provide themselves with the food and hunting produce, which is valueless for everybody else, but an absolute necessity for the

continued healthy and normal growth of the East Greenland community.

In spite of all these difficulties, the growth of the population has of late been so great, and the lack of meat so embarrassing that 152 Angmagssaliks, after two years of extremely bad hunting conditions within the Angmagssalik district proper, in 1938 emigrated to Akorninarmiut and Tingmiarmiut and some other localities on the southern coast, where they intended to stay for two years and possibly longer. According to later information received from these regions the hunting of large seal has more than fulfilled the expectations entertained.

This shows that there has been a pressing need for the Angmagssaliks to leave the present area of habitation and to look for hunting in the old and familiar district, and it must be hoped that after the war it will prove possible to provide easier and safer access to these greatly needed hunting grounds, than has been the case during later years.

THE ESKIMOS' MEANS OF EXISTENCE BEFORE THE COLONIZATION

The economic possibilities of East Greenland are extremely limited, and practically only consist of a single one, viz. the hunting of sea mammals.

The climate is extremely cold, the average yearly temperature at Angmagssalik within the period 1895—1930 being $\div 1.6^{\circ}$ and at Scoresby Sound within the period 1925—1930 only $\div 8.0^{\circ 1}$). In the few months when the ground is bare of snow, only small quantities of plants, grasses and mosses are able to grow, and the birds and land mammals subsisting by means of the vegetation have never been of any material importance in the food supply of the Eskimos. The only exception was the reindeer, which until about 1900 lived on the northern part of the coast of East Greenland, and traces of which, although uncertain, have also been found in the Angmagssalik district. The only means of subsistence of the East Greenland Eskimos is consequently connected with the sea, where from of old they have been able to catch some whales and particularly various kinds of seals in comparatively great quantities. The numbers in which these seals occur have been very great, as until the arrival of man they had only been pursued by polar bears, the only beasts of prey which were able to cope with them.

These conditions were not materially changed by the arrival of the Eskimos in East Greenland. For one thing, they were constantly migrating along the coast, and consequently they were nowhere able to exterminate the stock of animals; for another, the number of people was comparatively small, while their implements were so primitive that the hunting must be limited, and finally the Eskimos only pursued the sea mammals in order to get the meat, blubber and skins, which were necessary for their subsistence, and this naturally meant that they were only obliged to kill them in relatively very limited numbers.

Information as regards the occupations and hunting of the East Greenland Eskimos of the past can be gathered from the excavations

¹⁾ Statistiske Oplysninger om Grønland; p. 391.

of the archæologists, which show that by far the principal means of subsistence of the Eskimos were seals and whales. Whaling must in the oldest times have played a rather considerable part; for instance, in the course of his investigations in the Angmagssalik district, THERKEL MATHIASSEN found that out of 139 bone objects, excavated from the oldest houses, 87 were of whalebone¹).

The excavations also clearly show that the whale, the great Greenland whale, must gradually have become rarer, for in the houses and kitchen middens of later periods proportionally fewer and fewer objects of manufactured whalebone were found. This agrees entirely with the fact that the Angmagssaliks told GUSTAV HOLM in 1884 that the whale had ceased to appear at the coast about the beginning of the 19th century, although a few specimens had been seen at a later period by kayakmen in the pack ice²).

It must thus be regarded as being beyond all manner of doubt that the East Greenland Eskimos have been able to kill the large Greenland whale with their primitive implements, and when this happened, they had sufficient meat and blubber to last them for a long time, as according to H. RINK a Greenland whale yielded a minimum of 12—15000 kg of meat, besides nearly the same quantity of blubber. But the capture of a Greenland whale was surely the exception, which could not be counted on as a basis of their daily food supply, and from the arrival of the Eskimos on the coast of East Greenland, their chief means of subsistence must undoubtedly have been the seal.

The seals found there were both stationary seals and seals of passage. Among the former the common seal was the most numerous, having been found everywhere along the coast, but also bearded seal, harbour seal, and walrus have been plentiful. The seals of passage were the bladdernose and Greenland seal, which propagate within limited areas out in the pack ice, and only approach the coast at certain periods, particularly in summer.

The hunting of the various kinds of seal have undoubtedly always been of decisive importance for the existence of the East Greenland Eskimos, as the seals—besides food and clothing—also yield blubber for the cooking, heating and lighting of their houses and coverings for kayaks and umiaks. The Eskimos of the past even manufactured part of their hunting implements from seal bones or walrus tusks, and also sinews for sewing thread were derived from the seal, which thus yielded nearly everything for the maintenance of life.

It is to be supposed that there has constantly been an abundance of seal on the coast, though in varying quantities according to the

¹) THERKEL MATHIASSEN, M. o. Gr. 92, 4; p. 45.

²) GUSTAV HOLM, M. o. Gr. X; p. 110.

varying seasons, so that it might be necessary in good hunting seasons to save and store meat and blubber for use in the meagre periods, which were to be expected in winter, both as a consequence of the unsettled weather and the freezing of the sea. Thus, the seal supplied the Eskimos of the past with all that was needed throughout the year, but as already mentioned, there was a considerable risk attached to the hunting of this sea mammal, viz. that it might periodically fail, or that the hunter might lose his life while carrying out his occupation.

It seems excluded that the Eskimos of the past should have been able to encroach upon the stock of seals, to such an extent as essentially to reduce the latter. To do this they were too few in number, and their implements too ineffective, while their migrations along the coast permitted of a renewed growth of a possibly decimated stock in a single circumscribed fjord area; besides, there were the great quantities of seals of passage, which in certain periods, though more particularly in summer, made for the coast, by preference the southern part of the coast of East Greenland. When nevertheless the number of seals decreased in the years before the colonization, and this became so noticeable that the unreflecting Eskimos mentioned it to GUSTAV HOLM, it must be due to influences from without. These influences have presumably been the direct cause of so many East Greenlanders starving to death in the years before the arrival of the Danes so as to justify the term of a "moribund tribe", which was used of the population found by GUSTAV HOLM at Angmagssalik.

Both for whaling and sealing this cause must be looked for in the ravages of the European whalers and sealers, who during the last century or two hunted the large quantities of sea mammals, which were found in and near the ice between Spitzbergen and the coast of East Greenland as well as in Danmarks Strait.

Already about 1600 a considerable whaling industry was going on, beginning in the waters off Spitzbergen, where the whale was almost exterminated about 1720. This made the whalers go further west, where they gradually penetrated into the pack ice off East Greenland and later on to the shore, along which hundreds of whaling vessels cruised in the open land water. The stock could, however, not hold its own against such intensive hunting; whales became fewer and fewer in number, and in 1899 the whaling vessel "Balaene" from Dundee searched the East Greenland hunting field, formerly so rich in whales, without finding a single animal, and since then whaling has not been attempted off the coasts of East Greenland.

While whaling was carried on by European whalers, it would be comparatively easy for the Eskimos to kill the wounded whales, which must have been numerous during the great whaling period. From this

it may be concluded that the Eskimos, and more particularly those who lived along the northern part of the coast, where whaling was most intensive throughout the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century, must have had a period of comparative abundance of meat and blubber. But with the decline of the European whaling industry, the number of whales reaching the Eskimos was bound to be reduced, and the extra supply of food periodically obtained by the capture of whales must have ceased, before the Eskimos became extinct on the northern part of the coast.

The decrease in the number of seals of passage was fraught with still greater danger for the Eskimos and their means of subsistence. This decline was also due to the sealing industry, which for a couple of hundred years had been carried on by the Europeans, who sought out the Greenland seal in the pack ice, where it lived in very great numbers and was easy to approach. It was a veritable massacre, and FRIDTJOF NANSEN states that the number of Greenland seals killed in one year amounted to at least a million¹). However large the stock of seals, it could not in the long run keep up with this excessive killing, and the hunting proceeds decreased very much, both at New Foundland and in the sea north of Jan Mayen.

The decline in the annual catch of Greenland seals made the sealers look round for other hunting areas, and in 1876 huge flocks of bladdernose seals were met with in Danmarks Strait, where they kept somewhat farther inside the margin of the ice. From the first this sealing industry was carried out very intensively, and FRIDTJOF NANSEN estimates that the number of bladdernose seals slaughtered in the period 1876—1884 was about 500.000, and he is further of the opinion that about the same number of animals were destroyed by gun shots without being taken by the hunters²).

Thus, in the course of some ten years the number of bladdernose seals killed outside the hunting areas of the Angmagssaliks would amount to about one million. It is therefore hardly too bold to conclude that there must have been some connection between this reckless slaughtering of large seal and the fact that the Eskimos along the coast, not more than fifty miles from these hunting fields, complained bitterly that the bladdernose seal decreased so much in numbers, that hunger ravaged their community, and that many starved to death, while the survivors would have emigrated to the coast of Southwest Greenland, unless GUSTAV HOLM had come to them in 1884 and had promised that a settlement with a store and the necessary commodities would be established in the Angmagssalik region.

¹) FRIDTJOF NANSEN, *Blandt Sel og Bjørn*; p. 44.

²) FRIDTJOF NANSEN, *Paa Ski over Grønland*; pp. 187 et seq.

There is, it seems, no doubt whatsoever that the encroachments made, first by the whalers, who totally exterminated the Greenland whale, and then by the sealers' ravages among the huge stock of seals of the Arctic Sea must have caused a very considerable abatement of the hunting possibilities of the East Greenlanders about the middle and the end of the 19th century. The slaughtering of large seal far outside the range of the East Greenlanders has further necessitated a change of their basis of existence, from the hunting of large seal to the capture of the stationary ringed seal. However, it seems as if the latter may, roughly speaking, be able to keep pace with the increasingly greater pursuit to which it has been made subject, although recent observations seem to indicate that the ringed seals killed by the Angmagssaliks are nearly all quite young animals.

THE ANGMAGSSALIKS' MEANS OF EXISTENCE AFTER THE COLONIZATION

Apart from the greater safety and the improved hunting implements (fire arms) the living conditions of the Angmagssaliks remained more or less unchanged during the first years after the establishment of the settlement. With the introduction of fire arms, the decline in the hunting of bladdernose seal was somewhat counterbalanced by the more intensive hunting of ringed seal¹⁾. The supply of meat and blubber might thus amount to the same, but the skins of the ringed seal are not of the same strength and quality for coverings of umiaks and kayaks as the skins of the bladdernose, nor can they be used for the soles of kamiks.

It is not possible to give exact information as to the number of seals killed throughout the years in the Angmagssalik district, as there are no statistics of the catch—such as have been collected in West Greenland—until the winter 1937/38. However, it is possible to give an approximate figure of the total yearly production of seals from the number of skins sold at the store, and the number of skins used by the Angmagssaliks themselves for clothing and for the covering of kayaks and umiaks etc. (in the following called: home consumption) can be more or less computed.

Before the establishment of the settlement created a possibility of disposing of the surplus sealskins, the Angmagssaliks used all of them for clothing, tents, the coverings of umiaks and kayaks etc. Later on, when it was possible to exchange sealskins for imported commodities, the Angmagssaliks began to be more sparing in their home consumption of sealskins, and for instance the coverings of kayaks and umiaks were not renewed as often as formerly. Gradually the sealskins were replaced by imported textiles, wherever such could be used instead of skins, as the population either did not, or would not understand, that sealskins were

¹⁾ With a harpoon a hunter must come within a distance of 4—5 m in order to kill a seal, whereas he is able to shoot it with a rifle at a distance of 50—75 m. Thus the improved hunting implements will at first yield a greater catch, although the stock is decreasing.

cheaper, stronger and warmer than the apparel of the Europeans which, on the other hand, had all the charm of novelty and was consequently so greatly coveted.

From the year of the colonization and until about 1910 the home consumption of skins remained more or less the same as before, although imported articles of clothing and textiles bought by the yard began to find their way to the population. From about 1910 one must, however, reckon with a rather considerable decrease in the home consumption of sealskins, but as the actual details are unknown, this decrease can only be roughly estimated. The question has, however, been thoroughly discussed with the manager of that time, JOHAN PETERSEN, who as a member of GUSTAV HOLM'S expedition and the first manager of the Angmagssalik settlement was personally acquainted with the home consumption of skins both before and after the colonization and until about 1925.

As the result of these discussions JOHAN PETERSEN and EJNAR MIKKELSEN have agreed to estimate the Angmagssaliks' home consumption of skins, for the period 1911—20, at about 60 per cent of what it was before the establishment of the settlement, whereas A. T. HEDEGAARD (manager of the trading station from 1915 to 1930), with whom the problem was also discussed a few years ago, maintained that the home consumption of skins had been reduced to half within the period in question.

In the following the production of sealskins is computed according to a home consumption of skins amounting to 60 per cent of what it was before the colonization.

After about 1920 the consumption of imported articles of clothing increased very much, and JOHAN PETERSEN, HEDEGAARD and EJNAR MIKKELSEN are agreed that the home consumption of skins within the period 1920—30 has decreased to rather less than over 40 per cent of the original consumption.

From 1930 to 1938 the consumption of imported drapery goods had increased more rapidly than within the preceding period, and the home consumption of the population cannot be estimated at more than 25 per cent of the original consumption; probably it is even essentially smaller.

After exhaustive discussions with JOHAN PETERSEN the Angmagssaliks' yearly home consumption of sealskins before and at the beginning of the colonization has been estimated as follows:

For the covering of an umiak the skins of 7 or 8 bearded seals or of 10 bladdernose seals were required. A covering made of the skins of bearded seal could be used for two years, whereas a bladdernose seal covering must be renewed every year. The discarded umiak coverings



Fig. 13. Hunting from the ice.

were used either for the flooring or the outer covering of the tents, or as roof-covering for the winter huts.

For the covering of a kayak two skins of bearded seal or three skins of bladdernose seal were used, and they lasted as long as the covering of the umiska.

For hunting thongs, lashings etc. the yearly consumption per hunter amounted to at least $\frac{1}{2}$ skin of bearded seal, and for hunting bladders were further used the skins of 2 ringed seals a year.

For one waterproof suit per hunter 6 skins of large ringed seals and the greater part of the skin of a bladdernose seal were required every year, while the average number of skins used for the ordinary wearing apparel of a family (5 individuals) were 20 skins of ringed seal a year. For kamiks a family used the skins of 6 ringed seals, 3 Greenland seals and 1 bearded seal, also per year.

Every family used at least 5 skins of Greenland seals a year for blubber bags and 2 skins of bladdernose seals as coverings on the sleeping platform.

For the inner covering of skin tents 5 skins of bladdernose seals, 5 skins of Greenland seals and at least 6 of ringed seals were required. Such an inner tent might, however, last for a period of 3—4 years.

For the sake of comparison and in order to obtain the greatest possible uniformity in the material used for the computation of the home consumption of skins, the skins of bearded seals are not included in

the calculation, as these can as a rule be replaced by the skins of bladdernose seals. The skin of one bearded seal is reckoned as equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ skin of a bladdernose seal.

According to this computation the Angmagssaliks' original yearly home consumption of sealskins should have been as follows:

Per umiak for covering.....	10	skins of bladdernose
— kayak - —	3	— - —
— — - hunting thongs.....	1	— - —
— — - — bladder.....	2	— - ringed seal
— hunter for waterproof suit	1	— - bladdernose
— — - —	6	— - ringed seal
— family (5 individuals) for kamiks.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$	— - bladdernose
— — — - clothing	3	— - Greenland seal
— — — - platform skins			26	— - ringed seal
— — — - blubber bags	2	— - bladdernose
— — — - blubber bags	5	— - Greenland seal
— — — - tent ($\frac{1}{3}$ of consumption)	3	— - bladdernose or Greenland seal
— — — - tent ($\frac{1}{3}$ of consumption)			2	— - bladdernose or ringed seal

H. RINK has made a similar estimation of the West Greenlanders' home consumption of skins, before the imported articles of clothing began to gain ground. These two estimates agree fairly well, with the exception that the umiaks of the West Greenlanders were 3—10 bladdernose skins larger than those of the East Greenlanders¹⁾, and that the East Greenlanders' consumption of ringed seal for clothing is larger than that of the West Greenlanders, who made anoraks of reindeer- and birdskins, which was—and is—unknown in East Greenland.

By means of the information given above as to the number of skins used for different purposes, and on the strength of the official reports of the number of hunters (families) and hunting implements etc. for the period from the beginning of the colonization in 1894 to 1910, the average yearly consumption of skins has been computed as follows:

29 umiaks for which were used	290	skins of bladdernose
100 kayaks - — —	300	— - —
100 hunters used for hunting thongs.....	100	— - —
100 — — - waterproof clothing..	100	— - —
100 — — - — ..	600	— - ringed seal
100 — — - hunting bladders	200	— - —
37 tents for which were used	111	— - bladdernose
— — —	74	— - ringed seal

¹⁾ H. RINK, Grönland II; p. 203.

In order to estimate the total consumption of the population, information is also required as to skins used for clothing. For the period in question the number of co-habiting couples (families) is only available for the years 1898, 1899 and 1905, the numbers being 62, 68 and 93 respectively. The average yearly number of co-habiting couples in the period 1894—1910 may presumably be estimated as at least 80, and their annual consumption of skins for clothing (each family consisting of 5 individuals) amounts to:

For ordinary clothing	{	240 skins of Greenland seal
		2080 — - ringed seal
- kamiks		120 — - bladdernose seal
- platform skins		160 — - bladdernose seal
- blubber bags		400 — - Greenland seal

For the period from 1898 to 1910 there has thus, as shown by the figures above, been a yearly average consumption of

1181 skins of bladdernose seal
640 — - Greenland seal
2954 — - ringed seal

This home consumption of sealskins must surely be regarded as a decided minimum consumption, and in particular the numbers of skins for clothing is low, as the yearly average number of the population is 468, which divided into groups of 5 individuals yield 93 unities of families, whereas the figures above are only computed for 80 families.

In the period from 1898 to 1910 the yearly average of skins sold at the store were:

skins of ringed seal	893
— - large —	51

The yearly average of the total catch is then as in Table 24.

Table 24. Average yearly catch of seal from 1898—1910.

	Home consumption	Sold	In all
Ringed seal.....	2954	893	3847
Large seal.....	1821	51	1872
Seals in all...	4775	944	5719

Average yearly total of seal per family unity	71.5 (80 families)
— — — - — - individual	12.2 (468 individuals)

In the table given below (25) the various computations of the production and consumption of skins in Angmagssalik have been juxtaposed, regard being had to the formerly mentioned per cent decrease in the home consumption of sealskins.

Table 25. Average yearly production of sealskins in Angmagssalik from 1898—1938.

	1898-1910 100 %	1910-1920 60 %	1921-1930 40 %	1931-1938 25 %
Number of persons	476	613	706	843
— - families	80	91	107	118
— - umiaks	30	33	37	33
— - kayaks	106	134	149	156
— - skin tents	39	54	58	45
Home consumption of large sealskins	1867	1325	1008	651
— - - ringed — —	3006	2128	1636	1102
Home consumption of sealskins in all	4873	3453	2644	1753
Skins of large seal ¹⁾ sold at store	51	93	268	230
— - ringed — — —	893	1770	3304	5354
Sealskins sold in all	944	1863	3572	5584
Home consumption of sealskins in all	4873	3453	2644	1753
Number of seals caught in all	5817	5316	6216	7337
— - — per family	72.7	58.4	58.1	62.2
— - — - individual	12.2	8.7	8.8	8.7

It appears from this table that, although the population has been almost doubled in the course of these forty years, the home consumption of the skins of large seal during the last period is only estimated at a third of that of the first period. The consumption of the skins of ringed seal is slightly more than one third of the original, and the total home consumption of sealskins has decreased from 4873 skins annually to 1753.

At the same time the average trading in of sealskins has increased from 944 to 5584, whereas the total catch has only increased from 5817 to 7337 seals.

The changes seem to show that the number of large seal, which the Angmagssaliks are able to catch, is decidedly decreasing, and that by far the majority of the seals caught are the small and therefore less valuable ringed seals.

Although the absolute number of seals caught has risen somewhat from the first to the last periods, there has, however, been a not in-

¹⁾ Large seal comprises all larger seals with the exception of the ringed seal.

considerable decrease in the proceeds from seal hunting when viewed in relation to the population, the computations showing that during the first period the annual average number of seals caught per individual was 12.2, whereas in the two last periods it was 8.7 per individual.

After the establishment of the settlement it was possible for the hunters to replace the harpoon of the past with the much more effective hunting implement: the rifle, which all hunters had become possessed of during the first two or three years. There would consequently be reason to suppose that sealing—the quantity of seals being the same—would have yielded a better result with the rifle than with the harpoon. This, however, was not the case, the total average number of seals per individual decreasing from 12.2 to 8.7, from the first to the second period.

The decrease can possibly be explained by the fact that the Angmagssaliks had to adapt themselves to the new hunting methods. With a rifle, which had a far longer range than the harpoon, the hunter would be tempted to shoot at such a long distance that several killed, and very many wounded seals would be lost, before he reached his spoil and, by means of his harpoon, prevented it from sinking or escaping.

However, the hunters were taught by bitter experience that it was as a rule of no use—nor did it pay—to shoot at a longer distance than that the spoil could easily be reached and secured by means of the harpoon or in some other way, and this experience gradually gaining ground, the decrease stopped, and the average hunting proceeds increased a little from the second to the third period.

The number of seals killed annually per individual remains 8.7 during the last two periods, viz. from 1921 to 1938, but this apparent stability of the seal hunting seems unfortunately to imply a decrease of the stock. According to the opinion of men, who are familiar with the localities and conditions in question, there is no doubt whatsoever that the hunter of 1938 had to make more strenuous efforts to obtain a satisfactory result, than was necessary for the hunter of 1921, and the result consequently ought to be greater now, if the stock of seals was as great as it used to be.

Though this is a somewhat slender foundation on which to build definite conclusions, there seems unfortunately to be some reason to suppose that the stock of ringed seal within the hunting grounds of the Angmagssalik district has reached, and probably also passed, its limit of exploitation, and that an actual decrease of the stock of seals and consequently of the hunting proceeds is to be feared.

This naturally only applies to the stationary ringed seal and the few stationary kinds of large seal, which are to be found in the district. But when also the number of the migrating seals decreases, though for

other reasons, this state of affairs becomes a very serious one for the Angmagssaliks, as the seal plays such a large part in their food supply. ARNE HØYGAARD thinks himself justified in maintaining that the seal produces 76 per cent of the calories necessary for the maintenance of the population¹), besides supplying it with clothes, heat, lighting and cash income.

The following table (26) shows the average annual catch of large seal and ringed seal per individual within the periods already mentioned:

Table 26. Average yearly catch of large and ringed seal per individual.

Period	Average number of population	Number of seals caught		Catch per individual	
		ringed seal	large seal	ringed seal	large seal
1898—1910.....	476	3899	1918	8.2	4.0
1911—1920.....	613	3898	1418	6.4	2.3
1921—1930.....	706	4940	1276	7.0	1.8
1931—1938.....	843	6456	881	7.7	1.0

Thus it appears that the annual number of ringed seal caught per individual is somewhat less in the period 1931—1938 than in the period 1898—1910, though there has been an increase of 1.3 seal per individual from the period 1911—20 to the period 1931—38. Counterbalancing this small increase in the number of ringed seal caught, the catch of large seal per individual—which animals, as mentioned above, are also energetically pursued by Norwegian sealers—shows a gradual and very great decrease from the beginning of the colonization throughout the years, the annual catch of large seal now amounting to 1 against 4 in former times. Besides the specimens of large seal now caught by the Angmagssalik hunters are, on an average, younger and consequently smaller than before; and so the proceeds, both in the form of meat and blubber, are a good deal less than a fourth of what it was at the beginning of the colonization.

This also applies to the ringed seal, and according to ARNE HØYGAARD's investigations of the food supply of the Angmagssaliks in the winter 1936/37, by far the greater part of the 1871 ringed seals, caught in the course of the winter months, were so young that most of them had been born in the spring of 1936, thus being less than a year old²).

As mentioned above, no hunting statistics have been made out for

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD, Studies on the Nutrition and Psycho-pathology of Eskimos; p. 55.

²) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 52.

Angmagssalik until the very latest years, and it is consequently not possible to give more detailed information as to the number of seals caught in the various seasons. The hunting statistics for the year 1937/38 were only made out for the winter months, during which 2642 seals were caught, the catch being distributed over the various months in the following manner:

October	338 seals, per individual	.....	0.4 seal
November	536 — - —	.....	0.6 —
December	376 — - —	.....	0.4 —
January	252 — - —	.....	0.3 —
February	313 — - —	.....	0.4 —
March	458 — - —	.....	0.5 —
April	369 — - —	.....	0.4 —

The seals were practically all young ringed seals. During the first three months of the year the catch must be regarded as fairly normal, though small, but during the months of January and February it was far below normal. Also in the months of March and April hunting was poor. The game was very unequally distributed over the district, and although the good hunters at the better hunting grounds were able to ward off hunger, the families of the less efficient hunters suffered greatly even in these places, and still more so in such dwelling places where, owing to local conditions, hunting was poorer.

During the early summer months the population assembles at a few well situated hunting grounds, where as a rule they get plenty of seals, and during these months also the greater part of the annual hunting of large seal takes place.

In the waters of Angmagssalik there are at different seasons the following kinds of large seal:

The bladdernose seal (*Cystophora cristata*) comes singly from the North in the month of April and passes between the outer skerries and islands, but rarely enters the fjords. In the month of July greater numbers of bladdernose seals come migrating from the South, and although most of them leave the area towards the end of August, bladdernose seals are nevertheless later on met with singly in the fjords, and may thus be caught all the year round. The bladdernose seals have, as previously mentioned, decreased greatly in numbers since the year of the colonization, and the hunters maintain that they have also become comparatively rare farther south along the coast, although a fairly great number of this species of seal are said to enter the Tingmiarmiut fjord.

The Greenland seal (*Phoca groenlandica*) occurs in the Angmagssalik area, migrating from the south towards the end of June, and although the actual migration soon ceases, single animals may be found

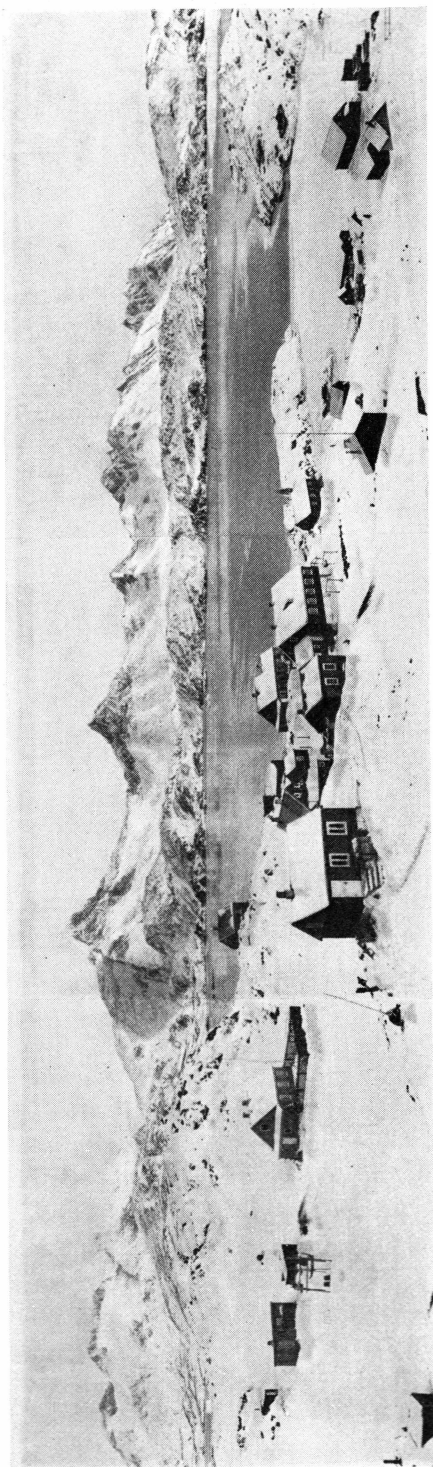


Fig. 14. The main settlement in the Angmagssalik district.

throughout the summer in the district. In the months of September and October the Greenland seal again migrates along the coasts of Angmagssalik, but this time from the North. During later years the number of Greenland seals have decreased greatly. According to information given by the hunters the Greenland seal is, however, still said to be very common in certain localities south of Angmagssalik and in Kangerdlugssuaq.

The bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) was very common in the Angmagssalik district about the year of the colonization, but is now so rare that the capture of a bearded seal is quickly rumoured throughout the whole district. And the few bearded seals caught are practically all quite young animals, as a rule not even one year old. The bearded seal is, however, of rather common occurrence immediately south of the inhabited area, and enterprising hunters travel for instance to Sujunerajik (about 80 km south of the trading post), from where, after a couple of summer months' hunting, they generally bring back skins of bearded seals in sufficient quantities for the covering of an umiak (7—8 skins) and a couple of skins for kayak coverings. Farther south, at Umivik and Akorninarmiut, the bearded seal is so common that a single hunter is known to have caught about twenty specimens in the course of a month.

The harbour seal (*Phoca vitulina*), which in former times was of rather common occurrence in the Angmagssalik district, is now very rare, and one must traverse a long distance outside the inhabited area of Angmagssalik, before the occurrence of this seal becomes fairly common. In the large fjord areas at Akorninarmiut it is, however, said to be very common.

The ringed seal or fjord seal (*Phoca foetida*) is the chief animal of capture of the Angmagssaliks, and it is hunted all the year round from the neighbourhood of all settlements and dwelling places, being as it seems rather evenly distributed over the whole of the district. In former times many old and large ringed seals were caught, but these are now rare, and the predominant part of the ringed seal hunting in the fjords consists, as already mentioned, of quite young animals, as a rule under a year old. The hunting of these young animals presumably involves a great danger for the existence of the stock, but up to the present there does not seem to be any noteworthy decrease in the number of young seals.

Both north and south of the Angmagssalik district many old and large ringed seals are caught.

Walrus (*Trichechus rosmarus*) is now and then caught in the district, but has never been of any importance as an animal of capture.

Of other sea mammals may be mentioned the narwhal (*Monodon monoceros*), which is more particularly hunted in the strong currents at Sermilik and Sermiligak. It never occurs in great numbers, and although it is of a certain importance in the food supply of the Angmagssaliks,

it means nothing whatsoever from the point of view of cash income—even the tusks are very rarely sold, as they are of great value for the hunters, who use them as harpoon heads. In the Kialineq region, though more particularly in the great Kangerdlugssuaq area, there are such great numbers of narwhal that, according to what GUSTAV HOLM was told by the Angmagssaliks, the whole fjord smells of their vomiting.

The white whale (*Delphinapterus leucas Pallas*) is rare in the waters of Angmagssalik and is of no importance as part of the food supply or as an article of trade.

As already mentioned, the Greenland whale has long ago disappeared from the coasts of East Greenland, and the whales which now and then appear off the Angmagssalik district and resort to the waters between the islands (blue whale, finwhale and bottlenose) are so quick and restless in their movements that the Angmagssaliks have no possibility of catching them.

From time immemorial it has been the custom of the East Greenlanders to leave their winter dwelling places in the months of June and July and to go and stay on islands, favourably situated on the route for the migrations of Greenland and bladdernose seal. This excellent custom is still maintained at Angmagssalik, although so many of the other customs of the past have been abandoned, and the population principally assembles at Amitsuarssik at the mouth of the Angmagssalik fjord, on the outermost Cape Dan Islands and at Ikagteq in Sermilik. There is rather good hunting of migrating seal in these localities, where the meat of the captured seal is dried for winter provisions, and blubber is stored in large blubber bags to be used during the winter season, when there is so little hunting.

The Angmagssalik district has always been one of the best East Greenland hunting grounds for bear (*Ursus maritimus* L.). This animal of capture is of the very greatest importance for the population, as it yields fairly great quantities of meat, on an average about 100 kg per bear, and a considerable quantity of blubber, which is highly valued by the natives. It is, however, the commercial value of the skin which means most for the population, as it has always been relatively high (from kr. 45 in 1900 to kr. 100 in 1935 for first-class skins). This comparatively large cash income is of very great importance for the Angmagssaliks, who have always been scantily supplied with ready money.

From the very oldest times, it has been the custom of the East Greenlanders that the skin of a bear belongs to the person who first sights the animal, be it a child or an old woman. However, the bear is of course most frequently sighted by the hunters, who roam far from the habitations of the tribe, and so they get the skin, generally using the amount they obtain for it at the store to buy things, for which they

cannot otherwise get sufficient cash, such as rifles or shot-guns or of late boards for the inside panelling of their houses.

From 1898 to 1939 (both years inclusive) 3295 bearskins¹⁾ have been sent home from the Angmagssalik district, or an average of 78.5 skins per year. This is practically all that has been produced in the Angmagssalik region by way of bearskins, as the home consumption is limited to the few skins which, owing to careless treatment, have lost part of their hairs, or which have inadvertently been torn by the dogs.

The proceeds of the hunting of bear are extremely fluctuating from year to year, varying from 21 skins in 1932 to 183 in 1920.

The yearly average of bears killed divided into periods of five years is as follows (Table 27):

Table 27. Yearly average of bears killed at Angmagssalik 1898—1938.

The period 1898—1905.....	80.6 bears
- — 1906—1910.....	86.2 —
- — 1911—1915.....	97.6 —
- — 1916—1920.....	112.6 —
- — 1921—1925.....	97.6 —
- — 1926—1930.....	55.6 ²⁾ —
- — 1931—1935.....	29.4 —
- — 1936—1938.....	61.7 —

It appears from the above that the climax of bear hunting was reached within the period 1916—1920, with a yearly average of 112.6 bears. After that time the hunting decreased, and the decrease was particularly great for the period 1931—1935, but was also marked for 1926—1930.

This is undoubtedly due to the establishment of the Scoresby Sound settlement in 1925, partly because it caused a decrease in the numbers of Angmagssalik hunters, 12—14 of whom emigrated to the new settlement, and partly because the bears came from the north, so that in order to reach the Angmagssalik region they must pass Scoresby Sound, whose hunters within the last fourteen years have sent home 697 bearskins, or 49.8 annually. The hunting at Scoresby Sound would naturally reduce the number of bears in the more southerly Angmagssalik district—in the same manner as the establishment of the Angmagssalik settlement destroyed the bear hunting in the Nanortalik district on the southwestern coast of Greenland.

When co-ordinating the bear hunting at Angmagssalik and Scoresby

¹⁾ All information as to the number of skins sent home has been supplied by the Administration of Greenland.

²⁾ The Scoresby Sound settlement was established in 1925.

Sound within the same periods of five years as those given above, we arrive at the total number of bears killed by the East Greenlanders, viz. 4079 in all, distributed over the years in the following manner (Table 28):

Table 28. Yearly average of bears killed by East Greenlanders 1898—1938.

1898—1905.....	80.6 bears	
1906—1910.....	86.2 —	
1911—1915.....	97.6 —	
1916—1920.....	112.6 —	
1921—1925.....	97.6 —	
1926—1930.....	132.2 —	} Total number of bears killed at Scoresby Sound and Angmagssalik
1931—1935.....	63.0 —	
1936—1938.....	107.0 —	

The large increase within the period 1926—1930 is due to the great number of bears killed in the new hunting district, Scoresby Sound, where they had not yet been frightened, and where there has possibly even been a fairly stationary stock of bears, which is now exterminated or driven away from the huge fjord area.

Great expectations were entertained of the fox hunting at the time of the establishment of the Angmagssalik settlement, but these hopes were disappointed. From the first years of the settlement, the fox hunting has been so trifling that the greatest number of blue foxes killed in the course of 40 years were 19 in 1931 as against 87 white foxes in 1933, the total catch from 1898 to 1938 amounting to 355 blue and 1398 white foxes, or a yearly average of 8.8 blue and 34.9 white foxes. The number of foxes caught seems to have increased somewhat during later years, but the Angmagssaliks have never taken any great interest in this kind of hunting, and it will hardly be possible to develop it into an economically important form of industry, as there is no possibility of a large stock of foxes finding their food in the district. This is due to the fact that the bird life at Angmagssalik is rather poor, and neither hares nor lemmings are known to occur from the southern part of the East Greenland coast, viz. from Scoresby Sound and southwards.

In the Angmagssalik district fowling has always been insignificant. On land there are in some years a fairly large number of ptarmigans, whereas in other years there are extremely few. A few geese, ducks and other birds of passage breed in the lakes of the district, but there are so few land birds that they have never played any real part in the food supply of the population.

The seabirds comprise eiders, auks and various species of sea gulls, but their number was so small about the beginning of the present

century that they played no part whatsoever in the food supply of the population.

About 1910 the numbers of sea gulls, however, began to increase, it is thought as the result of a not inconsiderable and sudden access of polar cod. Since then the stock of sea gulls has become greater and greater, and now a quantity of sea birds, particularly gulls, are caught in the district. The importance of these birds for the food supply of the population is, however, small and their commercial value minimal, seeing that it is only possible to dispose of them at the trading post itself, where the few Danes pay very little for bird game.

Fishing. About the year of the colonization fishing was of very little importance for the East Greenlanders, who apart from the collecting of angmagssat and the catching of salmon and shark did not care much about fishing, possibly because their fishing implements were primitive and not very effective. In particular they lacked fishing lines, which in former times, when there still was some whaling, they had manufactured by laboriously knitting together the fibres of baleen. After whaling had ceased, this raw material naturally also disappeared; there was nothing to replace it, and to the other perceptible wants of the 19th century came the lack of fish. At the time of GUSTAV HOLM the art of fishing was very nearly forgotten, and there were only oral traditions of better times, when it was possible to haul food from the sea; thus in 1884 an old woman told JOHAN PETERSEN that in her youth halibut was caught in great quantities at Akorninarmiut by means of bone hooks and lines made of the fibres of baleen.

GUSTAV HOLM communicates that in former times—that is before 1884—dried angmagssat formed an essential part of the winter provisions of the Angmagssaliks, but that they had only been caught in rather small quantities during later years¹). The capture of angmagssat has, however, presumably only failed for a short period, as the East Greenlanders themselves had named the district after this fish, which must consequently at one time be supposed to have occurred in very great quantities. Throughout the years after the colonization and up to the present time, the catching of angmagssat has been of great importance for the Angmagssaliks.

Angmagssat (*Mallotus villosus*) occur in great shoals at Kingeq and Sermilik, where they appear about the end of May and as a rule remain for more than a month. During this period they are generally caught in considerable quantities, but they fluctuate greatly in occurrence from year to year. A great number of angmagssat are eaten fresh at the fishing grounds, but the greater part are dried so as to be used for winter

¹) GUSTAV HOLM, M. o. Gr.; vol. 10, p. 162.

food, and the yearly production is rather considerable. It is, however, hardly possible to give only approximate figures of the average yearly production of dried anmagssat, which are of great value as an addition to the food supply of the inhabitants, but only in very few cases are used as articles for sale or barter.

Salmon (*Salmo alpinus*) is fished in the sea, or also when in August it passes up the rivers towards the great lakes, where it winters in fairly great quantities, and where some fishing is consequently going on throughout the winter. Like the anmagssat salmon is of some value as part of the food supply of the population, but it has no commercial value for the hunter or the community at large, as it can only be sold to the few Danes and other employees of the district. Neither in the sea nor in rivers and lakes does the salmon occur in such quantities that there will ever be any surplus, even for a very modest export.

As mentioned above, fishing had ceased in Angmagssalik towards the end of the 19th century, and although the crew of GUSTAV HOLM's umiak, who were familiar with the West Greenland fisheries and had brought fishing tackle, tried to catch fish when wintering at Angmagssalik, they did not achieve any results whatsoever.

They naturally did not know local conditions, and though certain localities were entirely devoid of fish, it need not follow that this was the case everywhere in the district. But the old bone fishing hooks of the Angmagssaliks had also disappeared (at least GUSTAV HOLM did not see any), and it is improbable that the population should recklessly have thrown away hunting implements of such comparatively great value as fishing hooks, if there had been the least possibility of getting fish. Everything considered, it seems as if it must be taken for granted that the Angmagssalik district towards the end of the 19th century was practically devoid of fish, or that at least no fish beyond anmagssat and salmon was of any importance as an article of food.

This is made all the more probable by the fact that, when after the year of the colonization, the Danes attempted to fish, they achieved no results whatsoever, and gradually the hope of finding fish in the waters of the Angmagssalik district was abandoned.

But about 1909 rather considerable quantities of polar cod (*Gadus saida*) occurred off the Angmagssalik district, and during the following years the fishing of polar cod and Uvak (*Gadus ogac*) became of importance as a means of subsistence, not least because of the number of gulls and sea birds, which came in their wake.

About 1915/16 large shoals of sea cod (*Gadus callarias*) suddenly appeared off the shore, and since then they have appeared every year, though in somewhat varying numbers. In August, September and October quantities of this fish are caught, and they are partly eaten

fresh, and partly sold to the Danes and other employees at the settlement, or dried for winter food, though up to the present not to any large extent. But it is not a large fishery, and though it is of rather great importance for the population itself, there is by no means sufficient cod for export.

The arrival of the sea cod caused the Angmagssaliks, for the first time under modern conditions, to supply themselves with good fishing implements, and thus they reached depths, which they had never been able to reach with the baleen lines of the past. It then proved that in several localities in the district there were considerable quantities of sea perch (*Sebastes marinus*), Greenland halibut (*Reinhardtius hippoglossoides*) and halibut (*Hippoglossus vulgaris*).

After this, fishing gradually came to form an important link in the working cycle of the hunters, and it became easier for the community to find its food than before, when sealing was its only means of subsistence. Further, the fishing trade can be carried out by women and children or old hunters, who are past their work, and so the number of producers of food in the district becomes greater than before.

The fishing of cod, halibut etc. can, however, hardly be developed into an export industry, as—at any rate up to the present—there have not been found sufficient fish in the waters round Angmagssalik to cover more than the home consumption of the population.

Shark (*Somniosus microcephalus*) has been caught from of old by the inhabitants of the Angmagssalik district, who cut a hole in the ice and lowered stale and evil-smelling blubber into the water. This bait attracted the shark, which was then harpooned at night from the ice. The catch made in this way was frequently so great that, although there were sufficient sharks at the hole, it was utterly impossible to use the large production of meat and liver.

In isolated places this hunting method is still more or less used, but during later years most sharks are caught by means of hooks. At first shark fishing was of no great importance for the East Greenlanders, but when gradually the proceeds of sealing decreased, and blubber for the heating of houses became insufficient, the value of the shark liver constantly increased, and shark fishing became more and more common. It then turned out that there were apparently great quantities of sharks at most localities in the district, and in the winter 1937/38 access to the trading in of shark liver was accorded at a couple of places. The first year about 3000 kg were traded in at a single settlement (Kungmiut), and no less than 19.000 kg at the same settlement in the following year.

The extended shark fishing yields a comparatively substantial income, and it will undoubtedly be possible to develop it into a form of industry, which will be an important factor in the economic life of

the Angmagssaliks. As the implements necessary for this kind of fishing are cheap and the work easy, both old people and women and children can take part in it, and this is of great importance in a community like that of the Angmagssaliks, where in 1938 about 20 per cent were orphans and about 5 per cent widows. Before shark fishing began to be a regular occupation, these unfortunate people had very little possibility of obtaining a small cash income by their own work. For the growing generation generally, shark fishing is also of very great importance, as with very little expenditure it yields an income in childhood, which boys had not formerly been able to get, and so they have now the possibility of purchasing rifles and similar expensive, but entirely indispensable hunting implements, such as in former times were utterly out of their reach until at a much later age.

According to the statements of hunters, who are familiar with the localities in question, considerable occurrences of sharks are said to have been identified at all the larger hunting grounds north and south of the area of the settlement; also, on the shoals of Danmarks Strait, which are principally spurs from the shore, Norwegians have since 1927 carried on constantly increasing shark fisheries (see pp. 133 et seq.).

Table 29. Average yearly production in kind and cash.

5-year period	Number of population	Ringed seal			Large seal: estimated consumption	Seals		Seal products		Bear	Fox		Cash income by trading	
		sold	estimated consumption	in all about		in all	per individuals	kg meat	kg blubber		blue	white	in all kr.	per individual
1897/98-1899/00..	378	423	2900	3300	1800	5100	13.5	210000	103000	67.3	7.0	18.0	..	.
1900/01-1904/05..	434	908	2900	3800	1800	5600	12.9	220000	109000	85.4	6.9	17.2	3204	7
1905/06-1909/10..	535	1116	2900	4000	1800	5800	10.8	224000	111000	81.8	11.8	30.2	4001	7
1910/11-1914/15..	592	1484	2100	3600	1300	4900	8.3	176000	88000	99.8	4.2	22.0	5382	9
1915/16-1919/20..	643	1640	2100	3700	1300	5000	7.8	179000	90000	93.8	4.0	27.4	4826	7
1920/21-1924/25..	699	1605	1600	3200	1000	4200	6.0	144000	73000	115.8	8.2	38.0	7785	11
1925/26-1929/30..	720	4594	1600	6200	1000	7200	10.0	204000	109000	57.6	8.4	44.6	8918	12
1930/31-1934/35..	839	5353	1000	6400	600	7000	8.3	175000	97000	39.4	12.0	45.2	15736	18
1935/36-1938/39..	854	5128	1000	6100	600	6700	7.8	171000	95000	54.7	8.2	24.7	15644	18

Total export from 1897/98—1938/39.

Sealskins.....	105.077 pieces
Bearskins.....	3.289 -
Skins of blue fox.....	327 -
— - white -	1.224 -

Total value of the trading in from 1899/1900—1938/39 Kroner 311.192.

The facts given in the preceding as to the capture of seal, bear and fox are coordinated in Table 29; it shows i. a. the average surplus production of skins, which the Angmagssaliks have traded in within five years' periods from the establishment of the settlement and throughout the years¹⁾, the quantity of meat and blubber, which the population produces by sealing, and finally the average cash income obtained by hunting.

The great increase in the sale of sealskins, which according to Table 29 occurred in the period 1925/26—1929/30, and which has been kept up until now, may of course be due to the greater proceeds of sealing. This is, however, doubtful, and the increase must largely be regarded as the result of a sudden reduction of the home consumption of sealskins, so that the natives have a larger surplus left for sale than before. And the cause of this is easily found, for in 1924 the price of sealskins was increased from 75 to 100 Øre per skin. The Angmagssaliks could not resist the temptation of having more money at their disposal, and consequently sold a greater number of skins than before—with the result that they must afterwards buy imported commodities, particularly textiles.

It also appears from the table that the average yearly profit of the total sealing (that is, home consumption + skins sold) per individual fell from 13.5 skins during the first five years' period to 6.0 in the period 1920/21—1924/25, and then again rose to 10.0 skins per individual, falling once more to 7.8 skins in the period 1935/36—1938/39.

From the first to the last period the proceeds of sealing, given in number of skins, fell from 13.5 to 7.8 per individual in a year, being thus very nearly reduced to half.

Although the sealskins are of great value for the Angmagssaliks, because they can be used for so many different purposes, and because of the cash income obtained by the sale of the surplus production, the very large quantities of meat and blubber produced by sealing are of vital importance in the food supply of the population.

This value cannot be reckoned in actual cash, as seal meat is not sold in the ordinary sense of the word, but can at most be given in exchange for other articles of food, for instance, black bread. Nor can this be used as a standard of values, as a few pieces of black bread fetch much meat in exchange, when sealing is good, and only little is given for the same quantity of black bread, when sealing is bad.

Seal meat (and blubber), however, means everything for the existence of the Angmagssaliks, as it decidedly forms the basis of their food supply. As appears from Table 29 the supplies of meat acquired by means of sealing are enormous, the yearly quantity to be disposed

¹⁾ Beretninger og Kundgørelser vedrørende Kolonierne i Grønland, 1897—1939.

of during the first ten years or so after the establishment of the settlement exceeding 200.000 kg, which very nearly corresponds with 800 units of cattle (butcher's meat). A considerable part of this huge quantity of meat was naturally lost by inadvertence, but one surely cannot reckon with a waste of more than 25 per cent, and even with this great percentage of waste the average annual quantity of meat is 333 kg per individual, of which, however, about 20 per cent is used for dog food.

The production of blubber, on the other hand, can be measured in cash, as the price was 16 øre per kilo in 1937/38, but as already mentioned the trading in of blubber is not allowed in Angmagssalik, so as not to strip the population of this vitally important product. Thus blubber also becomes a factor, and a very important one, in the food supply of the population, and although rather considerable quantities are wasted in good hunting periods, great quantities remain for consumption or for the heating or lighting of the houses.

Although the number of killed seals has risen from the first to the last period, the production of meat and blubber is, however, steadily decreasing. This is principally due to a decrease in the number of large seal. One may reckon that large seal (bladdernose and Greenland seal) on an average yield 80 kg meat and 35 kg of blubber per seal, whereas a young ringed seal only yields 20 kg of meat and 12 kg of blubber.

Nowadays one cannot reckon with any noteworthy waste of meat, as the quantities produced are so comparatively small that great care must be shown in order to get sufficient to cover the most necessary supply. Consequently, the waste of meat hardly exceeds 10 per cent, and with this percentage of waste there should, during the last two periods, have been about 200 kg seal meat annually at the disposal of every individual. The dogs must, however, have their share of this supply, presumably as much as 10 per cent. Such a comparatively small quantity of meat is naturally not sufficient to maintain a dog, and so it is supplemented by a good deal of shark's meat, bones and remains, while a not inconsiderable part of the 10 per cent of meat wasted also goes to the dogs, as they partly eat meat, which is not meant for them, and partly get the meat, which has been allowed to rot by inadvertency. But the decreasing production of meat also leaves its traces in the number of dogs kept, which on an average has been as follows:

1915—1925	about	450	dogs,	or	about	70	per	cent	of	the	population
1925—1930	—	600	—	-	—	90	-	—	-	-	—
1930—1939	—	350	—	-	—	40	-	—	-	-	—

From these figures it appears that the number of dogs kept has become essentially smaller, than it was in former times, not least when viewed in relation to the increase of the population, as the number of

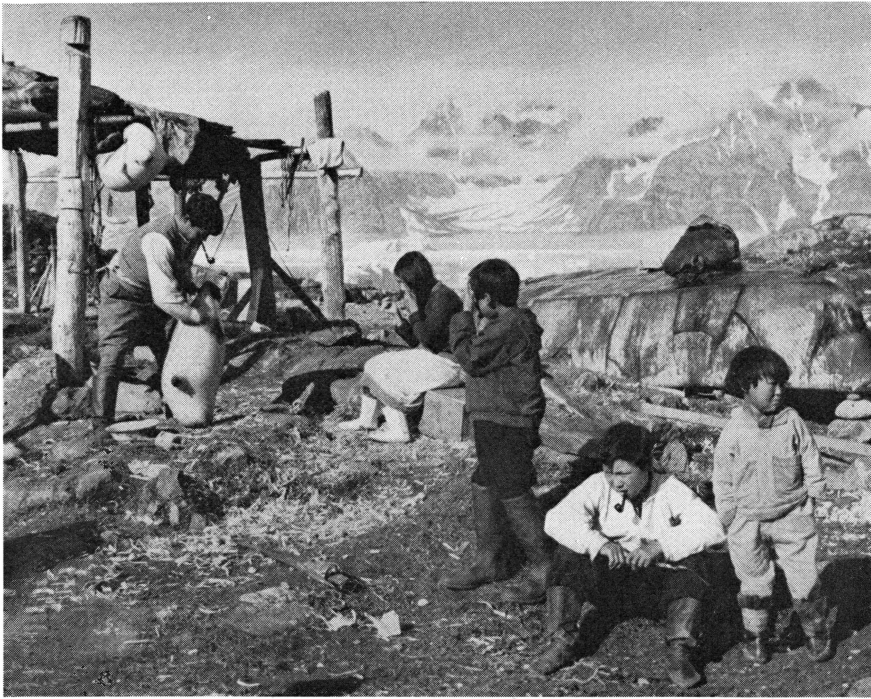


Fig. 15. Summer hunting camp. (JETTE BANG phot.).

dogs presumably should have kept pace with this increase, if the food supply of the community had developed along normal lines. Assuming that the proportion had remained the same, the number of dogs kept in later years should have been about 750, whereas there are only about 350. This great decrease is surely only owing to the lack of means of subsistence and does not augur well for the future, as the smaller number of dogs kept entails a considerable restriction in the freedom of the population to move about also in winter.

The decrease in the meat supply at the disposal of the population from the first to the last period has, according to the figures given above, amounted to a little more than a third, but still there is so much meat at the annual disposal of each individual that its weight very nearly corresponds with the weight of butcher's meat from one cow.

The decrease in the meat and blubber production is very regrettable, particularly as there is hardly any chance of the Angmagssalik area yielding greater sealing in the future than in the past, and the possibilities of increasing the production of meat are consequently very small; one must rather be prepared for a constant decrease, both absolutely and more particularly in proportion to the great increase of the population.

As already mentioned, bear hunting is decidedly decreasing, whereas the production of foxskins has increased somewhat, which increase can, however, hardly be of any noteworthy importance with a view to the cash income of the population, or in any other way benefit the Angmagssalik community.

From the table above (29) it appears that the cash income by hunting has increased considerably, and this rise is both absolute and proportionate to the increase of the population, the total income from hunting having become nearly five times greater from the first to the last period, while the income per individual is more than doubled. The increase of the income from hunting is, however, not due to the greater proceeds, but to the fact that the population sell more of their hunting produce than formerly, and particularly that the prices paid for the skins have risen very much during the past years (see p. 161).

Over and above these considerable quantities of meat and blubber, which have been supplied by sealing and bear hunting, there has, as already mentioned, since 1915 been a good deal of fishing in the Angmagssalik district. The extent of this fishing cannot be stated, as every indication of weight is lacking, and it is not even possible roughly to estimate the weight of the yearly fishing produce. All that can be said is, therefore, that fishing has gradually become of some importance in the food supply of the Angmagssalik population, and ARNE HØYGAARD estimates that the fish caught in the year 1936/37 covered about 16 per cent of their need of calories¹). This estimate is, however, undoubtedly far too high and can at any rate hardly apply to more than the two months, when fish is most abundant.

From of old the Eskimos have known all the edible plants and berries growing along the coast, which could be gathered by women and children; this article of food they used to the greatest possible extent, eating them both fresh and stored in blubber bags for winter provisions.

GUSTAV HOLM enumerates the following edible plants²):

Roseroot (*Sedum Rhodiola*), of which also the root is eaten

Quan (*Angelica archangelica*)

Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*)

Crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum v. hermaphroditum*)

Bog wortleberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), of which possibly also the leaves are eaten

Alpine bistort (*Polygonum viviparum*)

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 55.

²) GUSTAV HOLM, M. o. Gr. X; p. 51.

The following sea weeds are considered edible:

Dulse (*Dulsea edulis*)

Kelp-wrack (*Fucus vesiculosus*)

Large brown algæ (*Fucus*)

GUSTAV HOLM mentions that vegetable food plays a certain part in the nutrition of the Eskimos, and this is also stated by ARNE HØYGAARD, who maintains that the native vegetable food stuffs of Greenland supply the Angmagssaliks of the present day with 2 per cent of their necessary expenditure of energy.

HØYGAARD maintains that, beyond the plants mentioned above, the Angmagssaliks eat the following¹):

Polar willow (*Salix* spp.)

Saxifraga spp.

Thyme (*Thymus Serpyllum*)

Blue bell (*Campanula* sp.)

It is, however, not possible only approximately to give the weight of the plants and berries collected, but they play a certain part in the food supply of the population, particularly during the autumn. Of these vegetable food stuffs crowberries are by far the most important.

Mussels and a few lower marine animals, such as sea urchins and star fishes are also eaten.

Other native articles of food are not to be found in the Angmagssalik district or along the coast of Southeast Greenland.

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 22.

THE SCORESBY SOUND GREENLANDERS' MEANS OF EXISTENCE AND INCOME

The large fjord area of Scoresby Sound debouches into a comparatively narrow outlet, extending from 70°10' to 70°25' lat. N., and the distance from the outer coast to the interior of the fjord is a little more than 300 km. The innermost branches of the fjord, which reach as far as the inland ice, frame some large islands, and there are some 200 km from the northernmost to the southernmost ramification. This huge system of fjords, which covers an area of about 38.000 km², is the largest in the world.

The annual mean temperature is \div 8.0° C, the lowest average monthly temperature being \div 18.7° C in February and the highest \div 4.5° C in July. Only three of the months (June, July and August) have positive mean temperatures¹).

In former times the Scoresby Sound region was the home of a rather considerable Eskimo population, who by preference lived far towards the interiors of the fjords, but were probably extinct before historic times, although, as already mentioned, Scoresby was of the opinion that Eskimos lived there at the time, when he discovered the fjord in 1822. Owing to various circumstances, which made it advisable to extend the Danish colonization area on the east coast of Greenland, the Scoresby Sound Committee in 1924/25 established a small settlement just inside the mouth of the fjord in 70°29' lat. N. and 22°00' long. W. A warehouse was filled with three-years' equipment and commodities for a hundred Greenlanders, and all of this was handed over to the Administration of Greenland, who in the following year (the summer of 1925) transferred 82 Angmagssaliks to this new area of habitation. Besides the trading station, the Committee had established three small dwelling places, each consisting of two or three houses, viz. at Cape Tobin, Cape Hope and Cape Stewart, the distance from Cape Tobin to Cape Stewart being almost 30 km. The dwelling place at Cape Stewart was un-

¹) Statistiske Oplysninger; p. 391.



Fig. 16. The Scoresby Sound settlement as seen from the wireless station.
(JETTE BANG phot.).

fortunately later on abandoned without any justifiable reason, and the population now only lives at the trading station and at the dwelling places Cape Hope and Cape Tobin, which are both situated at a distance of about 10 km from the trading station.

To begin with, the Greenlanders had some difficulty in accommodating themselves to the new geographical and climatic conditions, and it took some months, before they had become accustomed to hunting conditions in the huge fjord area, from which they had no experience as to the best hunting grounds etc. The new dwelling places had, however, been established in localities, where there had in former times been comparatively large Eskimo habitations, as it might be taken for granted that the Eskimos of the past had settled in the places, where they knew by experience that hunting conditions were good. This proved to be correct, and the dwelling places are situated near good hunting grounds.

The animals of capture at Scoresby Sound are practically the same as at Angmagssalik, viz. seal and bear; the stock of foxes is, however, essentially greater, but as most of the hunters, who had been transferred there, had not formerly had much to do with this kind of hunting, they were at first rather unfamiliar with it.

At Scoresby Sound the Greenlanders found a large land mammal, the musk ox, and though it had never appeared further down the coast, the ancestors of the Angmagssaliks had known it in far-off times and in other arctic regions—possibly from the starting point of the tribe in Northwest Greenland, but more probably from their wanderings across the Canadian islands. Through oral traditions, handed down for centuries, this legendary animal at the time of GUSTAV HOLM'S visit still lived in the East Greenlanders' vocabulary and description of animals, and now they themselves found it at Scoresby Sound, where, under certain conditions, it might come to be of great importance for their existence and feeling of security. But the musk ox was partly protected by the statutes of the Administration of Greenland, and when now, after several centuries, the East Greenlanders again saw musk oxen, they must at the same time learn to respect certain regulations as to their protection.

While carrying on their hunting the population of the Scoresby Sound settlement chiefly kept to the region round the trading post and the dwelling places, that is to the northern coast at the mouth of the fjord, but they also undertook hunting expeditions extending over a year or more in a northerly direction along Liverpool Coast and towards west, as far as South Cape, and possibly even farther.

In the course of years the Scoresby Sound Committee has built some hunting huts on Liverpool Coast, in Hurry Inlet and far into the deep ramifications of Scoresby Sound; by this means they have made it possible for the hunters, without great difficulty or risk, to leave the dwelling places and resort to other parts of the huge district, so as to be able to collect, as soon as possible, valuable hunting experiences.

The animals of capture most commonly occurring at Scoresby Sound are in the main the same as those of the Angmagssalik district, but the numbers, in which they occur, and their wanderings are somewhat different from those of the more southerly hunting area. The following information is based upon material collected by ALWIN PEDERSEN¹⁾.

The Greenland seal occurs there on its migrations at the end of June and only leaves the area of the fjord, when the sea is covered by the new ice. It is maintained that the first comers are the 1- and

¹⁾ ALWIN PEDERSEN, Fortgesetzte Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Säugetier- und Vogelfauna der Ostküste Grönlands, M. o. Gr. LXVIII, 3; pp. 378 et seq.



Fig. 17. Hunting hut at South Cape.

2-year old animals, while the older ones appear at a later period. About the middle of September the migration reaches its climax, and towards the end of October the Greenland seal is seen no more. ALWIN PEDERSEN is of the opinion that the average yearly catch of this species of seal amounts to about 45 animals.

The bearded seal is stationary at Scoresby Sound, and it seems to be of comparatively frequent occurrence at the margin of the ice at the mouth of the fjord as well as on the outer coast, but the stock is small, and the number of animals annually caught by the population is on an average only estimated at 25.

At the beginning of the colonization the walrus was so comparatively common at the mouth of Scoresby Sound as to give a special character to the animal life of the place, and certain localities were named after it, as for instance Hvalrosbugten (∅: walrus bay). But as the walrus was a comparatively easy prey for the newly arrived hunters, the number rapidly decreased. In 1925/26 as many as 70 walruses were killed as against 10, 6 and 2 during the following three years.

The hunting of walrus is now of no importance for the population, but there is reason to suppose that the greater part of this species of animal is not exterminated, but only driven away to less dangerous regions.

The bladdernose seal is very rare in Scoresby Sound and is practically never caught.

As the number of large seal captured at Scoresby Sound is small, it has not been considered justifiable to permit the trading in of these skins, but even then it is very difficult to get sufficient material for covering the vitally important kayaks, and in several cases the skins of old ringed seals must be used for this purpose. The umiaks, which the newcomers brought from Angmagssalik, have unfortunately all been lost, owing to the lack of suitable skins for renewing the coverings, and it has even been necessary to introduce the skins of bearded seal from West Greenland in order to get enough soles for kamiks.

These are probably only difficulties marking the stage of transition, which will be done away with in the future, for along the outer coast there are said to be sufficient numbers of large and more particularly bearded seal, and the hunters, who have spent a winter in one of the hunting huts on the outer coast, have as a rule secured a comparatively great quantity of large seal.

According to ALWIN PEDERSEN the ringed seal breed towards the heads of the enormous ramifications of Scoresby Sound. When the young seals are able to manage for themselves, they emigrate towards the mouth of the fjord, but later on they return to the large fjords, whence they came and which they never leave any more. ALWIN PEDERSEN estimates the Greenlanders' yearly catch of ringed seal in 1928—30 at about 4000 animals, and he is of the opinion that about 95 per cent of those are 2—3-year old animals, that is, essentially older than the ringed seals, which are now caught at Angmagssalik.

The population at Scoresby Sound sell a comparatively great number of sealskins, and since the establishment of the settlement the export of these has been as shown in the following table¹).

Table 30. Sealskins exported from Scoresby Sound.

1926.....	40 skins	1934.....	598 skins
1927.....	102 —	1935.....	973 —
1928.....	205 —	1936.....	1470 —
1929.....	526 —	1937.....	970 —
1930.....	570 —	1938.....	646 —
1931.....	370 —	1939.....	670 —
1932.....	371 —		
1933.....	250 —		
			Seals in all... 7761 skins
			Per year... 554 —

The total catch of ringed seal is, however, larger than expressed by the table above, as the annual home consumption of sealskins for

¹) These and the following figures regarding the sending home of skins and blubber from Scoresby Sound have been communicated by the Administration of Greenland.



Fig. 18. The Point Hope dwelling place (note the wooden houses).

clothing and hunting implements may be estimated as at least 5 skins of ringed seal per individual. From 1925 to 1939 the population has increased from 85 individuals to more than 200, and the yearly home consumption has consequently increased from at least 425 to about 1000 skins of ringed seal.

During the fourteen years which have elapsed since the establishment of the settlement, the home consumption has thus amounted to the skins of at least 9100 ringed seals, and as the number of skins sent home is 7761, the total production of sealskins from the establishment of the settlement until now has been at least 16.800 ringed seals or about 1800 annually. This is, however, only half the estimate of ALWIN PEDERSEN as to the number of seals caught by the population, and it must be supposed that he judges the catch of seal too highly.

At Scoresby Sound the Administration of Greenland has permitted the trading in of blubber, as the local coal beds supply sufficient coal for the heating of the houses of the district for many years to come, and there is consequently no reason to fear that the families of improvident hunters should suffer from exposure to cold in consequence of having sold too much blubber. That the lamps should be extinguished as the result of want of blubber may be disagreeable enough, but people don't die of it, and they would probably learn to take better care another year.

The trading in of blubber has been comparatively considerable when viewed in relation to the rather scanty population and the not very great number of animals caught. It comprises:

Table 31. Blubber exported from Scoresby Sound.

1928.....	1500 kg blubber	1935.....	6450 kg blubber
1929.....	3600 - —	1936.....	11940 - —
1930.....	13700 - —	1937.....	4214 - —
1931.....	2438 - —	1938.....	15013 - —
1932.....	2851 - —	1939.....	10751 - —
1933.....	2976 - —		In all... 83935 kg blubber
1934.....	8502 - —		Per year... 6995 - —

It is probable that the proceeds of seal hunting would be essentially greater than hitherto, if the population took a greater interest in this kind of game, than it does at present. Out on the outer coast there are great quantities of large seal, and as already mentioned, the Scoresby Sound Committee has built good hunting huts along the inclement coast, so it is only the initiative of the inhabitants which is lacking. But as long as the profit accruing from the trading in of bears and foxes is so comparatively great, as is the case near the trading station of Scoresby Sound, the population is not tempted to exchange a fairly agreeable and rather profitable existence in the neighbourhood of the store for a lonely life in a far-away hunting hut.

The narwhal is another sea mammal, which is of comparatively great importance for the population of Scoresby Sound and a regular frequenter of the great system of fjords. From the middle of July the narwhal occurs in flocks of from 15—50 animals, and even in winter narwhal is to be seen in the open water at the mouth of the fjord. The narwhal, however, more particularly seeks the many ramifications of the fjord, and the greatest narwhal hunting as a rule takes place at South Cape. The average yearly catch is estimated at about 20—30 animals, and the meat and blubber is of great dietary importance for the population, who do not have meat in abundance. The value of this sea mammal from the point of view of cash income is minimal.

The polar bear, which is one of the most important animals of capture at Scoresby Sound, occurs in rather great numbers. From March and until the end of July it keeps to the innermost branches of Scoresby Sound, where it brings forth its young and thrives upon the seals, which have crawled on to the ice. From the beginning of July until the end of September the bear is found evenly distributed over the

inner parts of the fjord area, by preference on land, where it eats great quantities of berries.

When the fjord begins to freeze, the bear leaves Scoresby Sound, and after the middle of October it is as a rule not to be found in the fjord itself, but only at Cape Tobin, where there is open water throughout the winter.

The hunting of bear has hitherto yielded rather good profit, and the number of skins sent home has been as follows:

Table 32. Bearskins exported from Scoresby Sound.

Year 1926.....	99 bearskins	Year 1934.....	12 bearskins
— 1927.....	68 —	— 1935.....	43 —
— 1928.....	74 —	— 1936.....	53 —
— 1929.....	52 —	— 1937.....	49 —
— 1930.....	80 —	— 1938.....	31 —
— 1931.....	37 —	— 1939.....	60 —
— 1932.....	54 —		
— 1933.....	49 —		
			In all... 761 bearskins
			Per year... 54.4

There is a comparatively small decrease in the number of bears killed, although the great results of the first years can hardly be regarded as the standard of the possibilities of bear hunting at Scoresby Sound. Viewed in relation to the figures of the population in 1925 and 1938, bear hunting is, however, decidedly on the decrease. As the migration of the bear takes place from the north, the decrease of the hunting produce is probably due to the fact that the stock of bears since 1926 has been greatly reduced farther north by the winter hunting of the European hunters on land and, not least, by their summer hunting in the pack ice.

The stock of foxes at Scoresby Sound is rather large and is distributed over the whole of the fjord, but the number of foxes seems to be greatest at the large bird cliffs on Liverpool Coast and between Cape Brewster and Cape Stevenson on the southern coast of the fjord. There is, however, also a rather large stock of foxes in the interior of Scoresby Sound, but the areas are so immense that the fox is not seen very often. ALWIN PEDERSEN seems to think that the number of foxes in the interiors of the fjords is essentially greater than the stock of foxes near the bird cliffs on the outer coast.

Up till now fox hunting has yielded good profit, and since the establishment of the settlement the figures have been as follows:

Table 33. Foxskins exported from Scoresby Sound.

Year	Number of foxes		Year	Number of foxes	
	blue	white		blue	white
1926.....	45	28	1934.....	52	115
1927.....	20	28	1935.....	35	118
1928.....	51	61	1936.....	11	18
1929.....	76	138	1937.....	27	49
1930.....	33	40	1938.....	53	341
1931.....	26	36	1939.....	40	185
1932.....	50	76	Foxes in all	578	1376
1933.....	59	143	Foxes per year . . .	41.3	98.3

As appears from this table, the proceeds of hunting fluctuate a good deal from one year to another, and this is first and foremost due to the greater or smaller number of lemming, which in some years occur in very great quantities at Scoresby Sound and farther north, and which seem to be the chief food of the foxes.

Considering that the hunters, who arrived at Scoresby Sound from Angmagssalik, had never taken any particular interest in fox hunting and were unaccustomed to it from their home, they have nevertheless achieved fairly good results during the past years. The fox hunting might, however, become essentially greater, if the hunters would go farther afield with their traps, than they do now. Particularly at the bird cliffs on the south side of the fjord and on the outer coast of Liverpool Land fox hunting would be very profitable. It is maintained that it is principally the blue foxes, which keep to the southern side of the fjord.

At Scoresby Sound the fox is protected from April 15th to October 1st, and the Greenlanders respect the close season.

Besides the animals mentioned above, which are of direct importance both from a dietary and an economical point of view, there are the following animals of capture at Scoresby Sound:

The musk ox (*Ovibos moschatus*)¹⁾ was, as already mentioned, unfamiliar to the immigrating Angmagssaliks, and so it was feared, and with good justice; that they would in a short time decimate the stock, as the Greenlanders formerly always shot at all animals coming within their range.

Professor ADOLF S. JENSEN was greatly interested in protecting the musk oxen against aimless killing, and upon his initiative an order was

¹⁾ The Latin names are added, whenever the species of animal has not been mentioned before.

issued against unnecessary hunting of musk oxen. This order was succeeded by the collective regulations for the protection of animals, dating from February 19th 1937, and applying to the whole of the Scoresby Sound area. Pursuant to these regulations it is generally only permitted to kill musk oxen in an emergency, as a rule after having obtained the permission of the manager of the settlement. It is, however, very difficult to make the East Greenlanders realize the importance and the justification of the protection of animals, as until less than a generation ago they lived exclusively by hunting, and killed whatever they were able to come across.

It is all the more difficult to make them respect the demand for protection, as an "emergency situation" may arise from other reasons than hunger, for instance by musk oxen attacking a hunter or his dogs when sledging, or—as also often happens—by the musk oxen striking terror into the population and causing damage by appearing in the midst of a dwelling place, to which they have been attracted by the luxurious grass on the peat walls and between the houses.

In such cases the Greenlanders shoot the animals and maintain that they have acted in self-defence, which may be a very plausible explanation and at any rate is difficult to disprove.

The situation has been further complicated by the regrettable fact, that both Danish and foreign ships have arrived in Scoresby Sound from the more northerly coast, with the meat of musk oxen hung in the shrouds. When the Europeans are permitted to shoot musk oxen, the Greenlanders cannot understand, why they are not allowed to do so, and besides this, a number of the younger hunters at Scoresby Sound have been engaged by the Danish expeditions and coast guard stations outside the protected area (Scoresby Sound), where, to their surprise, they have seen that many musk oxen were killed, both as food for human beings and as food for the dogs. That all this has confused the Greenlanders' ideas of right and wrong, is not to be wondered at, and the local authorities, who also greatly appreciate the meat of musk oxen, have naturally had great difficulty in enforcing the regulations aiming at the protection of this animal at Scoresby Sound.

The Greenlanders have, however, roughly speaking learnt that it is not permitted to shoot musk oxen without any justifiable cause, and the number killed by the Greenlanders is also proportionally small, as a rule not exceeding 40—50 musk oxen in a year. The Greenlanders also try to comply with the demand of protecting the females as much as possible, and according to information given by the manager of the settlement, more than half of the animals killed are vagrant and as a rule old males. Fortunately the meat of the musk oxen is not particularly to the taste of the Greenlanders, as it is not sufficiently fat, and this

perhaps furthers the protection even more than the fine of kr. 10 per animal, which the hunters are sentenced to pay for unnecessarily killing this animal.

The stock of musk oxen at Scoresby Sound seems to be increasing, and whereas ALWIN PEDERSEN¹⁾ maintains that there were in 1929 about 1000—1500 musk oxen on Liverpool Land and about 2000 on Jameson Land, the leader of the coast guard service in 1937/38 (IB POULSEN) estimated the stock of musk oxen on Jameson Land alone at a minimum of 4000 animals.

The Greenlanders also maintain that the stock of musk oxen increases from one year to another, but then they are perhaps not entirely impartial observers. It is, however, beyond all manner of doubt that until 1939 there was a considerable stock of musk oxen at Scoresby Sound, which must in fact mean a large emergency supply of meat, in case the killing of sea mammals should fail for any length of time, as frequently happens in the months of January, February and March. The shooting of musk oxen, which has taken place up to the present, has not in the least damaged the stock, while, on the other hand, the meat has been of great importance for the food supply and the feeling of security of the population.

The skins of the musk oxen killed are used as underlayers for sleeping platforms and bed covering, but not as articles of trade.

The polar hare (*Lepus variabilis* var. *glacialis*) is of rather frequent occurrence at Scoresby Sound, but the Greenlanders do not care about the meat, and so it is of no particular importance in the food supply of the native population. The polar hare is protected from May 1st to July 15th.

The occurrence of the lemming (*Myodes torquatus*) is very varying from one year to another, and in some years it is very great. It is of no direct importance for the Greenlanders, but indirectly both this animal and the polar hare are very valuable, because they serve as food for the foxes, which supply the population with what is the predominant part of their cash income.

Other land mammals are a few ermins (*Mustala erminea*) and a few scattered specimens of polar wolf (*Canis occidentalis*). Both of these species of animals are of no importance whatsoever for the population.

Edible birds occur at Scoresby Sound in essentially greater quantities than at Angmagssalik, and already long before one enters the fjord, great flocks of guillemot (*Uria lomvia*) and little auk (*Mergulus alle*) are met with; they breed on the steep rocks of the outer and southern coast in ten thousands and millions, respectively. These myriads of birds and

¹⁾ ALWIN PEDERSEN: Polardyr; p. 27.

their infinite number of eggs play an important part in the food supply of the population, and might play an even greater, if the Greenlanders had umiaks or rowing boats, with which they could transport their families to the bird cliffs in order to collect birds and eggs and bring home the proceeds.

Different kinds of gulls as well as terns (*Sterna macrura*) occur in rather great quantities at Scoresby Sound, and are of considerable importance as part of the food supply of the population.

The eider duck (*Somateria mollissima*) occurs over the whole of the district. It is not permitted to remove eggs and downs from the nests after June 25th, and the bird is protected from July 1st till August 15th. The eider duck is of no great importance as part of the food supply of the population.

A number of ducks and geese are to be found in lakes and swampy regions in Hurry Inlet and at the mouth of the fjord. It is not permitted to collect eggs after May 31st, but the birds themselves are not protected. Geese and ducks play an unimportant part in the food supply of the population.

Ptarmigan (*Lagopus mutus*) occur in certain years in rather great quantities, whereas in other years they are practically non-existent. The population is not particularly interested in the hunting of ptarmigan, which is mostly undertaken by boys and the few Europeans. Ptarmigan are not protected at Scoresby Sound.

Fishing is of no importance at Scoresby Sound, with the exception of some shark and a little salmon fishing. Shark fishing can and ought to be developed, as dried shark's meat can be used for dogs' food, which it is difficult to procure, as sealing up to the present has not been sufficient to supply meat for this purpose. The shark liver is traded in, and although this has not yet been done in great quantities, there is here a possibility of a form of industry, which may become of fairly great economic importance for the population.

Salmon is, as mentioned above, not of particularly frequent occurrence, and it practically plays no part in the food supply of the population, but then it should be remembered that the Scoresby Sound settlement is of recent date, and that the Greenlanders only know a very small part of the fjord. With greater knowledge of the rivers and lakes of the district, particularly farther into the fjord, it will surely be possible to catch salmon in many other localities than those which are known at present.

In the stomachs of seals large quantities of crustacea, shrimps and polar cod have been found. When caught alive these species ought to make a welcome addition to and a greatly needed variety in the diet

of the population, but the interest in fishing is small, and the quantities of polar cod caught by the Greenlanders are trifling.

Deep sea fish are not caught by the Greenlanders, who maintain that such fish are absolutely not to be found within their range of operations. As far as is known this is, however, only an assertion based upon suppositions, as they have probably never attempted to fish in deep water. Now and then a few rather large sea cods have been found floating on the surface of the sea or frozen up in the ice, but they have never been seen alive. In the autumn of 1940 such large shoals of herring were seen to enter Amdrups Harbour that the water was "boiling" with them, and great quantities were caught. This is, however, surely the exception, as the herring does not as a rule occur so far north along the coasts of East Greenland.

Angmagssat have not hitherto been identified with certainty at Scoresby Sound.

The information given in the preceding pages as to the hunting proceeds at Scoresby Sound have been coordinated in the following table (34) which i. a. shows the amount of the average annual trading in of the surplus production of seal, bear and fox, the quantity produced of meat and blubber and the average cash income derived from hunting.

Table 34. Average yearly production in kind and cash.

5-year period	Number of population	Seals				Seal products			Bear	Foxes		Cash income by trading in	
		sold	estimated consumption	in all about	per individual	kg meat	kg blubber used	kg blubber sold		blue	white	in all kr.	per individual kr.
1925/26-1929/30	100	289	500	800	8.0	24000	11200	5600	74.6	45.0	59.0	6284	62.84
1930/31-1934/35	122	512	600	1100	9.0	33000	15400	4600	39.0	44.4	97.6	5810	47.63
1935/36-1938/39	178	939	900	1800	10.1	54000	25200	10500	48.3	32.8	142.3	9336	52.45

It appears from the table that, absolutely as well as in proportion to the number of the population, sealing shows an increase from the first to the last yearly period, and on an average the number of seals per individual has been somewhat higher than at Angmagssalik.

The weight of meat and blubber per seal is estimated somewhat higher than the weights estimated for Angmagssalik, as the ringed seals

¹⁾ Calculated home consumption. Hunting income in all kr. 97.814.

of Scoresby Sound on an average are older and, consequently, larger than the ringed seals now caught in the Angmagssalik district. The estimated weight of meat per seal for Scoresby Sound is 30 kg, and the weight of blubber is estimated at 14 kg (Angmagssalik 20 and 12 kg respectively per ringed seal)¹⁾.

What has formerly been said as to the dietary value of seal meat for the population of Angmagssalik (p. 99) also holds good for that of Scoresby Sound, although in a lesser degree, as the population may at an emergency have recourse to the meat of musk oxen. As already mentioned, the average annual number of musk oxen killed at Scoresby Sound is about 50, and the weight of meat per ox may be estimated as at least 100 kg. This is not a very great quantity of meat (5000 kg), but in an emergency it may be of vital importance for the population. Add to this, that the meat production by means of bear hunting is essentially greater per individual at Scoresby Sound than at Angmagssalik, and finally, that the population is supplied with rather large quantities of meat (about 10.000 kg) from the hunting of narwhal. The average annual quantity of meat at the disposal of the population must thus be increased with at least 20.000 kg from these sources. The meat production by the hunting of seal within the last period is, as appears from the table, calculated at 54.000 kg, to which must be added the meat production by means of bear and narwhal hunting (about 20.000 kg); thus, for the last period about 74.000 kg of meat have been at the disposal of the population. The number of dogs kept at Scoresby Sound is large, and it must be calculated that about 20 per cent should be deducted from the total quantity of meat for dogs' food and waste by inadvertency, but even with this deduction it will be about 330 kg meat per individual annually. This is a considerably greater quantity of meat, than the Angmagssaliks had at their disposal within the same period viz. about 200 kg.

The proceeds of the bear hunting shows, as already mentioned, a decided decrease, and this also applies to the proceeds from the hunting of blue fox. The number of white foxes caught is, on the other hand, almost trebled. This is rather peculiar, but it possibly seems to suggest that the stock of blue foxes is comparatively small within the range of operations of the hunters, and that this stock in consequence has been severely affected in a limited area. That the number of white foxes caught has increased greatly, may be due to the very large quantities of lemming occurring during later years along the whole of the northerly coast of East Greenland, but possibly also to the fact that the hunters at Scoresby Sound have become more proficient in fox hunting and go farther afield than in former times.

¹⁾ See also R. MÜLLER, *Vildtet og Jagten i Sydgrønland*; p. 172.

The total proceeds per individual have not undergone any very great change from the first to the last period, but it is almost three times that of Angmagssalik (kr. 52.45 as against kr. 18.32). This is, however, not because the hunters at Scoresby Sound are abler and more enterprising than their Angmagssalik kinsmen, but because there are greater quantities of expensive fur animals (foxes), and it is from the fox hunting that the bread-winners at Scoresby Sound derive their greater income. In a later chapter we will recur to what this greater income has meant for the population of Scoresby Sound.

As mentioned above, fishing is of no dietary importance for the population at Scoresby Sound, at least as long as the latter lives at the now inhabited localities.

At Angmagssalik the collection of edible plants and berries plays a fairly important part in the diet of the population, covering about 2 per cent of the daily calorie requirements¹). At the mouth of Scoresby Sound, where the trading station and the dwelling places are situated, the vegetation is very insignificant, the raw sea air being very unpropitious to its conditions of growth. But farther into the fjord, more particularly in its long and comparatively narrow ramifications, where the snow-bare period is longer than on the outer coast, and where the conditions of growth are favorable and the heat of the sun stronger, the vegetation is comparatively considerable, probably much larger than in the Angmagssalik district, which roughly speaking is too close to the sea to yield the best possible conditions for the vegetation. In the inner ramifications of Scoresby Sound there are thus willow and birch copses of the height of a meter, besides extensive areas of crowberries and bog whortleberries.

Owing to the lack of large seal the population at Scoresby Sound have no umiaks, and up the present they have not been able to afford, nor have they felt inclined to provide themselves with wooden boats. They are consequently bound to the neighbourhood of the dwelling places, where the vegetation is poor, and so they are unable to profit by the comparatively rich plant life far into the sun-baked fjords. Until the population is able to enter the fjords in summer time, the dietary value of the local vegetation will be very small.

The huge fjord area of Scoresby Sound covers about 38.000 km², in which until now there has been no hunting, except in at most 2000 km². In its untouched hinterland it has a large reserve of stationary seals and younger ringed seals, which for a long time will be able to provide food for a fairly large population. Besides, according to all that is known, there must be a rather considerable stock of foxes in that hinterland,

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD; pag. 55.

by means of which the population will be able to provide itself with the cash income, which has gradually become of vital importance for the East Greenlanders. As the bird life is considerable farther into the fjord, and as salmon fishing in the same localities also may become rather considerable, there are at Scoresby Sound—as contrasted with what is the case in the over-populated Angmagssalik district—both room and good hunting possibilities for a largely extended Greenland habitation.

In order to open up the huge hinterland for the activity of East Greenland hunters, the Scoresby Sound settlement must, however, be able to dispose of a motor vessel, which is sufficiently large to transport imported commodities into the fjord to the Greenlanders living there, and to take back their hunting produce to the trading station and shipping harbour at the mouth of the fjord.

OTHER HUNTING AREAS AND HUNTING ENTERPRISES IN EAST GREENLAND (EUROPEAN HUNTING)

In the preceding chapters it has been described that, whereas the Eskimos of the past were able to subsist along the greater part of the coast of East Greenland, they had to fight hard in order to wrench from the sea and land what was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of life, and this fight gradually became so severe that the population died out in the former areas of habitation, with the exception of the Angmagssalik district. The consequence was that the greater part of the coast for a hundred years or more lay uninhabited and open to chance hunting enterprises.

However, it lasted a long time before European hunters started operations in those areas, where the Eskimos had become extinct—the coast was too far from Europe and too difficult of access, owing to the pack ice in the Polar Current. But navigation in the ice became considerably easier, when mechanical propelling power replaced the sails as a means of propulsion. When whaling ceased towards the end of the 19th century, the sealers were ready to begin hunting on a larger scale than before in the waters of East Greenland.

Arctic Ocean sealing, as a form of industry, is nearly as old as whaling, seeing that several of the whalers of the past also took seals, when there was nothing else to be had. However, vessels were gradually equipped for this purpose only, and sealing became rather an important trade; thus 19 Hamburg vessels in 1760 brought home 45.000 sealskins¹⁾.

At first sealing was carried on by English, German and Danish vessels, and not until 1847 did Norwegian vessels begin to follow suit. But whereas the Norwegian hunting enterprises rapidly increased, the other countries withdrew more and more, and towards the end of the 19th century Norway was the only country to carry on sealing in the ice off the coasts of East Greenland.

¹⁾ THOR IVERSEN, *Drivis og Selfangst*; p. 12.

About the same time enterprising Norwegian sealers found their way right up to the east coast of Greenland, and in 1889 they commenced a remunerative sealing trade in the fjords, where the Eskimos had lived before, but where the animals of capture had now been unpursued for a hundred years or more and thus had forgotten their fear of man.

This attempt was the beginning of the "completion" hunting, which has been carried on since then. By this is meant that the sealers, who have not got their vessels filled in the "west ice"¹⁾ or Danmarks Strait, would try, if possible, to penetrate through the pack ice to the shore, and here, near the coast or in the fjords, which late in summer are free from ice, they hunt all kinds of remunerative game such as large seal and walrus, bear and musk oxen.

The sealing in the pack ice off the more northerly coast of East Greenland (the west ice) and in Danmarks Strait took place far outside the hunting areas of the East Greenlanders, but nevertheless encroached heavily upon their means of subsistence, as the Norwegian sealers had to carry on intensive hunting in order to make the enterprise pay. The Norwegians only took the skins and the blubber of the hundreds of thousands of animals killed, whereas the very large quantities of meat were entirely lost. This wasteful hunting, particularly in Danmarks Strait, soon brought about a decimation of the stock of large seal, which has been of decisive importance for the living conditions of the present-day East Greenlanders.

To this must be added the completion hunting and later on the wintering of the European hunters, who pursued the same animals, which the East Greenlanders hunt, in the areas, where the Eskimos had lived before them, and where the surplus of the greatly increasing population must look for their future means of subsistence.

In this manner a direct contrast of interests arose: on one hand, between the stationary East Greenland native hunters, who cannot go elsewhere, even when the stock of animals is no longer sufficient to maintain them and their families, and on the other, the Norwegian sealers, who return every year with their vessels for the purpose of hunting.

Thus two points of view have made themselves felt as regards hunting in the uninhabited districts, and these have been set forth on behalf of the East Greenlanders and the European hunters respectively, one from Danish and the other from Norwegian quarters.

The Danish point of view centres round the fact that the East Greenlanders only have possibilities of subsistence along the coasts of East Greenland, and these possibilities, which were very small to begin

¹⁾ West ice = the Norwegian name for the hunting field near the outer boundary of the pack ice to the west of Jan Mayen.

with—and became smaller and smaller every year through the sealing of European hunters in international waters—are further lessened as the result of the completion hunting and the land hunting of the Europeans. The Norwegian point of view is, on the other hand, that it is contrary to reason to let the coasts of East Greenland be closed for enterprising men, who are willing to stake their existence in these inclement surroundings in order to acquire what is necessary for a very modest standard of life.

An attempt has been made to reconcile these conflicting opinions by an agreement between Denmark and Norway as to hunting rights etc. in East Greenland, and this agreement was concluded in 1924 for a period of twenty years.

Pursuant to article 2 of this agreement Danish and Norwegian hunters were given the right of access for hunting purposes everywhere along the coasts of East Greenland, only excepting the colonization district of Angmagssalik and, pursuant to article 6, Scoresby Sound, certain presuppositions being observed.

As mentioned on p. 73 the boundaries of the Angmagssalik area were unfortunately drawn far too narrow, and the well substantiated suggestions addressed to the authorities in question before the treaty was signed, viz. that the Angmagssaliks should be given more space for safeguarding their vitally important hunting and hunting reserves, were not acted upon. The area was so strictly confined, or rather so little attention was paid to the Angmagssaliks' right of existence that in the very year, when the agreement was concluded, about 100 Angmagssaliks lived on the southern part of the east coast (Akorninarmiut), which after the ratification of the agreement was to be regarded as open country, where the Greenlanders had no special privileges as compared with Europeans, nor enjoyed the accustomed protection under Danish Administration.

European hunters and others were also granted the rights to establish permanent hunting and scientific stations, etc. (article 5), the rights of such stations only being forfeited, if the owner or his deputy failed to put in an appearance for 5 years running (article 4). In other words, inanimate objects like empty houses, which were visited once every five years, and from which the hunting possibilities of the surrounding country were no longer exploited, nor any other work done, could in fact exclude East Greenlanders from creating a new area of habitation, which like all other places in Greenland were under the protection of the Danish Government.

In this place we will not enter into a more detailed discussion of the agreement and its consequences, but the result was the establishment both of Danish and Norwegian hunting enterprises in East Greenland, where the intensive hunting of the Europeans encroached upon

some of the animal reserves, which had formerly been regarded as necessary for the safeguarding of the future existence and food supply of the East Greenland communities. Further, empty and long deserted huts have made it difficult for the East Greenlanders to establish dwelling places in certain hunting areas on the southern coast of East Greenland, where they had lived before—and lived well. Denmark has maintained the agreement to the letter, and has not up to the present considered it justifiable to establish an outpost with store and commodities outside the Angmagssalik district, even if by so doing it might be possible effectively to support the vitally important endeavours of the East Greenlanders to occupy the hunting areas necessary for the absorption of the rapidly growing surplus population of the Angmagssalik district. But on the area in question some tumbled-down huts are standing, from which Norwegian hunters had hoped to carry on profitable hunting. The huts were empty for about five years, but were visited a few days before the expiration of the five-years' period, and the Norwegians thus maintained their right of possession to the area, while the hard-pressed East Greenlanders, who starved in their homes, had to put off moving out to the regions with the good hunting possibilities, until the situation is somehow or other cleared up—or else they would have to do without the Danish protection.

The Norwegian completion hunting was, as mentioned, commenced in 1889 at Clavering Island. The first attempt yielded excellent results, as was for that matter to be expected, the area encroached upon being one where the animals felt safe, as they had never been pursued by other than Eskimo hunters, and that very long ago.

The proceeds of the whole trip were about kr. 63.000¹⁾, and even though the greater part of the catch was made far from the coast and outside the area, where the East Greenlanders can hunt, it was enough to tempt the enterprising and adventurous Norwegian sealers, who cruised along the outer boundaries of the ice masses and laboriously hunted seal.

The proceeds of this hunting expedition being satisfactory, several vessels, as a rule only small ones, made for land, whenever ice conditions permitted, so as to get some extra hunting during the best summer season in the tranquil fjords and open coast waters of East Greenland, and possibly also in order that the crews might rest a little under quieter condition after months of hard hunting along the outer boundaries of the pack ice.

One vessel after another made for the shore after the cessation of the hunting season proper, and from 1889 to 1931 a total of 112 Norwegian sealing vessels have carried out completion hunting off the coasts

¹⁾ Den norske Regerings Modindlæg angaaende visse Dele af Østgrønlands Retsstilling. Vol. I; pp. 140 et seq.

of East Greenland¹). As a consequence of poor ice conditions, or for other reasons, no vessels have reached the coasts of East Greenland during fourteen of these forty-two years, and so the average annual number of vessels visiting the coast has been four during the years, when it has been possible to carry on completion hunting.

When going over the list of vessels carrying on completion hunting, one gets the impression that such vessels were mostly small ones, and that it was particularly at the beginning of the century that this kind of hunting was eagerly pursued. With a few exceptions the vessels were, as just mentioned, quite small (about 35—60 tons registered), and as the crews were paid by shares in the profit, the daily expenses were so small that the completion hunting on the coast could be attempted without any great risk. And even though the profit yielded in most years was perhaps not worth mentioning, there was always a chance of something comparatively big. The number of vessels taking part in the completion hunting, however, became less, as the vessels equipped for sealing in the ice became larger, and as they were furthermore provided with engine power, the working expenses increased considerably, and the sealers consequently hesitated more than before to take the uncertain chances of the completion hunting.

Only few accessible facts are at hand as to the proceeds of the completion hunting throughout the years, and still fewer as to the kind of game, which was by preference taken during this hunting on the shore. The sparse information as to the value and proceeds of the completion hunting dates from the comparatively few cases, when it has been particularly valuable or large, and these few specifications of value can therefore not be used as the foundation of an estimation of the total value. Taken as a whole, the value of this kind of hunting should undoubtedly be estimated as extremely modest, if it can at all be said to pay.

Wintering expeditions.

In 1893 the Norwegian vessel S/S "Ino" put in at Angmagssalik with the object of hunting, but more particularly in order to trade with the East Greenlanders before the establishment of the Danish settlement. Untoward ice conditions, however, made it necessary for the vessel to winter, and the loss sustained was considerable.

In the years 1908/09 and again in 1909/10 a couple of small Norwegian sealers, each with a crew of 7—8 men, wintered on Clavering Island. The annual hunting proceeds were kr. 4000 to 5000 for each expedition, and decidedly did not come up to the expectations enter-

¹) Modindlæg; pp. 104—115.

tained, so several years passed, before the attempt was repeated by Norwegian hunters.

In 1919 a Danish hunting enterprise was started, viz. the East Greenland Company, which established 5 hunting stations and 3 hunting huts on the coast from Cape Broer Ruys to Danmarks Havn, and besides used 2 houses built by Danish and 2 by American expeditions.

Ill luck dogged the East Greenland Company, and in 1924 it was forced to liquidate. The Danish Government took over the hunting stations and huts in compensation for the large grants, which the Company had received. The vessel was wrecked and in consequence only the proceeds of 2 years' hunting were brought home, amounting in all to:

Table 35. Proceeds of the East Greenland Company.

Year	Foxes		Bears	Musk oxen
	blue	white		
1921.....	20	96	17	12
1922.....	26	125	?	15
In all...	46	221	..	27

In 1922 the Norwegians resumed the winter hunting, which had been discontinued since 1910, and a station was built at Myggbukta, from which, according to an arrangement made with the Geophysical Institute at Tromsø (which partly paid the expenses of the hunting expedition) daily meteorological reports were sent home in the course of the following winter. Difficult ice conditions prevented the relief crew from reaching the station in 1923, and the wintering party ceased sending home the meteorological reports on August 15th and left Myggbukta for home. However, the vessel disappeared on the home journey, without leaving any traces whatsoever.

The hunting proceeds had, however, been good and tempted others to continue the work, but the wreck of the vessel had a frightening effect, and the winter hunting was not resumed until in 1926. Since then and as late as 1939 (possibly later) individual Norwegian hunters, and from 1929 also the Norwegian "Arktiske Næringsdrift A/S" have appeared on the coast of East Greenland from about 72° to 75° lat. N., the point of gravity being round Cape Herschel and Myggbukta, from which throughout the years telegraphic meteorological reports were sent to Norway.

Along this stretch of coast 10 hunting stations, besides 124 hunting huts have been built. The hunting stations are intended as winter

dwellings for 2—5 men, whereas the hunting huts are only shelters for the hunters, when travelling in their district.

The whole of this large hunting area is so well provided with buildings and shelters that a hunter, under all conditions, may move about with tolerable safety, and as he is consequently able to cover a fairly large hunting area, the proceeds have on an average been good (Table 36).

Table 36. The proceeds of the Norwegian wintering expeditions on East Greenland 1908—1938¹).

Year	Expedition	Number of men	White foxes		Blue foxes		Bears		Wolves	Ermins	Live musk oxen	Value ca. kr.
			dead	alive	dead	alive	dead	alive				
1908—09	SEVRIN LIAVAAG.....	7	18	2	11	1	28	..	3	..	19	400
1909—10	VEBJØRN LANDMARK.....	6	70	..	29	..	6	..	..	5	8	500
1922—23	JOHAN A. OLSEN ¹	7	70	..	16	..	10	1	6	..	7	3000
1926—28	Foldvik-expedition.....	² 6	243	..	44	..	18	..	7	..	2	5500
1927—29	Hird-expedition.....	6	309	2	39	2	40	2	..	30	2	6000
1928—30	FINN DEVOLD's expedition.....	6	287	15	42	2	11	..	8	24	..	4000
1929—31	Arktisk Næringsdrifts expedition..	³ 10	158	12	35	..	16	..	1	3	2	1700
1930—31	Møre Greenland-expedition.....	6	158	..	28	..	19	..	1	..	..	1300
1931—32	Arktisk Næringsdrifts expedition..	5	204	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	3000
1931—32	Møre Greenland-expedition.....	3	261	..	33	..	10	..	..	..	..	3500
1932—33	Arktisk Næringsdrifts expedition..	6	196	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	2800
1932—34	HELGE INGSTAD's expedition.....	⁴ 5	315	..	65	..	5	..	..	..	..	4500
1932—34	SIGURD TOLLØFSEN's expedition..	⁵ 6	358	..	34	..	11	..	..	4	..	4800
1932—34	JOHN GLÆVER's expedition.....	6	198	..	25	..	15	..	1	7	..	2000
1933—34	Arktisk Næringsdrifts expedition..	5	277	..	30	..	5	..	..	29	..	2500
1934—35	Arktisk Næringsdrifts expedition..	6	376	5	40	1	..	..	..	12	..	3500
1934—36	Suløya Greenland-expedition.....	4	153	..	29	..	21	..	..	..	..	1650
1935—36	Arktisk Næringsdrifts expedition..	6	188	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	1500
1936—37	Arktisk Næringsdrifts expedition..	⁶ 6	400	..	24	..	5	1	..	..	..	4000
1936—37	"Quest"-expedition.....	?	ca.160	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1500
1936—37	Suløya Greenland-expedition.....	2	60	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	900
1937—38	Arktisk Næringsdrifts expedition..	6	1325	..	75	..	..	..	..	..	..	11000
1937—38	SØREN RICHTER's expedition.....	3	221	9	27	8	..	..	..	..	..	3000
		123	6005	45	716	14	220	4	27	114	13	72550

¹ The hunting proceeds were lost by the wreck of «Anni I».

² 1928—29, 5 men.

³ Further, there were 32 white foxes and 23 blue foxes at the fox farm in Myggbukta.

⁴ 1933—34, 4 men.

⁵ 1933—34, 5 men.

⁶ Furthermore: 8 sealskins, 43 musk oxskins. 53 barrels of salmon and 755 kg seal-blubber oil.

¹) JOHN GLÆVER, Den norske fangstverksamheten på Østgrønland; p. 106.



Fig. 19. Deserted Norwegian hunting station at Akornarmiut (Skjoldungen).

As appears from the summary given above of the Norwegian winter hunting, 132 Norwegians have wintered in Greenland in the years 1908—38, the number of winterings amounting in all to 198. The total catch of these expeditions is 6005 white foxes, 716 blue foxes and 220 bears. Besides that, the following live animals have been sent home, viz. 45 white foxes, 14 blue foxes and 4 bears. The gross value is given as about kr. 725.500 in all.

After the East Greenland Company had ceased operations in 1924, a few years passed by, without any Danish hunting being undertaken in Northeast Greenland. Then in the summer of 1929 the newly founded East Greenland Hunting Company Nanok Ltd. sent out a vessel with a new hunting crew to take over the old Danish stations, the Danish Government having ceded the rights to use these to the "Nanok". At the same time materials were also brought for the building of new stations and hunting huts.

The plans of the "Nanok" were to exploit the hunting grounds from Cape Broer Ruys to Danmarks Havn, and from the start of the company in 1929 until 1939, the number of Danish hunting stations and hunting huts have increased considerably, there being now in all 10 hunting stations and 48 hunting huts along this stretch of coast, where during the past ten years hunting has been carried on all the year round by 40 Danes with 86 winterings in all.

Within the period in question (10 years) the Danish hunters have sent home 1447 foxes and 5 bears. It has not been possible to get information as to the proportion between blue and white foxes, any more than of the gross value of the catch¹).

On the coast of Southeast Greenland 6 Norwegian hunters tried in 1931—33 to carry on remunerative hunting, and in one district, the Skjoldunge district in about 63°20' lat. N., they built 3 hunting stations and 19 hunting huts.

Farther south, in Kangerdluarak (just north of Lindenows Fjord) in 60°35' lat. N. 3 men wintered in 1931—32 and built a hunting station with 3 hunting huts.

The total proceeds of these two hunting enterprises with 9 able and experienced Norwegian hunters in all (15 winterings) were:

59 white foxes, 20 blue foxes and 10 bears, the total gross value being about kr. 11—12.000, and the hunting was abandoned, as there was no chance whatsoever of making it pay.

Besides these two hunting enterprises a Norwegian wireless station, Torgilsbu, was established in 1932 at Nanuseq Fjord in 60°30' lat. N., the object being to send daily meteorological reports to Norway. The station was established as a hunting station on private initiative, but the following year the Norwegian Government took it over, and the station has been working continuously since its establishment. The hunting carried on from Torgilsbu is minimal.

At Kangerdlugssuak in 68°15' lat. N. a special Norwegian meteorological and hunting station was established in 1932, but it was abandoned the following year, and the staff left for home, as far as is known without any hunting proceeds²).

Whereas sealing, as already mentioned, forms the base of the subsistence of the East Greenlanders, the European hunter, who has an expensive transport to the hunting ground, and whose food chiefly consists in the provisions he has brought with him from home, is practically limited to the hunting of fox (and some few bears) in order to make the enterprise pay. This fox hunting, which from 1922 and until 1939 has yielded the following result:

5976 white foxes
966 blue —
1447 unspecified

in all... 8119 foxes

¹) The information supplied by the Nanok Company.

²) JOHN GLÆVER; pp. 41 et seq.

has for some years given a fair surplus (as a rule, however, with a more or less masked State contribution in the form of free transport, the taking over of the hunting station etc.). It must also be remembered that during this period the prices of foxskins have been comparatively high. In later years a considerable breeding of foxes has, however,



Fig. 20. Deserted Norwegian hunting hut.

been started in Norway and elsewhere, and so foxskins can in the future hardly be expected to fetch such high prices as in former times, seeing that furs can, in all probability, be supplied more cheaply by these breeding centres than by hunting expeditions, as the expenditure for equipment, housing and more especially for transport by sea is very great.

The fox hunting of the Europeans does not directly affect the economic life of the East Greenlanders, and can only become of importance for them, if the population of the Scoresby Sound settlement are obliged to extend their hunting grounds to the district now frequented by foreign hunters.

It has already been mentioned that the economic life of the East Greenlanders (more particularly the Angmagssaliks) is strongly affected by the hunting of bladdernose seal, which is being carried on in Danmarks Strait just outside Angmagssalik, partly along the outer margin of the pack ice, partly late in summer right inland.

The proceeds of the hunting of Greenland seal and bladdernose has, throughout the years, been very great, and information is at hand¹⁾ that the hunting of these two species of seal from 1851 to 1926 has yielded as much as 3.500.000, or about 55.000 seals annually. There is no information as to the catch of seals made during 13 years within the period mentioned, and when adding the estimated average catch of these years, it may surely be taken for granted that Norwegian vessels in the course of 75 years have brought home more than 4.000.000 Greenland and bladdernose seals from the pack ice off the east coast of Greenland and Danmarks Strait. The same species and the same stock of seals are also made the subject of profitable hunting from the Newfoundland Banks, from which 9.745.000 seals, or a yearly average of 102.586 were brought home in the years 1815 to 1926. No information is at hand as to the number of animals caught during sixteen years within this period.

The sealing on the Newfoundland Banks reached its maximum about 1840—45 with some 5 to 600.000 seals per year, and the hitherto lowest yield was in 1920, when the number of seals caught only amounted to 33.983.

To this must be added the proceeds of the Norwegian sealing in the White Sea (the east ice), which during 64 years has yielded a total of 3.300.000 Greenland seals, or a yearly average of about 51.400. Thus the Norwegian and Canadian sealers have, from about 1820 and until 1926, brought home the skins and blubber of at least 16.500.000 bladdernose and Greenland seals, or a yearly average of 209.000. And over and above this figure is the very large number of seals—at least a fourth of the catch made, or a minimum of 4.000.000 seals—which are severely wounded every year and disappear without benefiting anyone.

In the Norwegian hunting statistics no specification is made of the number of seals taken within the various hunting areas, and until 1924 the statistic material was generally speaking extremely deficient. It is consequently not possible to give approximately accurate figures of the number of bladdernose seals taken in Danmarks Strait itself since the beginning of sealing in 1874, but from 1924 to 1939 (both years inclusive) a total of 750.000 bladdernose seals have been taken to Norway, about half of which were quite young animals. By far the greater part of this number of seals, which on an average amount to 50.033 annually, are taken in Danmarks Strait.

¹⁾ THOR IVERSEN, *Drivis og Sælfangst*; pp. 15 et seq.

FRIDTJØV ISACHSEN has discussed in details the hunting of bladdernose seals in Danmarks Strait for the period 1924 to 1930¹⁾, and for this period he is able to give, with a fair degree of accuracy, the number of bladdernose seals caught by the Norwegians in Danmarks Strait. The figures are given in Table 37.

Table 37. Number of bladdernose seals caught by Norwegian sealers.

Year	In all bladdernose ²⁾	Thereof taken	
		In Danmarks Strait	Within the territorial waters
1924	53092	41392	4139
1925	54523	41356	4135
1926	53109	44524	4452
1927	59225	47342	4734
1928	66652	54310	5431
1929	42282	22655	2266
1930	36021	13516	1352
In all...	364904	265195	26509
Yearly average.....	47593	37885	3788

ISACHSEN is of the opinion that 10 per cent of the catch in Danmarks Strait is made in territorial waters, and in accordance with this estimate the number of bladdernose seals caught in the period in question should be 26.509 (averaging 3788 a year), and these are taken in exactly the same waters, which are the hunting grounds of the Angmagssaliks.

Here the interests of the European and the Greenland hunters clash directly, and the Greenlanders are the ones to suffer. The Norwegian hunters have for many years, and as late as 1939, on an average caught about 47.000 bladdernose seals annually—and this chiefly in Danmarks Strait—the result being that this animal has become frightened and has vastly decreased in numbers a hundred kilometres or so further inland, where the East Greenlanders hunt. In consequence the Greenlanders can no longer supply themselves with an approximately sufficient number of the seals, which are of such vital importance for the whole of their existence, and which in former times supplied them with a surplus of skins for the coverings of umiaks and kayaks, as well as for soles of kamiks and ample quantities of meat to be dried for winter provisions.

Whereas the number of seals caught by the Norwegians along the outer margin of the pack ice remains fairly constant, the annual catch

¹⁾ FRIDTJØV ISACHSEN, Verdien av den norske klappmyssfangst langs syd-østgrønland; pp. 14 et seq.

²⁾ Fiskeridirektørens Beretninger om selfangsten, Årsberetning vedkommende Norges Fiskerier; 1929/1939.

of the Greenlanders close to the shore decreases in such a manner as to be on the point of becoming a catastrophe (see p. 88). Further, as such a great part of the catch of the Norwegian sealers are young animals, which have not as yet arrived at sexual maturity, there is unfortunately reason to fear that the very stock of bladdernose seal is affected, and that a decrease in the catch is already a fact both for Norwegians and Greenlanders.

As the Norwegians only take the skins and the blubber of the many animals killed, the tens of thousands of stripped seal carcasses drift on ice floes along the coast, and both off Angmagssalik and further south these carcasses, which might yield at least 100 kg meat each, come within the range of the Greenlanders. However, the meat is as a rule tainted, but it also happens that the Angmagssaliks take good and greatly needed meat from these drifting slaughter houses with their millions of kilos of meat.

The pecuniary profit of this extensive hunting of bladdernose seal is not inconsiderable, and ISACHSEN specifies it as follows for the period 1924—30 (Table 38 reduced according to the Norwegian wholesale price index)¹).

Table 38. Value of bladdernose seals caught by Norwegians sealers in Danmarks Strait.

Year	Total value	Of this 10 per cent for animals captured in territorial waters
	kr.	kr.
1924	426275	42628
1925	343271	34327
1926	373258	37328
1927	354356	35436
1928	728631	72863
1929	254684	25469
1930	126653	12665
In all...	2607128	260716
Yearly average.....	372453	37254

Although 90 per cent of the total amount have been taken in international waters, 10 per cent, or a yearly average of kr. 37.245, originate from territorial coast areas, where the Greenlanders find the little they are able to earn for the maintenance of life.

The Angmagssaliks feel strongly about this Norwegian sealing in and outside the territorial coast areas, and one understands their anxiety about

¹) FRIDTJOV ISACHSEN; pp. 14 and 19.

these greatly reduced possibilities of existence, at the same time that the strong growth of the population necessitates a constant increase of the means of subsistence. It has, however, until now been possible to leave this problem more or less in abeyance. The Administration of Greenland has paid the Greenlanders higher and higher prices for their catch, so that by means of their increased income they have been able to buy European articles of food to cover the deficit in their food supply. But although the problem of the conditions of existence in Angmagssalik as a result of recent developments has thus been put off, it cannot be said to have been solved.

Without infringing on the legitimate Norwegian rights one may express the sincere wish that it will prove possible to arrive at an arrangement, by which the operations of well equipped sealers off the coast of South-east Greenland may be carried on, in such a manner as not to interfere unduly with the possibilities of existence of the rapidly growing Angmagssalik population.

Along the same part of the coast, which was mentioned above, i. e. from Kangerdlugssuak as far as Angmagssalik, Norwegian hunters carry on a rather considerable shark fishing, also partly within territorial waters.

The shark fishing in Danmarks Strait, with a view to extracting oil from the liver, is a new form of industry, which was commenced in 1927. The quantity of oil extracted amounts to several thousands of barrels annually, and the profit is constantly increasing. ISACHSEN is of the opinion that 15 per cent of the shark fishing takes place within the territorial waters, and according to his specification¹⁾ the capture and proceeds from Danmarks Strait is as given below (Table 39).

Table 39. Proceeds and value of Norwegian shark fishing in Danmarks Strait.

Year	Number of barrels of shark liver	Value	Of this 15 per cent for sharks captured within territorial waters
			kr.
1927	656	61336	9200
1928	1266	114067	17110
1929	2042	201341	30201
1930	4616	415902	62358
1931	4162	233488	35023
In all...	12742	1026134	153892
Per year.....	2548	205227	30778

¹⁾ FRIDTJØV ISACHSEN; p. 21.

This newly commenced shark fishing is thus also an economically important factor in the operations of the Norwegian sealers, and it is both possible and probable that it will undergo a considerable development. Also here a clash of interests threatens between Norwegians and Greenlanders, seeing that the latter in recent years have also begun to fish shark. There are, however, probably sufficient quantities of sharks along the coasts of East Greenland, both for Norwegians and Greenlanders, but the Norwegian shark fishers extract part of the shark liver oil within territorial waters, and throw both the carcasses and the offal from this process overboard. This is a great inconvenience for the Angmagssaliks, who are forced to carry on sealing near places where this has taken place—the oil spreads over the sea and makes the seals seek other and purer waters.

The hunting of bladdernose seal and the fishing of shark off the coasts of Southeast Greenland, and more particularly off the large Steenstrup glaciers to the north of the inhabited Angmagssalik area, as well as the hunting of other large seal, especially the Greenland seal, is thus of the greatest importance for the Norwegian sealers. In years when sealing is bad, shark fishing may mean all the difference by making a hunting expedition pay or the reverse, but the East Greenlanders suffer badly from it, and their future existence is seriously threatened.

Ever since the beginning of whaling and right up to the present day the polar bear has been greatly coveted by European hunters, not only for the sake of the value, but still more for the excitement of the hunt.

When on their completion hunting trips the Norwegian sealers take everything by way of game within their reach, irrespective of the value, and several bears, which would otherwise have come in useful for the East Greenland Eskimos or wintering European hunters, are killed in summer, when the Norwegian vessels are passing through the pack ice or cruising along the coast.

The polar bear frequents the pack ice and drifts south with it, but it more or less counteracts the drift of the ice by wandering incessantly in a northern direction, which is presumably the explanation of the assertion of the Greenlanders that the polar bears always come to them from the south.

As early as in the old sagas the polar bear is mentioned as a fairly common and very valuable animal in Southwest Greenland, where it was hunted by the old Norsemen, and in the years after the second colonization of Greenland in 1721 many bearskins came from Nanortalik, the most southerly of the East Greenland districts.

This rather considerable bear hunting ceased almost completely, when the Angmagssalik settlement was established, and the Eskimos

living there were provided with fire arms, with which they killed considerably greater numbers of bears, than they had hitherto been able to dispose of with their darts and harpoons, and in this manner they so to speak cut off the migrations of the bear along the coast in the direction of Nanortalik.

This more or less repeated itself, but this time in the case of Angmagssalik, when the Scoresby Sound settlement was established in 1925; the access of bears to Angmagssalik being cut off by this northern settlement, the number of bears killed in the old settlement farther south was immediately greatly diminished.

But far north of Scoresby Sound in the pack ice Norwegian hunters, who carry on their completion sealing or, in later years, even hunters on sporting expeditions are on the track of the polar bear, and so they take some of the animals which, if they did not kill them, would be the certain prey of the East Greenlanders.

When the Norwegian completion hunting began, areas were pervaded, where until then bear had not been hunted. The stock was great; the animals were not shy, as they were later on, and in consequence the hunters could at first kill great quantities.

As already mentioned, no hunting statistics were taken in Norway until 1925, and so no facts can be given as to the number of bears killed throughout the years, but information is at hand that 5 of the 112 vessels, which took part in the completion hunting, have brought back more than fifty bears per summer season¹⁾.

There is also some official Norwegian information relative to bear hunting for every 5 years from 1875; the figures are as follows²⁾ (Table 40):

Table 40. Number of bears killed by Norwegian hunters.

1875.....	82 bears	1905.....	427 bears	
1880.....	55 —	1910.....	?	250 estimated
1885.....	92 —	1915.....	229 —	
1890.....	161 —	1920.....	412 —	
1895.....	147 —	1925.....	517 —	
1900.....	328 —			

It appears from this table that the number of bears killed increases suddenly in 1900, at the time when the completion hunting had got into full swing, and that it also increased considerably in 1920 and 1925, this being probably due to the generally increasing Norwegian hunting activity, which dates from about that time.

There is no reason to suppose that the hunting of the intervening years has been essentially different from those, the figures of which

¹⁾ Modindlæg, vol. I. pp. 104 et seq.

²⁾ THOR IVERSEN; p. 25.

have been given in Table 40, and it may therefore be said with a fair degree of certainty that in the years 1875—1925 about five times as many bears have been killed as in the years specified, during which years 2450 bears in all were killed. For the year 1910 no information is at hand, but if the proceeds of bear hunting from that year is estimated at 250 animals, the total number of bears caught within a period of fifty years will be at least 13,500.

No information is given as to where this considerable bear hunting has taken place, but until about 1900 bears can only have been caught at Spitzbergen and in the pack ice off the coast of East Greenland, as the sealers of those days very rarely visited other parts of the Polar Sea. From the beginning of the 20th century the vessels spread over larger areas of the Polar Sea, but at the same time the hunting activity increased considerably off Greenland, as the result of the then newly introduced completion hunting, and it may undoubtedly be taken for granted that at least half of the bears were killed in the ice along the coasts of East Greenland.

After 1924 reliable statistics are at hand as to the number of bears killed and caught by the Norwegians, and as it is also known, how many bears have been killed on shore, it is possible to form a complete picture of the bear hunting in the western part of the Polar Sea during these years (Table 41).

It appears from this table that the hunting of bear is greatly decreasing, although in one year (1937) nearly as many bears were killed as in the good hunting years of the past.

The great summer bear hunting is much to be regretted, as the stock of bears cannot keep pace with the intensive killing, to which it is subjected on the part of the completion cruises or tourists, and it is all the more regrettable, as the quality of the summer skins is very poor and the value consequently only a fraction of the value of the winter skins. Of the some 21,000 bears killed it has only been economically justifiable to shoot about 4300, which were killed by wintering hunters; the remainder have fallen victims to the desire of the hunters to shoot all that they see, although the commercial value of the skins is only some few kroner; thus in 1912 only kr. 20 were paid for a salted bear skin.

It is surely beyond all manner of doubt that this great summer hunting of bears has already affected and in the future will still more unfavourably affect the bear hunting of the East Greenlanders and so deprive these needy people of a much required cash income.

In order to mitigate and, to a certain extent, to ward off the worst consequences of the activity of the European hunters in the neighbourhood of the hunting grounds of the East Greenlanders, and also

Table 41. Total number of bears killed (or caught).

Year	Summer hunting of bears, especially completion hunting			Winter hunting of bears			Total of bears
	dead	alive	in all	European hunters	Angmags- salik	Scoresby Sound	
Until 1924	..	..	13500	67	2286	..	15853
1925.....	570	..	570	..	130	..	700
1926.....	134	..	134	..	92	99	325
1927.....	255	45	300	18	20	68	406
1928.....	430	51	481	..	60	74	615
1929.....	322	66	388	42	47	52	529
1930.....	250	56	306	11	69	80	466
1931.....	77	11	88	25	82	37	232
1932.....	149	12	161	10	42	54	267
1933.....	179	12	191	..	21	49	261
1934.....	80	5	85	36	35	12	168
1935.....	101	7	108	..	17	43	168
1936.....	198	26	124	21	32	53	230
1937.....	344	42	386	..	57	49	492
1938.....	119	19	138	6	58	31	233
1939.....	102	6	108	..	70	60	238
	..	..	17068	236	3318	761	21183

in order to safeguard, in the best possible manner, the future existence of the community, it is to be hoped that an international agreement will be arrived at, which may limit seal hunting at the breeding places, so as not needlessly to diminish the stock of seals, and which further may protect bears in summer, when the value of the skins is minimal.

It is the duty of Denmark, as the guardian of Greenland, to maintain on principle that while making all due allowance for the traditional Norwegian hunting rights in the open sea, the greatest possible regard should be had to the fully justified demands of the East Greenlanders, that their few possibilities of existence should not be wasted further than has unfortunately already been the case.

It is high time that this is done, for the development through the last generation clearly shows two lines, which should follow the same direction, but which are most regrettably diverging. The one line is the increase of the population, which is very great and is still going on; and the other line shows the foundation of their existence, viz. the hunting of sea mammals, which is steadily decreasing and cannot decrease further without imperiling the continued existence of the East Greenlanders.

FOOD SUPPLY AND CONSUMPTION OF THE ESKIMOS BEFORE THE COLONIZATION

From the time of the first arrival of the Eskimos in East Greenland, and until they died out, or the last survivors were found by GUSTAV HOLM in 1884, sea mammals were the base of their food supply. For the most northerly Eskimos, that is those who lived in the regions from Scoresby Sound to Danmarks Havn, the proceeds of the hunting of sea mammals were further supplemented by a not inconsiderable land hunting of reindeer and musk oxen, though the latter animal hardly played any great part as an article of food.

The meat and the blubber of the animals killed were not exclusively consumed by the hunter and his next of kin, if other Eskimos lived in the house or at the dwelling place in question, as there were in such cases certain rules, closely defined by custom, for the distribution of the hunting products. These rules of distribution were a social measure, enforced by conditions, for the best possible safeguarding and regulation of the food supply of the population, and it was probably unthinkable that anyone should have dared to deviate from this unwritten law. By distributing the hunting products according to these customary rules the Eskimos of the past, so to speak, ensured themselves against the worst consequences which might befall a hunter, who met with an accident while plying his trade, or the one whom illness prevented from carrying out his usual occupation for any length of time, for in such cases he and his family were, according to tradition, entitled to a share in the hunting proceeds of luckier neighbours.

As the number of people belonging to the dwelling places of the past was, as a rule, not very great, the hunting proceeds of one man might for a time be sufficient for more than those for whom he was directly responsible. If on the other hand there were many people at a dwelling place or in a house, there were generally also several hunters, all contributing to the maintenance of those, who for some reason or other had no access to hunting, such as old people or orphans.

The principles underlying these measures, which have been mentioned in detail by W. THALBITZER¹), are for the greater part still in force. The dwelling places have, however, now become too large, and the families too widely branched for this principle to work, as it was meant to work, and in certain cases the effects may even be extremely unjust. Thus in 1938 an elderly and very able hunter complained to EINAR MIKKELSEN that, when he caught a seal, all that was left for him and his family were the head and the skin, and so it was necessary for him to catch two seals in order to be able to fulfil his obligations towards his relatives at the dwelling place, while keeping sufficient meat for the needs of his own family.

The result of this customary distribution of the hunting proceeds was i. a. that the Eskimos before the colonization practically lived in a kind of communistic fellowship, where all had something to eat, as soon as there was any hunting at all to be had. All were equal, also in their apparel and their mode of life; no one had saved anything beyond winter provisions, which they were also prepared to share with others, who did not have enough, and the only difference between the hunters was the respect shown to an able hunter at the expense of the less able.

There might naturally be some difference in the conditions of life at the various dwelling places, seeing that some of these might be more or less conveniently situated for the hunting grounds than others, but if the hunting became too bad near a dwelling place, it was as a rule possible to leave it for more profitable ones.

The base of the food supply of the Eskimos has, as mentioned, undoubtedly always been the seals, of which there were several species, but for our present purpose it is sufficient to distinguish between two main groups: the stationary seals, which could be hunted all the year round, and the migratory seals, which could only be hunted during a few summer months.

The stationary seals were ringed seal, bearded seal, harbour seal and some walruses, whereas the Greenland and the bladdernose seal were migratory seals. The bladdernose was more particularly caught in the months of July and August, and the Greenland seal by preference in July and September—October. Narwhal as a rule occurred in fairly large numbers towards the end of the winter, but could also be caught in summer.

Bears were hunted all the year round, but were most frequent in late winter and spring, and at the time, when other meat was scarce, bear meat was consequently of considerable importance as part of the food supply of the population. In the good hunting periods of the sum-

¹) WILLIAM THALBITZER, *The Ammassalik Eskimo M. o. Gr.* vol. XL, II; pp. 643 et seq.

mer season, the East Greenlanders were very careful to prepare the hunting surplus in such a manner that it could be stored and used for winter provisions.

This was absolutely necessary, if the community were to thrive only moderately, as the hunting conditions in winter were so uncertain and bad that practically every winter there was sooner or later a period, which the natives called the "hunger season". This must, however, not be taken too literally, as the Angmagssaliks called a period without access to fresh seal meat a hunger season, while as a matter of fact it only meant that the fresh provisions had been consumed, and that all there was to be had were the provisions, which had been collected during the past summer.

The hunger period might, however, easily pass into actual starvation, if the provisions collected in summer had been insufficient, or if in consequence of less hunting than customary, it had been necessary to fall back upon the provisions stored up earlier in the autumn for use in the winter.

This not infrequently happened in the years before the arrival of GUSTAV HOLM, but material is only at hand for forming an opinion of the effects of the last starvation or hunger season. The intervening period was only two years, and the memory of it was therefore still so fresh that the Angmagssaliks were able to give facts as to its effects, and so it has been possible, on the strength of this material, to compute that about 16 per cent of the population of the Angmagssalik district died of starvation or the direct consequences of starvation in the hunger years 1881—83¹).

The geophysical conditions of the Angmagssalik district are such that ice, wind and current in certain periods may come to play a decisive part as to the greater or smaller proceeds of the hunting, and thus also the food supply of the population. In late summer or early autumn the ice as a rule disappears from the coast, and the consequence is that the heavy ground swells in Danmarks Strait roll far into sounds and fjords and prevent the hunters from going hunting. Such an ice-free period with heavy ground swell and violent breakers might be of rather long duration with a resulting hunger period, and that at a time when there was every reason to expect fairly good hunting and, possibly, even an increase of the winter provisions.

At other times, particularly in early winter, wind and current might block up the fjords and sounds of the Angmagssalik district with pack ice, and in case of sudden calm and severe frost this might freeze into a thick and unbroken body of ice, which would last throughout the winter and practically exclude all hunting—excepting that of bear.

¹) EJNAR MIKKELSEN; *De østgrønlandske Eskimoers Historie*; p. 46.



Fig. 21. Blubber bag with edible plants. (JETTE BANG phot.).

When either of these things happened, though more particularly the latter, an ordinary hunger season might easily pass into a decided starvation period, which ravaged the population, however provident and careful it had been as regards the getting together and storing of winter provisions.

As appears from what has been said above, the food-supply of the East Greenlanders, before imported articles of food had come to the district, had been exposed to very great fluctuations and uncertainty, and through the bitter experiences of generations the population had learnt to collect and prepare provisions in good hunting periods to meet the hunger seasons, which were known to occur practically every winter, if for no other reason, then because the winter hunting was nearly always bad.

The winter provisions consisted of wind- and sun-dried seal meat and entrails kept in ravines or caves, which were rather far removed from the winter houses, and frequently in places which were difficult of access, so that no one should be tempted to tamper with the products preserved, before it was absolutely necessary.

In those meat depots were also stored sealskin bags, containing blubber mixed with sedum plants, berries, bear blubber, boiled seal flippers and matak (narwhal skin) as well as skin scrapings¹⁾ and sea weeds, which product the Greenlanders regarded as a great delicacy, and which contained a great amount of C vitamins. The proper making up of a blubber bag of this kind was regarded as a great art, and both women and children spent much time and great care in collecting and preparing the various ingredients.

Also the greatest possible quantities of blood were collected, being poured into seal guts etc. and dried in the sun, and this dried blood was also kept for winter stores.

Nearer the houses, where they could easily be got at, other depots were found, which contained various skin bags filled with the surplus summer blubber production. These stores of blubber were meant for consumption later in the year, but more particularly also for the lighting and heating of the houses, including the cooking of the food.

Also considerable quantities of dried salmon and anmagssat were used as winter stores, the latter being as a rule eaten together with blubber.

In good hunting periods, in late summer or better still in autumn, several entire carcasses with the bowels left in them were placed near the houses, to be eaten half rotten at a later period, or also to be preserved for a short period by means of the simplest of all methods of preservation, that is freezing.

Thus the Anmagssaliks of the past frequently kept large quantities of food to be used in the course of the winter, but the many cases of death by starvation before the time of the colonization proved that they were after all not sufficient. The Anmagssaliks were, however, unable to put by more winter provisions than they did, and the decreasing hunting towards the end of the 19th century must have caused a corresponding lessening of the winter stores preserved, which again increased the danger of hunger periods and death by starvation.

Besides food and fuel for immediate or later use, the seal practically yielded all the materials for the apparel of the population, which consisted of a sealskin jacket and sealskin trousers as well as kamiks (footwear), also made of sealskins. As a protection against rain, coats were made of strips of gutskin sewn together, and for hunting waterproof suits were made of sealskins prepared in a special manner.

The large skin tents, in which the Anmagssaliks spent 4—5 of the best summer months, were also made of sealskins, and the kayaks, so indispensable for hunting, as well as the umiaks, which made it possible to move the family from one hunting ground to another, both had

¹⁾ The offal of meat and blubber, when the meat side of a skin is scraped.

coverings of sealskins. The latter were stretched over a wooden frame, manufactured of drift wood, which had been carried there from the large Siberian woods, the only "imported" material, which the East Greenlanders of the past were able to get.

The winter dwelling was built of stone and turf with a turf roof kneaded with old blubber and seal oil. But also here sealskins, or rather old umiak coverings of sealskins, were indispensable, as the roof was covered with these, while the window consisted of thin gutskin. The inner sides of the walls of the winter house were most frequently covered with sealskins, and the house was heated and lighted with seal oil lamps, which were also used for cooking.

On the sleeping platforms of winter house and summer tent alike, sealskins were used both as underlayers and as coverings for the sleepers. Sinews of seal, narwhal and bear were the only "sewing thread", which the Angmagssaliks knew, and all lashings, hunting lines, dog traces and the like were cut out of the hide of large seal.

Various household utensils or parts of such were made of seal bones, and even the weapons, with which one expected to kill the seal of to-morrow, were for the greater part manufactured out of the bones of that animal or of the tusks of the narwhal and the walrus, out of which were also, with infinite labour, manufactured various larger needles. Sewing needles were as a rule made of iron taken from wood, which had been found drifting in the sea, but at Kangerdlugssuaq sewing needles have been found manufactured out of walrus tusks.

For the East Greenlanders of the past the seal was thus their very existence, and their well-being, no less than the growth of the tribe, depended entirely upon the greater or smaller catch of seals.

As mentioned above, the whale must at an early period of the Eskimos' stay in East Greenland have been of some importance for their food supply and existence. But the whale disappeared from the coasts of East Greenland, and this must surely have caused a material change in the living conditions of the East Greenlanders. As there were still sufficient seals, they did not at first realize the disastrous effects of the gradual disappearance of the whale, but it decidedly increased the uncertainty regarding their food supply, as they were now bound to get along without the huge quantities of meat and blubber, 25—30 tons or even more, which a single whale might yield, both for immediate use and for winter provisions.

It may, therefore, be taken for granted that the disappearance of the whale at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century heralded hard times for the population of East Greenland, but it was only when the European hunters, about the middle of the 19th century, made serious encroachment upon the stock of bladdernose and Green-

land seals that famine in good earnest made itself felt in Southeast Greenland.

The decrease in the species and numbers of the sea mammals, which were the only base of the food supply of the Eskimos, made existence still more difficult in East Greenland, and even if there is no positive proof that the failing food supply caused the disappearance of the more northerly Eskimos, this has undoubtedly been a highly contributory cause. On the southern part of the coast (from Kangerdlugssuaq and southwards as far as Lindenows Fjord) there is incontestable evidence that the decreasing stock of sea mammals was the chief cause of the gradual depopulation of the coast. A comparatively great number of the Eskimos gradually left the famine-stricken coast and settled permanently in Southwest Greenland, where hunting conditions were better, while many of those, who had been left behind, died of starvation, and the state of distress in some cases lasted so long, and became so acute that the survivors were obliged to eat the bodies of their deceased kinsmen.

Although sealing provided the Eskimos with by far the predominant part of their food supply, they caught or collected everything edible, and in certain localities along the coast birds and fish created some variety in the monotonous fare. But on the coast of Southeast Greenland the stock of birds has hardly been sufficiently great to be of any noteworthy importance in the food supply, and this, it seems, also applies to fishing. Finds of primitive tackle show that the Eskimos of the past have been acquainted with fishing, but although an old woman in 1884 told JOHAN PETERSEN that many halibuts had been caught in her youth in the Akorninarmiut district, GUSTAV HOLM found no implements for deep-sea fishing during his stay among the Angmagssaliks, and so it seems probable that, owing to the total lack of fish, they had ceased fishing at that time, and that the art of fishing with hook and line had probably been forgotten.

Generally speaking, the contribution made by fishing to the food supply of the natives was small: a few sea scorpions and sea cats were speared from the shore; salmons were caught in rivers and lakes, and as a rule rather considerable quantities of angmagssat were collected in early summer, but even that kind of fishing had lessened at the time of GUSTAV HOLM'S visit.

In the sea round Angmagssalik there were great numbers of sharks, which were caught through a hole cut in the ice, the torpid deep-sea fish being lured to the surface by a bait of putrefied meat, after which they were easily harpooned. However, except in periods of absolute need, fresh shark meat has hardly been used in any great quantities as food for human beings, as it seems to disagree with the stomach and

even to be poisonous. In order that it may be eaten at all, it is necessary to boil it in two or more changes of water and then to drain off the water, otherwise it is apt to cause poisoning or at least serious indisposition, and even dogs fall ill after having eaten fresh shark meat. Still, well-dried shark meat is eatable, and so rather large quantities were put by for winter supplies, though as it seems by preference as food or the dogs.

The East Greenlanders also gathered considerable quantities of blue and sand mussels as well as various crustacea such as shrimps, sea urchins and sea snails. They also ate large quantities of seaweeds, which were of great importance for the health of the population because of their rich contents of vitamins¹).

The edible vegetation, which was at the disposal of the East Greenlanders, was exploited to the fullest possible extent and collected by women and children. The most coveted plants were crowberries and bog whortleberries, but also the leaves and the root of a sedum species were eaten, as well as sorrel, angelica, dandelion and alpine bistort.

As mentioned above, the number of sea mammals caught decreased greatly in the 19th century, and there can hardly be any doubt that there is a very close causative connection between the emigration of the East Greenlanders to Southwest Greenland, or their extinction in the localities where they had lived, and the decreasing number of sea mammals. Still, it is an open question whether all the misfortunes, which befell the population of the southern coast of Greenland during the 19th century, can be exclusively ascribed to the encroachments made on the stock of sea mammals by European hunters, or whether some of the causes may not be referred to a possible periodical change in the hydrographical conditions of the coastal zone.

As has already been stated, fishing tackle has been found by excavations of old dwelling places, and this seems to prove that the East Greenlanders in former times have carried on some fishing. But judging by all the facts at hand, it appears that the Angmagssalik region in 1884/85 was entirely devoid of fish, and this must have been the case for rather a long period, as there was at that time no fishing tackle among the hunting implements of the population and hardly any knowledge of fishing. After the colonization it had not been possible for many years to catch fish in the Angmagssalik district, in spite of repeated experiments with good fishing implements. But about 1909 large quantities of polar cod appeared off the coast, and again in 1915 there was a sudden and considerable occurrence of cod in the Angmagssalik region.

It thus seems as if there have been three distinct fishing periods

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 62.

within less than a century. The first period with a comparative abundance of fish must have ceased about 1850—60, as the formerly mentioned old woman in 1884/85 was able to remember great catches of fish in her childhood, which must probably have been about 1840. Then followed the second period, entirely devoid of fish, which lasted till about 1910, and then the third period commenced with a fairly large stock of fish, which has lasted up to the present.

These great fluctuations in the stock of fish along the southeast coast of Greenland must presumably be due to essential alterations in the hydrographical conditions along the coast, which in their turn possibly have affected the climatic ones. For that matter it is known that the pack ice in Davis Strait was particularly heavy in the years from about 1870—90, and as the pack ice comes from East Greenland, this must also have been the case along the shores of that country.

The disappearance of the stock of fish about 1850 must naturally have been a great loss for the population, which did not have anything to spare by way of food supply; further, it must be taken for granted that the stock of seals was bound to decrease somewhat with the decreasing number of fish (fish making part of the food of the seal), and finally that the sea birds, which also follow the fish, must at the same time have decreased essentially in numbers.

These natural fluctuations in the stock of sea mammals, fish and birds of Southeast Greenland probably had their share in lessening the food supply of the East Greenlanders, and as at the same time the stock of seals also decreased for other reasons, the result must be that hunger and famine became the rule and not the exception.

As already stated, it was in consequence of this that the more southerly East Greenlanders sought the hunting grounds of Southwest Greenland, where hunting was better, and where existence was not so entirely dependent upon one animal of capture, viz. the seal. Another, and not unimportant reason for the continued emigration of the East Greenlanders was that these new hunting grounds were nearer the Danish settlements, so that they were able to get rifles instead of the harpoons, which they had used in East Greenland. This greatly facilitated the hunting of seal and the getting together of the food supply, while the stores of Southwest Greenland also supplied them with other iron implements, such as knives, scissors and sewing needles, which made all kinds of work easier both for the men and the women.

Everything considered—the falling off of seal hunting with the resulting increasing hunger periods and starvation, the lack of iron implements and the natural inclination to acquire imported commodities and apparel instead of the accustomed fare and sealskin clothes—it is

perhaps rather to be wondered at that there were any Eskimos at all left in East Greenland, when GUSTAV HOLM arrived there. For West Greenland, with all its glories, was within easy reach of these people, who had no notion of time, or rather who did not neglect anything whatsoever by a voyage to West Greenland extending over three years or more, in the course of which they were, furthermore, able to get as good sealing as in their native home, and thus were able to secure the bare existence, which to them was the only aim and object of life.

CONSUMPTION OF IMPORTED COMMODITIES IN THE FIRST YEARS AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ANGMAGSSALIK SETTLEMENT

In the chapter on the foundation of the Angmagssalik settlement (pp. 41 et seq.) mention was made of the principles to be followed in the trading intercourse with the natives. The instructions issued by the Directorate of the Administration of Greenland to the manager of Angmagssalik, dated April 1st 1894, emphasize in the strongest possible terms the restrictions placed upon the trading in and trading out at the station. § 12 of the instructions further states that

“The employees of the station are strictly forbidden to sell, give or pour out spirituous drinks, in any form whatsoever, to the natives, or under any kind of pretext whatsoever to distribute among or give to the natives European provisions”.

The regulation regarding spirituous drinks is still in force after nearly fifty years and has been strictly maintained in the whole of the intervening period. But the prohibition against presenting the natives with European provisions, which was undoubtedly included in the instructions as a measure to prevent giving them a taste for European food has been impossible to enforce, and it has been abandoned long ago.

As the Administration had to be prepared to help the Greenlanders in times of famine, or when threatened by starvation, it was settled in the instructions that rye flour should be distributed gratis to those in distress, after consultations between the missionary and the manager. The Directorate, however, pointed out that well-meant relief measures in West Greenland had greatly weakened the independence of the natives and, out of consideration for the future of the East Greenlanders, they therefore earnestly warned the manager not to make unnecessary use of the rights warranted by the regulations to assist the natives in times of need.

In case of illness those in charge of the settlement were also entitled gratis to distribute invalids' food to the sufferers, and it was their obvious duty to help them as much as possible, though all the time bearing in mind that the native population must not be pampered.

Thus every consideration had been paid to the behoof of the natives, without petty considerations as to whether the enterprise would become a paying concern or not, and when the instructions were altered on July 18th, 1925, no change was made in this respect: the interests of the natives were to be furthered, even at the expense of the Administration of Greenland and so also of Denmark generally speaking.

The "Mission and Trading Station of Angmagssalik" was established on August 27th, 1894, at an excellent little harbour near the open sea and in a fairly central position for the whole of the district. However, subsequent experience has shown that the hunting possibilities near the settlement are so poor that the Eskimos living there cannot provide themselves with the barest necessities by hunting, and under normal winter conditions it may often be difficult, and even dangerous for the population, to travel between the dwelling places and the trading post of the settlement, because of the bad ice and weather conditions.

For this, as well as for other reasons, a small outpost was founded in 1937 at Kungmiut, the situation of which is essentially more central for the population of the dwelling places around, and in future years more outposts of this kind should be founded elsewhere in the district in order to facilitate and shorten the trading journeys of the hunters, which under present conditions may last several days, if not weeks. The establishment of such outposts is also necessary in order to counteract the tendency prevailing among the population to settle as close to the store of the settlement as possible, which from the point of view of the food supply has proved detrimental to a not inconsiderable part of the population of the district.

From the moment when the S/S "Hvidbjørnen" arrived in the Angmagssalik district with building materials and commodities for commerce on board, the Angmagssaliks once for all left the stone age behind them. In the newly established store they were now able to acquire textiles and implements, which even in their wildest flights of fancy they had not been able to imagine—they simply lacked the elements to assist them in such flights, as they knew but little of iron and nothing of the fabrics out of which all this was manufactured.

However, they soon learnt to appreciate these things, and they bartered them for such of their hunting products, as they were permitted to dispose of, i. e. bearskins, for which at first they received kr. 40. During the first five years of the existence of the settlement, that is

from 1894/95 to 1898/99, the population first of all bought hunting implements, some articles of clothing and tobacco.

The figures given here and in the following to illustrate the consumption of the natives have been communicated by the Administration of Greenland, and they are taken from the accounts of the settlement, thus giving exact information as to the turnover of the store. The Danes were not permitted to carry on private trading with the natives, and even though there may have been a possibility of illicit bartering during the stay of the vessel, which brought the annual supplies for the settlement, this possibility has, under existing conditions, surely been minimal.

The total purchases of the Angmagssaliks at the store, which approximately correspond with the proceeds of the sale of their hunting products during the first 5 years, amounted to:

Financial year 1894/95	kr.	848.54
— — 1895/96	-	1.729.98
— — 1896/97	-	2.927.88
— — 1897/98	-	2.989.03
— — 1898/99	-	3.934.68 of which 203.17 for articles of food.

The greatest amounts during these first 5 years were spent on hunting implements and ammunition. The rifles were comparatively expensive (kr. 32.00 a piece), almost equaling a bearskin, but during the first year the hunters nevertheless bought 12 rifles, during the last 24, and within the whole of the 5-year period 85 rifles in all were purchased.

The number of hunters during those years was, however, only about 65, and as it is extremely improbable that a hunter should acquire two rifles except in an emergency, the most probable explanation of the purchase of a surplus of 20 rifles must be that the hunters had not yet learnt to take care of an implement, which was so comparatively easily damaged as a rifle, and therefore spoilt some of them by careless handling.

The consumption of gunpowder increased from 55 kg a year to 127 kg, and the number of percussion caps from 17.500 to 57.500.

For every percussion cap used a shot was fired, and the great increase in the consumption of percussion caps shows that the hunters of Angmagssalik, in the course of those few years, had learnt to use the rifle in good earnest. One must, however, not forget that the rifle was a new and exciting toy, and that numerous shots would have been fired without being aimed at any animal of capture.

All in all about 65 hunters spent kr. 4.326 in purchasing fire arms and ammunition during those 5 years, corresponding with the value of 108 bearskins.

The consumption of knives was also rather large, 236 in all during 5 years, though not so large as might have been expected, as they were used both by men and boys, and besides were cheap (30 øre a piece) and easily lost. The typical Greenland woman's knife, the ulo, does not at first seem to have been a great favourite, as not a single one was sold during the first year and only 86 during the next four years. There were about 105 grown-up women in the district, who must all have had an ulo, but in this respect the women were obviously more conservative than the men and continued to use their old well-seasoned ulos, because they deviated somewhat in shape from those used in other parts of Greenland and therefore also sent to Angmagssalik. A possible or even a probable explanation of the small consumption of cutting implements is that the Angmagssaliks, for many years after the establishment of the settlement, manufactured knives and ulos of bits of steel or hoop iron. And so conservative are the women in this respect that even now, fifty years after the arrival of the Danes, they immediately remodel the rarely bought ulos of the West Greenland pattern to the old East Greenland type.

The Angmagssaliks were very much interested in the drapery goods sold at the store, and the yearly consumption of shirting, calico and cotton cloth rose during those 5 years from 184 m to 1368 m. In actual cash the total purchases amounted to kr. 2348.32 in five years, the value corresponding with that of 58 bearskins.

The consumption of gay-coloured kerchiefs, which the women tied round their hair as an ornament, was great and increased in the period in question from 42 to 480 annually. During the first 5 years the women bought in all 1272 kerchiefs at a price of about 30 øre a piece (the sum total being kr. 381.60) or the price of 9 first-class bearskins. Another ornament for the hair, coloured woollen ribbons, was also very much to the taste of the women, and the annual consumption rose from 50 to 289 m in 5 years.

The annual consumption of sewing needles rose from 575 to 6925, a sufficient proof that the women were in great need of the imported sewing needles and were very much pleased with them. Sewing thread was also greatly desired from the first, the yearly consumption rising from 228 to 325 balls, the total expense being kr. 157.29.

Of ready-made articles of clothing a few Faroe jerseys were bought at once, the consumption rising from 15 during the first year to 51 during the last. During the 5-year period the Angmagssaliks bought in all 179 Faroe jerseys, and as the price of each of these was kr. 3, the total expense was kr. 573.00.

A couple of years elapsed, before people felt inclined—or could afford—to buy other ready-made articles of clothing than the Faroe

jerseys. In 1897/98 the first ready-made shirts and trousers were bought, 6 and 4 respectively. But already in the following year the purchases of these articles were doubled, and jerseys, mittens, wristlets and neckerchiefs were now also in great demand.

The total purchases of the above-mentioned articles of clothing within the 5-year period amounted to

Faroe jerseys	kr. 537.00
Jutland jerseys	- 101.20
Trousers	- 97.50
Shirts	- 90.00
Wristlets	- 29.96
Scarves	- 28.00
Mittens	- 7.20

In all... kr. 890.86 = 22 first-class bearskins.

The consumption of multon (for women's winter anoraks) rose from 16 m during the first year to 98 m during the last, and during the 5-year period 477 m in all were used, the cost being kr. 524.70.

In short, in the course of these 5 years the East Greenlanders had, as regards clothing, got rather far away from their original stage of self-supply.

Hunting implements and ammunition had, in consequence of the decreasing number of sea-mammals, become absolutely necessary for the continued existence of the community, and articles of clothing might perhaps be more or less characterized as necessities, although there was undoubtedly an element of "fashion" in the increasing use of imported commodities.

However, this cannot be said of the consumption of tobacco, which was practically unknown until the day of the colonization, or at any rate until the arrival of the "Ino". But the Angmagssaliks very quickly learned to appreciate tobacco, and the annual consumption rose gradually through the first 5 years of the colonization period from 9.5 kg in 1894 to 163 kg in 1898/99. In money the consumption of tobacco meant a considerable burden on the ways and means of the Angmagssaliks, the total expense for tobacco during the 5-year period being

Roll tobacco	kr. 776.40
Smoking tobacco	- 243.36
Chewing tobacco	- 184.32

kr. 1.204.08 = 30 first-class bearskins.

The great increase in the consumption of tobacco was probably also the reason, why the consumption of matches rose from 436 boxes

in the first to 1493 in the last year of the 5-year period, during which a total of 7082 boxes had been used to the value of kr. 141.64.

Pursuant to the instructions it was forbidden to sell or to give provisions to the Angmagssaliks, except in cases of illness or in times of need. It was, however, impossible to observe this regulation even for a very short time, as no one who felt, if ever so little, for others could resist the temptation of giving the natives a few mouthfuls of the intensely desired food, thus arousing their craving for the continued enjoyment of these imported provisions or—as the Angmagssaliks undoubtedly regarded them—luxuries of the first order.

Rye bread has been baked by the Danes from the first days after their arrival at the settlement, and rye bread has been much appreciated by the natives from then and until now. Even with the best will in the world to observe the prohibition against giving European articles of food to the Angmagssaliks, the Danes of the settlement were forced by circumstances to go against the strict instructions. For instance, they might lack fresh meat, which has often been the case at the trading station, where game has always been scarce, and can anyone blame the manager or clergyman, who in spite of the injunctions of the Administration of Greenland provided themselves with the fresh meat, so necessary for their health and well-being, and paid the price demanded by the Angmagssaliks, even if this were a slice or two of rye bread?

And when the natives had once tasted this delicacy, they wanted more and could easily force the Danes to give it them, simply by denying to sell meat for anything but rye bread. Even to-day rye bread is a very common circulating medium, and although the Angmagssaliks are now able to buy all the rye flour, which they require and are able to pay for, they would rather have two thick slices of rye bread in exchange, for instance for a ptarmigan, than the 20 øre which is the price for it, for very few Angmagssaliks even now have an oven in which they can bake their own rye bread.

But quite apart for the impossibility of keeping the well-meant ministerial injunctions, the taste of the Angmagssaliks for rye flour—and so their craving for this article of food—would be roused the first time, when those in charge of the settlement followed the regulations of the instruction and distributed emergency provisions to famine-stricken natives. Thus by observing the prohibition they might at most have delayed the moment of fulfilment of the craving for imported provisions, which sooner or later they would have to submit to.

During the first 4 years no imported provisions whatsoever were sold to the natives, but in the years 1898/99 they bought peeled barley, peas, barley groats, rice and rye flour, in other words, provisions of a vegetable origin to a total amount of kr. 203.17.

This was of course very little when distributed among a population of 400 individuals, but however small the quantity, it meant a breach with the fundamental resistance against selling imported provisions to the Angmagssaliks, and the development must have its course. And now, nearly fifty years later, the result of this development is that many of the East Greenlanders, viz. those permanently employed by the administration of the settlement, almost exclusively subsist by means of imported provisions and the small quantities of meat, which they require and which they must secure by bartering with the hunters, whom they pay with great slices of bread.

The East Greenlanders are now able to buy all the imported provisions, which are to be found at the store, but along with this forced retreat from the principle of self-supply, it has constantly been maintained that, as far as the Angmagssaliks are concerned, luxuries such as coffee and, for both of the East Greenland settlements, spirits must not be sold or given to the Eskimos.

It must have been an inconceivably great change for the Angmagssaliks, when the settlement was established, for until then they had, without any exception whatsoever, been entirely self-supporting, both as regards food and material for garments. Out of the products of the country they had manufactured their own hunting implements, clothing and other articles for use; they had made their own houses, their own means of communication with local materials—in fact everything that was needed for the thriving of the community, this small, efficient people had procured for themselves on a desolate coast, where no one else has been able to subsist.

And then came the store with its many unfamiliar goods, with fire arms and utensils manufactured of iron and metal, so infinitely better and more effective than the articles of stone and bone, which the Angmagssaliks had formerly known.

It is not to be wondered at that the population very quickly learned to appreciate these glorious things, and did all they could to become possessed of them. But the price they paid for it was their complete independence. From the moment when the doors of the store first were thrown open to them, the Angmagssaliks came to depend upon imported goods, and this in its turn brought about the most radical changes in their whole mode of life and mental outlook.

The hunters soon learnt that as long as there were any provisions in the warehouse of the settlement, they need not fear death by starvation for themselves and their families, and hardly the inconveniences of a particularly severe famine season. The inevitable result was that they felt to a certain extent free from the heavy and undivided responsibility of getting together the supplies for the existence of a whole family. But

this must also have weakened the driving power, which had hitherto made them work so hard for themselves and their families, and after the establishment of the settlement it is likely that they were not quite so diligent and energetic in their hunting, as they had been before that day, which for ever separated the past from the future.

It was also a matter of course that the formerly so serious element of risk attached to the hunting and food supply was considerably diminished by the establishment of the settlement. For one thing, the hunters had better implements than they had had before, which brought about an increase of their hunting proceeds; for another, the fact that provisions were to be had at the store, and that the better hunters could buy a small stock of provisions and thus were not obliged to go out hunting under particularly unfavourable conditions, as they had formerly been obliged to do in order to get their daily ration of meat, has probably been a contributory cause to the sparing of the lives of the hunters.

The result of these better and safer conditions of life was *i. a.* that the decrease of the population stopped after the establishment of the settlement, and was replaced by the very great increase, an account of which has been rendered in a preceding chapter (see pp. 49 *et seq.*).

As has already been mentioned, it became much easier to carry on hunting, when the rifle replaced the harpoon of the past as a hunting implement, and the hunters immediately provided themselves with rifles. JOHAN PETERSEN estimates that after two years all the bread-winners of the Angmagssalik community had become possessed of rifles, which they soon learnt to use to perfection. However, they did not do away with the harpoon, but after the beginning of the rifle-period it was only used by the hunter in order to secure the animal, which had been hit by the projectile of the rifle. It is most improbable that the hunters of the present time would be able to manage with the harpoon alone, as in the olden times—before 1894.

Although the number of sea mammals secured by means of the rifle was, at any rate at first, essentially greater than had been possible, when the hunters had only been provided with harpoons, the rifle is considerably more uneconomical in use than the harpoon, as several animals, which have been wounded, escape and die far outside the range of the hunters, whereas in former times they nearly always secured the animal, which they had harpooned and wounded.

The strongly developed aptitude possessed by the Angmagssaliks for making beautiful and serviceable hunting and household implements with a pronouncedly individual touch, was given its death blow by the establishment of the settlement, although some of the men are still now and then dabbling in the handicrafts of the past. The utensils which were to be purchased at the store were new to the country and, there-

fore, fashionable and extremely desirable, and in some cases they were, as a matter of fact, also better than the corresponding ones, which had been manufactured by the Angmagssaliks themselves from the materials of the country. Thus, enamelled ware very soon came to take the place of the drinking vessels made of local materials, in the manner described above; the artistic coopering of the past, which was most probably an inheritance from the old Norsemen in South Greenland, decayed, and as early as about 1900 one might everywhere see the enameled chamber pot, which seems to be omnipresent all over Greenland, and is used for purposes so far removed from the intended one as possible.

As regards the work of the women the effects of the colonization have been even more perceptible.

In an Eskimo community it is the task of the women to prepare the various articles of food for immediate or future consumption out of the hunting products brought home by the men, and roughly speaking the colonization did not bring about any changes in this during the first years. On the other hand, the colonization meant a complete revolution in the matter of clothing. Now people were no longer compelled to manufacture the necessary apparel out of sealskins or other hunting products, as it was possible partly to buy hitherto unknown articles of dress, such as woollen wear, stockings, mittens etc., partly to get materials by the yard, from which outer garments could be made.

Very soon this brought about a regrettable change in the manner of clothing; the sealskin apparel, which was so warm and wore so well, was superseded by imported garments and materials, less lasting and far less warm than sealskin.

There were several causes of this change. First of all it was hard work to make skin clothing for a whole family; the skins had to be cleaned and tanned or depilated, before the actual sewing began—in itself a long and laborious process. Another cause was that the sealskins could be sold at the store, and thus yield the very necessary cash for the purchase of such commodities as at the moment seemed to be of greater value, although one might later on be forced to buy expensive textile garments to compensate for the too great number of sealskins sold. But this belonged to the remote future, and the Angmagssaliks did not see so far.

The chief cause was, however, without doubt that the new garments seemed so alluring that both men and women exerted themselves to the uttermost in order to become possessed of them as soon as possible, if for nothing else, then in order to resemble the Danes of the settlement.

There were, however, other influences at work, which even more than the import of European drapery goods and the presence of the Danes contributed to change the dress of the East Greenlanders, and

particularly that of the women. In 1904 some West Greenland women (the wives of the clergyman and the catechist) made their appearance at the settlement, and these newcomers came to influence their Angmagssalik sisters in a different and more intimate manner. As they were of the same race, and their mental outlook was the same, so also their dress was more or less the same, or at any rate for the greater part made of the familiar material, the sealskins, which the Angmagssaliks knew so well. With their arrival the typical East Greenland costume disappeared; the short trousers were replaced by the longer ones of the West Greenland pattern, and the Angmagssalik women also imitated the West Greenland skin embroideries and pearl collars.

The only article of clothing, which remained fairly unchanged throughout the years, was the serviceable footwear, the kamik, though even that was modified according to the West Greenland fashion, and this more particularly applies to the kamiks of the women.

In the course of the few years between the founding of the settlement in 1894 and 1898/99, radical changes had taken place in the conditions and manner of living of all the Angmagssaliks. Some of these changes were undoubtedly for the worse, but others were as undeniably for the better, and the chief object of the colonization—to save the East Greenlanders from extinction—was achieved to the full.

THE EAST GREENLANDERS' INCOME IN NATURAL PRODUCTS AND CASH AFTER THE COLONIZATION

Before the establishment of the Angmagssalik settlement the East Greenlanders had no standard of values, and all acquisition of other peoples' property took place by bartering. But from the moment that the store of Angmagssalik opened its doors to the population, money was introduced into the community—during the first years zink-tokens with the value stamped on them—and although all trade among the natives still was and is a kind of barter, they gradually learnt to reckon with money as a standard of value and a means of negotiation, first and foremost at the store, then in trade with the Danes and, finally, in years to come, in their intercourse with each other.

The introduction of money and a turn-over, based upon the value of cash, among a people which until then had lived as an untouched stone age community, was perhaps at first in the eyes of the natives the least perceptible result of the colonization. In the course of years great changes were, however, brought about by this new factor, changes which were of fundamental importance in the social structure of the community.

At first the East Greenlanders regarded money as a new form of barter, and as their cash income in those early days was quite negligible, there was so far no occasion to teach them that money could also be put by for later purchases of values (provisions). Still, it would undoubtedly have been wise from the very beginning to impress upon the Angmagssaliks that such a course would be advisable, for instance when they had caught a bear and so had more cash, than they could spend at the moment. This would have been all the more possible, as the Angmagssaliks in contrast with other primitive peoples, who had the opportunity throughout the year to procure the most necessary provisions, had the inherited qualifications for understanding the importance of saving, having been accustomed from of old to hoard the surplus catch of the summer for consumption in the hard winter months.

Gradually money, as a means of negotiation and a standard of values became a matter of course; the novelty wore off, and the Angmagssaliks began to take it as something granted, while the changing managers neglected the opportunity of acquainting them with the various social bearings of this new factor, and more particularly the value of saving. The result was unfortunately that the moment was lost, which would have been psychologically most favourable for explaining to them the underlying principle, and when their income increased so much that a modest attempt at saving would have been possible, the East Greenlanders had already formed a deeply rooted notion that the value of money consisted in what could be obtained for it at the moment, and they therefore exchanged it for commodities as soon as possible. Consequently the natives immediately spent every penny, which they earned by selling their hunting products at the store, or by work done in the service of the settlement, and so they never learned that money saved in times of abundance might ward off the lack of food in poor hunting periods.

The first of the East Greenland managers to take an interest in this matter, and to realize its vital importance for the further development of the population, was MAGNUS JENSEN, who during a vacancy in the year 1935/36 acted as manager of the settlement. MAGNUS JENSEN came from West Greenland, where the better part of the population had long ago learnt the importance of saving, and he soon realized that the Danish managers of the Angmagssalik settlement had committed an error in neglecting to teach the East Greenlanders the function of money as a means to this end. He introduced saving certificates and agitated energetically for the principle of saving among the Angmagssaliks, who came to the store in order to trade, and who had more than was absolutely sufficient for the barest necessities.

The result surpassed all expectations, and the most far-seeing among the East Greenlanders quickly grasped the importance of the matter. When a couple of years later savings banks were established in Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound, as had already been done in the West Greenland settlements, those of the Angmagssaliks, who had already put by money, discovered to their great surprise that these savings multiplied. That money bred money, and that 100 kroner became 104 kroner in the course of a year amazed and interested them greatly, and the more intelligent hunters quickly understood that saving was something, which might be of great practical importance for them. In 1939, two years after the establishment of the savings bank, it had some twenty accounts, and one hunter had a deposit of more than 500 kroner.

There is no doubt that now that the Angmagssaliks have begun to realize the importance of saving, this understanding will—intelligent

as they are—soon spread to wider and wider circles. Still, the whole of the savings system is as yet only in its infancy. For one thing, a primitive population cannot be expected to grasp its full importance in the course of a few years, for another the income of the East Greenlanders is—and has always been—so small, that only the ablest hunters can put by anything in periods of good hunting; but a great stride forward has been made by the introduction of the savings system in East Greenland, and future managers ought to promote this important matter as much as possible.

At Scoresby Sound, where the cash income of the native population is essentially greater than at Angmagssalik, the importance of this matter has unfortunately not yet been realized, and in 1939 there was not a single hunter with an account in the savings bank, which was established at the same time as that at Angmagssalik.

It must, however, be borne in mind that like most progress the savings system has its attending drawbacks. Thus the part of the hunting surplus distributed among the less favorably situated members of the community will probably be less, when there is a possibility of keeping it as cash for later use, and saving should consequently go hand in hand with the development of such social measures, as have already been introduced into West Greenland, viz. public aid, old age support and child welfare.

The income of the East Greenlanders consists in:

- A. Cash income, which may be divided under the following headings:
 1. Proceeds from hunting
 2. Salaries as permanent employees of the settlement
 3. Receipts from hired work in the service of the settlement
 4. Public or private support to old people, invalids or orphans
 5. Casual receipts from the sale of articles manufactured at home, for assisting at expeditions etc.
- B. Income in the form of natural products:
 1. Meat, blubber and skins, mostly of seals
 2. Fish, etc., birds
 3. Vegetable food of local origin.

The table given below (Table 43) of the average yearly cash income in 5-year periods from 1894 show the receipts from three of the four sources of income, which can be controlled in all details through the accounts of the settlement. The fifth source of income can only be estimated, but it is so small as to be of no practical importance what-

soever, and more particularly so as the greater part of these uncontrollable sources of income is payment for assistance to foreigners (expeditions). As a rule receipts of this kind pass through the accounts of the settlement, and thus essentially come under heading 3, viz. receipts from hired work.

Table 43.

The East Greenlanders' average yearly income from 1894—1939.

5-year period	Number of population	Hunting proceeds		Other income			Income in all	Yearly income	
		Total	per individual	Salaries	By hire	Grants		per family	per individual
		kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.
1894/95—1898/99 ...	307	1904	6.20	..	120	..	2024	28.91	6.56
1899/00—1904/05 ...	434	3204	7.38	1442	164	..	4810	57.95	11.08
1905/06—1909/10 ...	535	4001	7.48	1689	561	..	6251	56.83	11.68
1910/11—1914/15 ...	592	5382	9.09	1584	840	..	7806	68.47	13.19
1915/16—1919/20 ...	634	4826	7.61	3257	1556	..	9639	73.58	15.20
1920/21—1924/25 ...	706	7785	11.03	4633	2490	ca.100	14908	105.74	21.12
1925/26—1929/30 ...	809	15202	18.79	10195	4416	- 200	29813	187.50	36.85
1930/31—1934/35 ...	956	20946	21.91	14415	4190	382	39933	229.50	41.77
1935/36—1938/39 ...	1041	24979	23.99	16066	6094	1248	48387	310.77	46.48

The annual hunting proceeds per individual show a comparatively considerable increase throughout these some fifty years, having risen from kr. 6.20 to kr. 23.99 from the first to the last period. This increase of income is partly due to the fact that greater quantities of the hunting products are now sold at the store than formerly, partly—and more particularly—to the increase in the prices fixed for hunting products by the Administration of Greenland. This increase of the prices paid in kroner for first-class skins appears from the following table (44):

Table 44. Prices paid for first-class skins.

Kind of skin	1894	1899	1919	1924	1925	1930	1938
Bearskins.....	40.00	..	75.00	..	..	..	100.00
Skins of ringed seals	0.45	0.54	0.75	1.00	..	2.00	..
— - blue foxes.....	6.00	..	15.00	20.00	25.00	..	30.00
— - white —	2.00	..	6.00	10.00	12.50	..	15.00

The increase in prices was undoubtedly fully justifiable in the case of West Greenland, where the population had been under the administration of Denmark for about a hundred and seventy years, before the Angmagssalik settlement was established. It would naturally also be awkward and unpractical to have two different prices for the same

commodity in Greenland, and the East Greenland prices therefore automatically followed those of West Greenland, although this was not to the advantage of the East Greenlanders themselves, as they were more in need of skins than of money. But for money they were able to buy the coveted imported commodities, and gradually as the prices of sealskins rose, and the temptation to sell became greater and greater, the East Greenlanders reduced their home consumption of sealskins to a minimum in order to have as many more to sell for cash.

The great increase in the hunting proceeds of the East Greenlanders after 1924/25 is due to the formerly mentioned splitting up of the Angmagssalik community in 1925, when the Scoresby Sound settlement was established and populated with Angmagssaliks. In this new area of habitation fox-hunting played a much greater part than at Angmagssalik, and these larger proceeds of the valuable game exercised an immediate influence on the average yearly income per individual, which had been subject to a gradual rise from 1900 to 1920, but which was doubled during the following ten years.

The income from salaries has increased very considerably (in fact it had become more than ten times the original amount) from the first to the last 5-year period, and though this is principally due to the appointment of West Greenland clergymen and catechists in Angmagssalik, the constantly increasing number of permanently employed East Greenland assistants also plays a part. Thus in the two East Greenland settlements there are at the present time in all 25 West and East Greenland employees, 7 of whom are in the service of the administration, 8 at the disposal of church and school, 6 employed for sanitation purposes, and 4 in the wireless service.

The great increase of salaries after 1925 is due to the establishment of the Scoresby Sound settlement, where the manager and clergyman appointed were both West Greenlanders. Their salaries, together with that of the West Greenland clergyman at Angmagssalik, amounted to about kr. 11.000 a year, and so the increase in the salaries of the other Greenland employees is, it will appear, not so very great.

The income from hired work in the service of the settlements has also increased very considerably, which was only to be expected, as the amount of necessary work would grow in proportion to the strong growth of the population, and the establishment of the Scoresby Sound settlement practically doubled the yearly expenditure for hired work.

Poor relief in cash has only recently been introduced at Angmagssalik, the necessary assistance given to the poor of the district having in former times mostly consisted of natural products. When a pecuniary support was absolutely necessary, it was at first given privately, but from 1915 grants were authorized at the expense of the administration,

by which means a greater homogeneousness was achieved, and arbitrary help was to a certain extent avoided.

Further, after the violent influenza epidemics in the winter 1935/36 the population of Angmagssalik received considerable private pecuniary support through the Scoresby Sound Committee. This committee was established in 1924 with the object of founding the Scoresby Sound settlement, but after this object had been achieved, it continued to work at the general bettering of conditions in East Greenland. Since 1935 the Scoresby Sound Committee has given direct aid to orphans or other persons who had lost their supporters, and further it has i. a. founded an old age home at Angmagssalik and provided a capital, the interest of which is sufficient to supply each of the inmates with a small yearly pension of kr. 50.

The total cash grants accorded by the Scoresby Sound Committee to the needy population of Angmagssalik have from 1935/36 to 1939/40 amounted to about kr. 36.000 or kr. 7000 annually. These amounts are not included in the table of the cash income of the East Greenlanders, though they have been used for purchasing commodities at the store.

As the increased cash income of the East Greenlanders is so predominantly the result of increased hunting proceeds and the increased salaries due to the establishment of the Scoresby Sound settlement, it is necessary—in order to get a clear idea of actual conditions—to split up the yearly income of the East Greenlanders after 1925/26 into the receipts of the old Angmagssalik settlement and those of the more recent Scoresby Sound settlement. These receipts appear from the table given below (45) where A. stands for Angmagssalik and S. for Scoresby Sound.

Table 45. Average yearly income at Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound.

5-year period	Population		Hunting proceeds		Salaries		Hired work		Total income		Income per individual	
	A.	S.	A.	S.	A.	S.	A.	S.	A.	S.	A.	S.
1925/26—1929/30 . . .	697	100	kr. 8918	kr. 6284	kr. 4218	kr. 5977	kr. 3477	kr. 939	kr. 16613	kr. 13200	kr. 23.84	kr. 132.00
1930/31—1934/35 . . .	823	112	15736	5810	5769	8646	2615	1575	24120	15431	29.38	126.48
1935/36—1938/39 . . .	852	178	15644	9336	7709	8557	4011	2083	27364	19975	32.12	112.22

It appears from the table that the income per individual in the Scoresby Sound settlement is 4—5 times that of Angmagssalik, and further that the income per individual increases slowly at Angmagssalik within the three 5-year periods in question, whereas at Scoresby Sound it has decreased somewhat owing to the causes mentioned on p. 117.

The figures representing the annual income per individual show the slow and gradual growth from the early days of the Angmagssalik settlement until now, whereas the income of the Angmagssaliks, who in 1925 were transferred to Scoresby Sound, increased nearly sevenfold from one year to another. This great increase in income was too sudden, and has not been to the advantage of the population, as will appear from the following chapters dealing with the East Greenlanders' consumption of imported commodities.

The total income of the East Greenlanders from 1894 to 1939 appears from the following table (46):

Table 46. The East Greenlanders' total income from 1894—1939.

Period	Hunting proceeds	Salaries	Hired work	Support	Uncontrollable income estimated at
	kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.
Angmagssalik 1895—1939	322.164	145.233	74.700	37.930	10.000
Scoresby Sound 1925—1939	97.814	106.541	20.904	—	26.000 ¹⁾
	419.978	251.774	95.604	37.930	36.000

This yields a total cash income of about kr. 841.000 for the whole period or an average annual income of kr. 19.112.

When in the preceding mention has been made of the smallness of the cash income of the East Greenlanders, and more particularly the Angmagssaliks, it must, however, not be forgotten that the chief part of their income is still derived from natural products, the pecuniary value of which it is difficult to specify.

Regarding the seal products certain facts have already been given (pp. 99 and 116) as to the average annual quantity of meat and blubber at the disposal of the population. With due reference to this and, at first, a percentage of waste of 25 per cent, which is estimated as having gradually been reduced to 10 per cent, owing to the diminishing quantities of meat during recent years, the production of meat and blubber has been as shown by Table 47.

It appears from this table that the annual consumption of meat and blubber per individual has been practically reduced by half since

¹⁾ The comparatively large amount, which has been specified as uncontrollable income in Scoresby Sound, is chiefly due to the payment made to a number of young hunters, who took part in Danish expeditions; there have also been hired hunters at the Danish coast guard stations on Ella Island and Eskimonæs.

Table 47. Hunting products for consumption from 1897--1938.

5-year period	Number of population	Seal products ÷ waste and sold								Skins			
		kg meat				kg blubber				A.	S.	In all	per individual
		A.	S.	In all	per individual	A.	S.	In all	per individual				
897/98-1899/1900	307	160000	..	160000	521	88000	..	88000	287	2900	..	2900	9.4
900/01-1904/05 ..	434	160000	..	160000	369	80000	..	80000	184	2900	..	2900	6.7
905/06-1909/10 ..	535	160000	..	160000	299	80000	..	80000	150	2900	..	2900	5.4
910/11-1914/15 ..	592	130000	..	130000	220	80000	..	80000	135	2100	..	2100	3.6
915/16-1919/20 ..	634	140000	..	140000	221	70000	..	70000	110	2100	..	2100	3.3
920/21-1924/25 ..	706	120000	..	120000	170	60000	..	60000	85	1600	..	1600	2.3
925/26-1929/30 ..	809	160000	19000	179000	221	87000	4000	91000	112	1600	500	2100	2.6
930/31-1934/35 ..	956	160000	26000	186000	196	87000	9000	96000	100	1000	600	1600	1.7
935/36-1938/39 ..	1041	150000	43000	193000	185	86000	13000	99000	95	1000	900	1900	1.8

A. = Angmagssalik.

S. = Scoresby Sound.

1900, and that the home consumption of sealskins has been reduced to a fifth.

But even with this decrease large quantities of meat and blubber are at the disposal of the population, and though a fairly large part, perhaps a fourth, must be used for dogs' food, a considerable quantity of meat is, however, left as food supply for the population.

Of the quantity of blubber, which is at the disposal of the population, it must be reckoned that only a third is used as a direct article of food; whereas the two thirds are used for heating and lighting the houses.

As appears from the above, the following natural products from seal hunting are at the annual disposal of a family consisting of 5 individuals during the first and the last periods (Table 48).

Table 48. Hunting products for consumption per family.

Period	kg meat	kg blubber for purposes of		Number of sealskins
		eating	heating	
1900/01-1904/05	1850	300	620	34
1935/36-1938/39	925	160	320	9

The quantity of meat, which is at the disposal of the population for eating purposes, and which has been halved from the first to the last period can, however, without further hunting and without any great

difficulty be increased by a third, if shark meat is provided for dogs' food.

The East Greenlanders' income by way of natural products from fishing is more difficult to specify, seeing that no figures are at hand as to the profit derived from it. HØYGAARD, who has made the nutrition of the Angmagssaliks the subject of investigations, maintains that fishing covers 16 per cent of their energy requirements, whereas according to the same source 76 per cent are supplied by sealing¹). Although it seems that HØYGAARD has overestimated the profit made by fishing, it is, however, an undeniable fact that the income in the form of natural fishing products is of rather considerable importance for the Angmagssaliks. At Scoresby Sound there is no fishing worth mentioning.

According to HØYGAARD the local vegetation supplies the Angmagssaliks with 2 per cent of their energy requirements, and although the vegetation of Scoresby Sound is inferior to that of Angmagssalik, this figure may probably be regarded as applying to all East Greenlanders.

The importance of fowling for the East Greenlanders can also only be roughly estimated, but it is at any rate small. HØYGAARD is of the opinion that it does not exceed 1 per cent of the necessary supply of energy.

HØYGAARD has estimated the contributions of the imported articles of food to the energy requirements of the Angmagssaliks at 5 per cent¹), which percentage is however, presumably much too low (see p. 183), but on the other hand it clearly shows that the value of the natural hunting products is comparatively very high for the East Greenlanders generally.

When comparing the total income of the East Greenlanders, both in cash and natural products, with the income of the inhabitants of the Julianehaab district²), there is presumably no essential difference, and conditions are thus at the present time entirely different from what they were at the time of the establishment of the Angmagssalik settlement half a century ago, when it was the much better living conditions of the Julianehaab district, which attracted the population of East Greenland and partly caused its depopulation.

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 55.

²) POUL IBSEN og P. P. SVEISTRUP: Den erhvervsmæssige Udvikling i Julianehaab Distrikt. Med. o. Gr. vol. 131, No. 7.

THE EAST GREENLANDERS' CONSUMPTION OF IMPORTED COMMODITIES: GROCERIES

The cash income of the East Greenlanders is—as already pointed out—so small that only in very recent years there has been any possibility of a modest saving up. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that the whole of their income was used for purchasing imported goods, and in the following a summary will be given of the consumption of the East Greenlanders from the year of the colonization until 1939.

The establishment of the Scoresby Sound settlement was a milestone in the total consumption of commodities, which rose very much after 1925, and in the following the consumption of commodities after this year is, therefore, divided into that of the Angmagssaliks and that of the inhabitants of Scoresby Sound.

It may be said on general principles that the East Greenlanders' consumption of imported commodities rose quite slowly until 1925, and that the purchases only comprised the most necessary articles in the smallest imaginable quantities. As far as Angmagssalik itself was concerned, this healthy development was continued after 1925, but not so for the part of the population, which was transferred to Scoresby Sound. From their home they were accustomed to spend all they earned in purchasing imported commodities, and as their income in the new settlement suddenly rose to five times as much as it had been there, they did not understand how to moderate their purchases, but kept on spending every penny of their greater income, and by preference for the purchase of such commodities, as had formerly been considered decided luxuries.

As mentioned in the preceding, the Angmagssaliks during the first years only bought fire arms and shooting requisites, drapery goods and tobacco, while articles of food were not purchased at all until a few years after the establishment of the settlement. The first purchases of such commodities took place in the year 1898/99 and amounted in all to kr. 203 (kr. 0.51 per individual), but already the following year they rose to kr. 843 or kr. 2.09 per individual.

When the Angmagssaliks had once developed a taste for imported food, their purchases increased, as much as their income permitted, and already in 1901/02 they spent more on articles of food than on drapery

goods. During the years immediately following this proportion fluctuated a little, but since 1914/15 more money has been spent every year on the purchase of articles of food than on drapery goods.

The articles of food, which the Angmagssaliks bought at the store, were almost exclusively of a vegetable character, such as flour, groats and sugar, and of the cereals it is more particularly rye flour which, throughout the years, has been of the greatest importance in the diet of the East Greenlanders. During later years the consumption of wheat flour has, however, risen unproportionally, and the Greenlanders now spend comparatively large amounts on ready-made farinaceous food, such as sea biscuits, ship's bread and rye biscuits. Rye bread is not yet baked for the use of the natives in the East Greenland settlements, such as is the case in all the settlements of West Greenland.

Table 49. The East Greenlanders' consumption of farinaceous foods from 1899—1938.

5-year period	Number of population	Sifted rye flour		Wheat flour		Sea biscuits		Total consumption of farinaceous foods	
		con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual	con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual	con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual	con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual
		kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg
1899/00—1904/05..	434	687	1.58	192	0.44	153	0.35	974	2.24
1905/06—1909/10..	535	1689	3.16	273	0.51	343	0.64	2296	4.29
1910/11—1914/15..	592	2009	3.39	399	0.67	617	1.04	3027	5.11
1915/16—1919/20..	634	3953	6.24	801	1.26	1267	2.00	6021	9.50
1920/21—1924/25..	706	5382	7.62	1336	1.89	2013	2.85	8733	12.37
1925/26—1929/30..	809	7720	9.54	1968	2.43	2778	3.43	12466	15.41
1930/31—1934/35..	956	16798	17.57	3972	4.15	4276	4.47	25048	26.20
1935/36—1938/39..	1041	24519	23.55	6913	6.64	4279	4.11	35711	34.30

The consumption of farinaceous foods has thus risen gradually from the time, when these articles were released for sale to the natives, and until 1925, when the consumption rose rapidly.

The consumption of rye flour shows the greatest increase, and the small fluctuations in prices throughout the years until 1933 do not seem to have influenced the sale to any degree worth mentioning, and not at all in the course of a 5-year period. In 1933 the price of rye flour fell from 25 to 16 øre per kg, and this is possibly a contributory cause to the practically doubled average consumption within the 5-year period in question, which supposition is confirmed by a great decrease in the consumption of rye flour in the year 1938/39, when the price again rose from 18 øre to 30 øre per kg.

After 1935/36 the consumption of rye flour rose greatly at Angmagssalik in consequence of the formerly mentioned influenza epidemic,

which caused about 20 per cent of the population to lose their bread-winners. In order that those left behind should be able to live at all, they received a yearly money grant from Denmark, but although the administration of the settlement has always, as far as possible, tried to maintain the consumption of natural products for those women and children, who were left without a bread-winner, the fewer surviving hunters have been unable to provide sufficient meat to support them as well as their own families, and so their diet has for the greater part been changed from that of natural products to that of imported articles of food, more particularly rye flour.

The average annual consumption of wheat flour per individual has been gradually increasing from 0.44 kg in 1899/1900 to 1.89 kg in 1924/25. But after that time, the increased consumption at Scoresby Sound greatly influenced the development, the yearly consumption per individual rising from 2.97 kg in 1925/26 to 18.80 kg in 1938/39.

The consumption of the comparatively expensive sea biscuits, ship's bread and rye biscuits, the prices of which were in 1925/26 60, 70, 80 øre per kg, respectively, has not risen proportionally as much as that of the cheaper kinds of farinaceous foods.

The total annual consumption of farinaceous foods per individual has, in the course of the forty years in question, risen from 2.24 kg in the 5-year period 1899/00—1904/05 to 34.30 in the period 1935/36 to 1938/39. This seems a rather considerable rise, but the East Greenlanders' consumption of farinaceous foods has not yet reached that of Upernavik, the West Greenland settlement, which seems to have more or less the same hunting and living conditions as the East Greenland settlements, nor has it reached anything like the average consumption of farinaceous foods in northern and southern West Greenland.

This appears from the following table (50), which gives the average total yearly consumption of flour in kg per individual:

Table 50. Consumption of farinaceous foods in East and West Greenland.

5-year period	East Greenland: per individual	West Greenland: per individual		
		Upernavik	North Greenland	South Greenland
	kg	kg	kg	kg
1899/00—1904/05.....	2.24	23.78	29.17	23.05
1905/06—1909/10.....	4.29	26.43	34.22	30.91
1910/11—1914/15.....	5.11	29.56	37.31	35.11
1915/16—1919/20.....	9.50	29.12	38.86	37.45
1920/21—1924/25.....	12.37	37.41	50.53	46.16
1925/26—1929/30.....	15.41	37.15	56.13	56.14
1930/31—1934/35.....	26.20	47.51	65.56	69.40
1935/36—1938/39.....	34.30	49.25	64.33	67.84

The following table (51) shows the East Greenlanders' total consumption of flour after 1925, split up into that of the Angmagssalik and the Scoresby Sound settlements and compared with the consumption of flour at Upernavik:

Table 51. Comparative consumption of farinaceous foods.

5-year period	East Greenland: per individual			Upernavik: per individual
	In all	Angmags- salik	Scoresby Sound	
	kg	kg	kg	kg
1925/26—1929/30.....	15.41	10.29	53.43	37.15
1930/31—1934/35.....	26.20	20.97	61.62	47.51
1935/36—1938/39.....	34.30	28.44	62.82	49.25

It appears that in the cautiously administrated Angmagssalik settlement the consumption of flour during the two last 5-year periods is about half of that of Upernavik, whereas the consumption of flour in the Scoresby Sound settlement is considerably higher than that of Upernavik and nearly covers the consumption of the whole of North Greenland.

The consumption of groats and rice in East Greenland increases gradually throughout the years, which appears from the table below (52), showing the East Greenlanders' total yearly consumption of these commodities:

Table 52.

The East Greenlanders' consumption of groats and rice from 1899—1938.

5-year period	Number of population	Coarse barley groats		Barley groats		Oats		Rice		Total con- sumption of groats and rice	
		con- sump- tion	per indi- vidual	con- sump- tion	per indi- vidual	con- sump- tion	per indi- vidual	con- sump- tion	per indi- vidual	con- sump- tion	per indi- vidual
		kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg
1899/00—1904/05..	434	50	0.12	106	0.24	149	0.34	636	1.47	944	2.18
1905/06—1909/10..	535	356	0.67	232	0.43	190	0.36	1106	2.07	1896	3.54
1910/11—1914/15..	592	153	0.26	380	0.64	208	0.35	1359	2.30	2169	3.66
1915/16—1919/20..	634	276	0.44	676	1.07	376	0.59	1622	2.56	2972	4.69
1920/21—1924/25..	706	177	0.25	599	0.85	833	1.18	1164	1.65	2775	3.93
1925/26—1929/30..	809	206	0.25	535	0.66	739	0.91	1788	2.21	3282	4.06
1930/31—1934/35..	956	530	0.55	952	1.00	1502	1.57	2685	2.81	5688	5.95
1935/36—1938/39..	1041	703	0.68	1093	1.05	3037	2.92	4483	4.31	9323	8.96

The total consumption in reality only shows a noticeable rise within the last period (1935/36—1938/39), and this is principally due to the extra

consumption of groats and rice, which is the unavoidable consequence of the above-mentioned change from natural products to imported commodities, which took place in the diet of part of the population of Angmagssalik. A contributory cause to the increased consumption of rice is possibly also a fall in price from 44 øre in 1926/27 to 24 øre in 1935/36.

The consumption of oats has been rising rather considerably during later years, in spite of a perceptible increase in prices from 26 to 40 øre per kg from 1936/37—1938/39.

The consumption of other groats has remained at the same level for several years and—if anything—shows a small decrease in the yearly consumption.

From 1920/21 and until 1930/31 there has been a rather considerable decrease in the consumption of coarse and fine barley groats. The decrease in the consumption of oats occurred at a somewhat later period than in that of the two formerly mentioned species of groats, and although a considerable decrease in the consumption of rice was noticeable about 1920—25, this righted itself more quickly than the decrease in the consumption of groats. Upon the whole it seems as if the East Greenlanders' consumption of cereals to an increasing degree tends towards flour in preference to groats.

The fluctuations in the prices of these commodities have not been inconsiderable during the years in question, and this is possibly one of the causes of the decreasing consumption. The chief cause must, however, undoubtedly be that prices were rising during these years, which rather checked the consumption, until the prices of sealskins, as already mentioned, were increased about the beginning of the nineteen thirties.

The East and West Greenlanders' total annual consumption of groats (with the exception of rice) expressed in kroner per individual (Table 53):

Table 53. Consumption of groats in East and West Greenland.

5-year period	East Greenland: per individual	West Greenland: per individual		
		Upernavik	North Greenland	South Greenland
	kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.
1899/00—1904/05	0.71	2.90	5.61	3.50
1905/06—1909/10	1.48	3.83	6.16	3.80
1910/11—1914/15	1.38	4.17	6.09	3.83
1915/16—1919/20	2.13	4.80	6.64	4.88
1920/21—1924/25	2.28	5.19	7.69	5.50
1925/26—1929/30	1.85	4.52	7.62	6.55
1930/31—1934/35	3.14	5.87	8.47	8.06
1935/36—1938/39	4.65	5.83	6.95	7.60

The table shows that the East Greenlanders' consumption of groats has increased so greatly, that in the course of less than forty years it has risen from zero to an equivalent of the old Upernavik settlement. There is surely reason to maintain that the East Greenlanders' consumption of groats has risen too quickly between 1894, when groats and rice were unknown commodities for the Angmagssaliks, and 1938/39, when their consumption of groats reached 5.47 kg per individual, which was 0.70 kg more than that of Upernavik's population during the same year. This great increase may probably in part be explained by the purchases of oats etc. for orphans, who were helped by means of child welfare, and who could not in any other way be supplied with a sufficiently nourishing food.

Corresponding with the decrease in the East Greenlanders' consumption of groats within the 5-year period 1925/26—1929/30 is a contemporary decrease in the consumption of Upernavik, as well as an inconsiderable decrease in that of North Greenland generally. This stagnation or decrease of the consumption may possibly be explained by the fact that the Greenland community is so easily affected, even by very small fluctuations of prices, that a small rise in price causes the population either to do without the commodity in question, or to buy something else, which answers the same purpose.

Apart from the first 5-year period there is no difference worth mentioning in the annual consumption per individual at Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound, the proportion being as follows (Table 54):

Table 54. Comparative consumption of farinaceous foods.

5-year period	East Greenland: per individual			Upernavik: per individual
	In all	Ang- magssalik	Scoresby Sound	
	kr.	kr.	kr.	kr.
1925/26—1929/30	1.85	1.54	3.92	4.52
1930/31—1934/35	3.14	3.10	3.44	5.87
1935/36—1938/39	4.65	4.88	3.53	5.83

The consumption of groats has thus risen very considerably in East Greenland, the rise falling almost exclusively on the Angmagssalik settlement, the consumption of the Scoresby Sound settlement being—if anything—a little smaller.

The annual consumption of sugar in East Greenland appears from the following table (55).

Although there has been a very considerable increase in the total annual consumption of sugar per individual from the first to the last

Table 55. The East Greenlanders' consumption of sugar from 1894—1939.

5-year period	Number of population	Candy		Brown sugar		Lump sugar		White granulated sugar		Total consumption of sugar	
		con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual	con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual	con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual	con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual	con-sump-tion	per indi-vidual
		kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg
1899/00—1904/05..	434	40	0.09	117	0.27	78	0.18	..	..	235	0.54
1905/06—1909/10..	535	101	0.19	240	0.45	154	0.29	..	..	496	0.93
1910/11—1914/15..	592	144	0.24	519	0.88	323	0.55	..	..	986	1.67
1915/16—1919/20..	634	91	0.14	713	1.12	465	0.73	..	..	1293	2.04
1920/21—1924/25..	706	64	0.09	1099	1.56	928	1.31	202	0.29	2294	3.25
1925/26—1929/30..	809	420	0.52	1675	2.07	2115	2.61	260	0.32	4469	5.52
1930/31—1934/35..	956	987	1.03	3174	3.32	4488	4.69	556	0.56	9205	9.63
1935/36—1938/39..	1041	1362	1.31	3956	3.80	7440	7.15	1748	1.68	14506	13.93

periods, the increase was comparatively small until 1925, viz. from 0.54 kg to 3.25 kg. But from 1925 the consumption increased out of all proportion and rose from an average of 3.25 kg per individual annually in the period beginning with 1925/26 to 13.93 kg in the last period.

The rise includes all kinds of sugar. There has been some fluctuation in the consumption of candy per individual, but nevertheless the consumption of this article during the last twenty years has risen from 0.09 to 1.31 kg per individual annually.

The increase in the consumption of brown sugar per individual has, however, been considerably greater (from 0.27 kg to 3.80 kg), but more particularly the consumption of lump sugar has been greatly increasing, seeing that from the first to the last 5-year period it has risen from 0.18 to 7.15 kg per individual annually.

Until 1919/20 the price of sugar in Greenland was subject to no fluctuations whatsoever, but then it rose considerably for some years, without however in any way influencing the East Greenlanders' consumption. When the sugar prices again began to fall, about 1926/27, the consumption increased considerably, but whether this was due to the cheaper sugar or to the increased demand for this article of food and luxury, cannot be said for certain.

The East Greenlanders' yearly consumption of sugar, as compared with that of the West Greenlanders, appears from the following table (56).

Although the East Greenlanders' consumption of sugar has increased very considerably since the establishment of the settlement, it has not

Table 56. Consumption of sugar in East and West Greenland.

5-year period	East Greenland: per individual	West Greenland: per individual		
		Upernavik	North Greenland	South Greenland
	kg	kg	kg	kg
1899/00—1904/05	0.54	6.06	5.91	4.13
1905/06—1909/10	0.93	6.79	7.67	5.47
1910/11—1914/15	1.67	8.18	8.96	6.70
1915/16—1919/20	2.04	8.23	10.19	9.15
1920/21—1924/25	3.25	13.00	14.89	13.20
1925/26—1929/30	5.52	17.74	22.31	20.84
1930/31—1934/35	9.63	27.28	34.30	32.61
1935/36—1938/39	13.93	29.48	38.17	33.37

reached the number of kilos required by the population of a corresponding West Greenland settlement. But it is well on the way to it.

However, the picture presented is quite a different one, when the total sugar consumption of the East Greenlanders is dissolved into the consumption of Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound, respectively; the figures—in kg per individual annually—are as follows (Table 57):

Table 57. Comparative consumption of sugar.

5-year period	East Greenland: per individual			Upernavik: per individual
	In all	Angmagssalik	Scoresby Sound	
	kg	kg	kg	kg
1925/26—1929/30	5.52	3.48	19.78	17.74
1930/31—1934/35	9.63	7.29	25.04	27.28
1935/36—1938/39	13.93	10.99	27.79	29.48

It appears from this that, although the sugar consumption of the Angmagssalik population has risen considerably during the last 5-year periods, it is still much lower than that of Upernavik, and only about a third of that of Scoresby Sound, which in the course of some 15 years has risen from the common East Greenland annual average of 3.25 to 27.79 kg per individual, or very nearly corresponding with that of the Upernavik population.

The consumption of sugar at Scoresby Sound has progressed far too rapidly, and it is very regrettable that the population has not been encouraged, or even forced, to save up part of what it has earned by hunting, instead of immediately converting it into more or less necessary articles of food or luxury. The Angmagssaliks do not feel any particular need of an increased sugar consumption, and from a dietary

point of view there should be no reason, why the population of Scoresby Sound needs more sugar than that of Angmagssalik.

The unreasonably great consumption of sugar at Scoresby Sound fully shows that the population of East Greenland does not yet know moderation, and that an increased income does not better the general mode of life, but only rouses an increasing appetite for imported commodities, particularly such as from the point of view of the East Greenlanders may be characterized as luxuries.

The consumption of coffee and tea is still small in East Greenland. It is not permitted to sell coffee to the Angmagssaliks, whereas the population of Scoresby Sound, immediately after having been transferred there, asked for the right to buy coffee, pleading that they now earned so much money that they were able to afford it. This right was granted, and the consumption of coffee at Scoresby Sound rose very quickly to somewhere about 1.40 kg per individual annually, whereas the consumption of the Upernavik population was 3.95 kg. After 3 years the consumption of coffee, however, again decreased, and during later years it has been about 0.90 kg per individual annually, or considerably less than that of the West Greenlanders.

The East Greenlanders have been allowed to buy tea since about 1900, but although they are very fond of it, the consumption has been minimal at Angmagssalik, not exceeding 0.10 kg per individual annually. The consumption of tea at Scoresby Sound has, however, been as high as 0.46 kg per individual, but of later years it has decreased a good deal, having been about 0.33 kg per individual annually. This is considerably above the annual tea consumption of Upernavik and is equal to that of the whole of North Greenland.

Prunes, raisins and figs are greatly desired by the Greenlanders, whose yearly consumption of these commodities appears from the table given below (58):

Table 58.

The East Greenlanders' consumption of dried fruits from 1899—1938.

5-year period	Number of population	Prunes	Raisins	Figs	In all	Consumption per individual annually
		kg	kg	kg	kg	kg
1899/00—1904/05.....	434	34.0	11.3	31.0	76.3	0.18
1905/06—1909/10.....	535	56.4	35.6	57.8	149.8	0.28
1910/11—1914/15.....	592	79.0	63.6	180.2	322.8	0.55
1915/16—1919/20.....	634	76.6	109.4	211.8	397.8	0.63
1920/21—1924/25.....	706	152.0	138.8	431.8	722.6	1.02
1925/26—1929/30.....	809	203.6	235.2	637.0	1075.8	1.33
1930/31—1934/35.....	956	309.6	390.6	1260.4	1960.6	2.05
1935/36—1938/39.....	1041	321.0	467.8	1424.5	2213.3	2.13

The Greenlanders regard dried fruits as luxuries, but these must undoubtedly also be of importance from the point of view of health in a country, where the food supply of the population is so decidedly based upon meat, as is the case in East Greenland.

In former times women and children, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, gathered such quantities of berries and edible parts of plants as was at all possible from the meagre soil of Greenland, but as the result of the introduction of dried fruits the interest taken in these native supplies has gradually lessened.

There is a great difference in the consumption of dried fruits at Angmagssalik (A.) and at Scoresby Sound (S.), which appears from the annual consumption in kg per individual, Table 59.

Table 59. Consumption of dried fruits at Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound.

5-year period	Prunes		Raisins		Figs	
	A.	S.	A.	S.	A.	S.
1925/26—1929/30.	0.18	0.73	0.18	1.04	0.54	2.48
1930/31—1934/35.	0.33	0.72	0.35	1.39	1.15	4.34
1935/36—1938/39.	0.28	1.28	0.44	1.50	1.34	4.77

The consumption of dried fruits at Scoresby Sound is thus considerably greater than that of Angmagssalik, and this must undoubtedly be ascribed to the fact that the population of Scoresby Sound regard the dried fruits as delicacies and use them as such. The large consumption of these articles at Scoresby Sound, as compared with that at Angmagssalik, may however possibly also be partly explained by the fact that the quantity of national vegetable products is much smaller there than at Angmagssalik, at least in the localities where the present dwelling places are situated.

Whereas all the groups of imported provisions mentioned in the preceding pages are vegetable foods, such as were unknown in Greenland before the colonization, and which could not possibly be produced in the country itself, the East Greenland hunters—presupposing the same amount of game—ought to have been able to procure sufficient fats for the covering of the needs of the population, in the same manner as they were able to do before the colonization.

This, however, is not the case.

At first the consumption of imported fats was very slight (from 0.13 to 0.26 kg per individual annually), and it is possible that this quantity of fat has been purchased by the Danes and possibly also by the few permanently employed Greenlanders.

In 1916 the trading out of margarine commenced, and although the quantity was small (40 kg in all) it seems, however, as if the Greenlanders' consumption of imported fats began that year, and that the community after twenty years of colonization could no longer produce the most necessary fats by hunting.

The consumption of imported fats, and more particularly of margarine, rose rather rapidly, as appears from the table given below (60):

Table 60. The East Greenlanders' consumption of imported fats from 1899—1938.

5-year period	Number of population	Margarine		Pork fat		Total quantity of fats	
		total consumption	per individual	total consumption	per individual	In all	per individual
		kg	kg	kg	kg	kg	kg
1899/00—1904/05.....	434	—	..	61	0.14	61	0.14
1905/06—1909/10.....	535	—	..	118	0.22	118	0.22
1910/11—1914/15.....	592	—	..	104	0.18	104	0.18
1915/16—1919/20.....	634	86	0.11	94	0.14	180	0.28
1920/21—1924/25.....	706	163	0.25	181	0.25	344	0.49
1925/26—1929/30.....	809	274	0.34	208	0.26	482	0.60
1930/31—1934/35.....	956	829	0.87	224	0.23	1053	1.10
1935/36—1938/39.....	1041	1434	1.52	140	0.13	1574	1.51

Although there has been an inconsiderable rise in the consumption of pork fat, after the trading out of margarine began, the consumption of pork fat seems to remain at more or less the same level as before, and during the last 5-year period there has even been a relatively considerable decrease—from 0.23 to 0.13 kg per individual annually.

At the same time the consumption of margarine has, however, risen very considerably, from 0.11 to 1.52 kg per individual annually.

Until 1919/20 the price of margarine was kr. 1.50 and that of pork fat kr. 1.16, but then the price rose, reaching its maximum level in 1924/25 with kr. 2.50 and kr. 1.80 kg respectively. The difference between the prices of margarine and pork fat gradually became less and less, and in 1931 both of these groups of provisions cost kr. 1.20 per kg. From 1936/37 the price of pork fat has been higher than that of margarine, which cost kr. 1.20 per kg, whereas the price of pork fat rose to kr. 1.80. This is presumably the explanation of the decreasing consumption of pork fat.

The East Greenlanders' consumption of imported fats, as compared with that of the West Greenlanders, appears from Table 61.

Table 61. Consumption of imported fats in East and West Greenland.

5-year period	East Greenland: per individual	West Greenland: per individual:		
		Upernavik	North Greenland	South Greenland
	kg	kg	kg	kg
1899/00–1904/05.....	0.14	0.41	0.37	0.19
1905/06–1909/10.....	0.22	0.41	0.52	0.33
1910/11–1914/15.....	0.18	0.49	0.58	0.46
1915/16–1919/20.....	0.28	0.53	0.76	0.62
1920/21–1924/25.....	0.49	0.90	1.37	1.25
1925/26–1929/30.....	0.60	1.33	2.40	2.30
1930/31–1934/35.....	1.10	2.14	3.90	4.15
1935/36–1938/39.....	1.51	2.01	3.70	3.28

The East Greenlanders' total consumption of imported fats is thus considerably less than that of the West Greenlanders, but if the consumption is divided into the quantity consumed by the Angmagssaliks, and that which has been bought by the inhabitants of Scoresby Sound since their removal to the new settlement with the greater earnings, the difference becomes very great, as appears from Table 62, which covers the consumption in East Greenland compared with that of Upernavik in kg per individual annually.

Table 62. Comparative consumption of fats.

5-year period	East Greenland			Upernavik
	In all	Angmagssalik	Scoresby Sound	
	kg	kg	kg	kg
1925/26–1929/30.....	0.59	0.39	2.02	1.33
1930/31–1934/35.....	1.10	0.70	3.71	2.14
1935/36–1938/39.....	1.66	1.05	3.67	2.01

It appears from this table that the Angmagssaliks immediately upon their arrival at Scoresby Sound raised their consumption of fat very considerably, and their subsequent consumption is 3–4 times greater than that of the population of Angmagssalik.

This is an exceptionally great rise in the course of the few years in question, and it is all the more regrettable, as the population of Scoresby Sound sells comparatively large quantities of seal blubber to the settlement at a price of 0.16 øre per kg and buys margarine at a price of kr. 1.50 per kg in order to cover their requirements of fats.

Although the rise in the consumption of margarine at Angmagssalik is also comparatively great (it has been trebled during the last three

5-year periods) this large consumption of imported fats must be taken as an incontestable proof that sealing, and so also the local production of fat (blubber) has decreased considerably in proportion to the increase of the population. Consequently, the local production of fat no longer covers the natural and necessary requirements of the population, and that in spite of the fact that, as already mentioned, seal blubber cannot be sold at the store of Angmagssalik.

The East Greenlanders' annual consumption of groceries in kroner per individual, as compared with that of West Greenland, appears from the following table (63):

Table 63. Consumption (in kroner) of groceries in East and West Greenland from 1899—1938.

5-year period	East Greenland: per individual	West Greenland: per individual		
		Upernavik	North Greenland	South Greenland
1899/00—1904/05.....	3.14	25.00	25.37	17.72
1905/06—1909/10.....	4.81	25.95	28.53	21.51
1910/11—1914/15.....	4.85	29.01	30.25	22.83
1915/16—1919/20.....	7.35	30.01	32.63	27.08
1920/21—1924/25.....	13.05	48.12	52.44	43.92
1925/26—1929/30.....	17.28	52.53	63.24	59.91
1930/31—1934/35.....	19.60	55.70	63.59	64.13
1935/36—1938/39.....	25.60	57.91	60.40	58.15

The expenditure on groceries has thus risen gradually throughout the years, although at a considerably greater rate than the income, as the amount spent on groceries during the first 5-year period was 27.4 per cent of the income of the population, whereas during the last period it had risen to 54.7 per cent.

The total East Greenland consumption of groceries in kroner per individual is still less than half of that of West Greenland, but when dividing the consumption into that of Angmagssalik and that of Scoresby Sound the annual proportion per individual is as follows (Table 64):

Table 64. Comparative consumption (in kroner) of groceries.

5-year period	In all: per individual	East Greenland: per individual		Upernavik: per individual
		Angmagssalik	Scoresby Sound	
1925/26—1929/30.....	17.28	11.81	54.78	52.53
1930/31—1934/35.....	19.60	15.30	47.94	55.70
1935/36—1938/39.....	25.60	20.07	51.58	57.91

A comparison between the amounts spent by the inhabitants of Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound on the purchase of groceries fully shows that the consumption of the East Greenlanders rises beyond every reasonable and customary requirement, as soon as they get a higher income than is absolutely necessary for the acquisition of the minimum of imported commodities, which they can now no longer do without. Thus the Angmagssaliks' consumption of groceries in the period 1925/26—1929/30 was kr. 11.81 per individual annually, while during the same period the expenses of the population at Scoresby Sound for the same commodities were kr. 54.78, and this in spite of the fact that this population had until then had exactly the same standard of life as the Angmagssaliks, who had never seemed to be in need of more groceries than what was supplied by a gradual development.

But the greater earning possibilities provided by the new settlement immediately caused a very considerable increase in the consumption of all groceries, so that from one year to another it became five times higher than what had formerly been sufficient for themselves, and was still sufficient for their kinsmen at Angmagssalik with the smaller income.

But also the consumption of the Angmagssaliks has risen considerably, seeing that a yearly increase of income from 1925—1938, amounting to kr. 10.16 per individual, within the same period was accompanied by an increase in the consumption of groceries amounting to kr. 8.26.

THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPORTED FOOD STUFFS FOR THE COVERING OF ENERGY REQUIREMENTS OF THE EAST GREENLANDERS

As appears from the information given in the preceding chapters regarding the East Greenlanders' consumption of imported articles of food, their diet has been totally altered in the course of some forty years.

Before 1900 the diet of the East Greenlanders almost exclusively consisted of animal products and a small amount of locally produced vegetable food, whereas the consequent development has brought about a constantly increasing consumption of imported vegetable articles of food, which the population has to buy at the store for part of their income from hunting.

This radical change in the basis of the food supply of the East Greenlanders has altered the composition of their diet from practically speaking purely animal food stuffs to a mixture of animal and vegetable products, and by examining the calorie value of the imported articles of food, it is possible to figure out a valuation of the relative proportion between the imported vegetable and the self-produced animal food stuffs.

The nutrition of the Greenlanders has been made the subject of special investigations by Dr. A. BERTELSEN, for about thirty years a district physician in West Greenland, and by Dr. ARNE HØYGAARD, who has spent one year at Angmagssalik, i. a. in order to investigate the nutrition of the population.

BERTELSEN estimates the daily calorie requirement of an adult West Greenland hunter at 3500 kg calories (women and children proportionally less¹), whereas HØYGAARD arrives at the conclusion that the daily calorie requirement of an East Greenland hunter hardly exceeds 2700, but fixes it at 2800²). The difference between the two estimates of the necessary daily requirements of calories is thus considerable, but it is probable that the figure given by HØYGAARD is too low. As the basis of his computations he puts the average out-door

¹) A. BERTELSEN: Grønlandsk medicinsk Statistik og Nosografi. Med o. Gr. vol. 117, No. 2; p. 88.

²) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 31.

working time of an East Greenland hunter at 4 hours daily¹), while after consultation with JOHAN PETERSEN, who has more than 20 years' experience as manager of Angmagssalik, an average daily working day of 6 hours seems to agree better with actual conditions, and JOHAN PETERSEN is even of the opinion that it is rather longer than shorter. According to HØYGAARD's computations a two hours' lengthening of the working time would, however, entail an increase of 300 in the daily

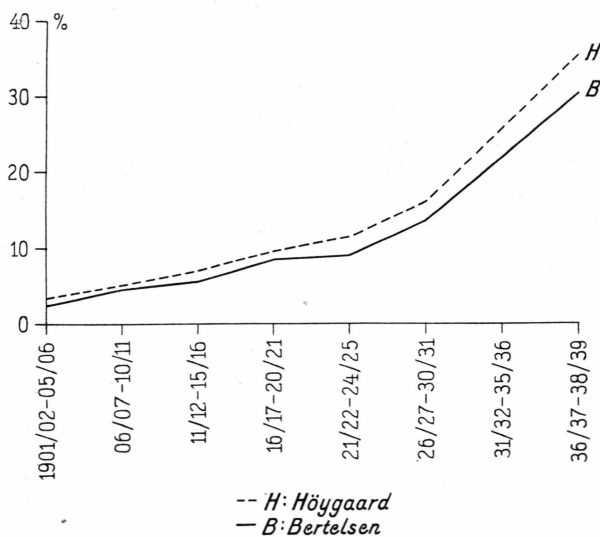


Fig. 22. The East Greenlanders' covering of calorie requirements by imported commodities.

calorie requirements, thus raising the calorie requirements of an adult East Greenland hunter to 3100.

Table 65 gives the East Greenlanders' calorie requirements and the covering by European commodities in absolute figures and in percentage. The values of calorie requirements are computed both according to BERTELSEN (B.): 3500 calories per adult hunter, and to HØYGAARD (H.): 2800 calories, and account is also taken of the corresponding calorie requirements for women and children as calculated by the two authors²). The last six columns of the table give the covering by means of European commodities in per cent—also according to the computations of the two authors. This is furthermore illustrated in the diagram fig. 22, and the East Greenlanders' covering of calorie requirements by means of European commodities must consequently be supposed to be within these two extreme boundaries. If the calculation is based on a 6 hours' average daily out-door working time for the hunters instead of

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 31.

²) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 33. — A. BERTELSEN; p. 88.

Table 65. Calorie requirements and covering by imported commodities.

	Calories in millions									Calorie covering by means of European commodities: in percentage					
	Requirements						Covering by means of imported commodities								
	East Greenland		Ang-magssalik		Scoresby Sound		East Greenland	Ang-magssalik	Scoresby Sound	East Greenland		Ang-magssalik		Scoresby Sound	
	B.	H.	B.	H.	B.	H.				B.	H.	B.	H.	B.	H.
1900/01—1904/05	397.2	339.1	397.2	339.1	..	..	11.6	11.6	..	2.9	3.4	2.9	3.4	..	..
1905/06—1909/10	449.3	385.2	449.3	385.2	..	..	18.7	18.7	..	4.2	4.9	4.2	4.9	..	..
1910/11—1914/15	484.1	415.1	484.1	415.1	..	..	27.8	27.8	..	5.7	6.7	5.7	6.7	..	..
1916/17—1920/21	534.6	455.6	534.6	455.6	..	..	44.4	44.4	..	8.3	9.7	8.3	9.7	..	..
1921/22—1924/25	600.8	492.1	600.8	492.1	..	..	56.5	56.5	..	9.4	11.5	9.4	11.5	..	..
1926/27—1930/31	683.6	585.9	603.0	515.1	80.6	70.8	93.2	54.3	38.9	13.6	15.9	8.8	10.5	48.3	54.9
1931/32—1935/36	789.1	678.5	684.9	588.3	104.2	90.2	174.6	122.5	52.2	22.1	25.7	17.9	20.8	50.1	57.9
1936/37—1938/39	833.1	718.4	693.7	596.1	139.4	122.4	256.5	180.4	76.1	30.8	35.7	26.0	30.3	54.6	62.3

on 4 hours (as HØYGAARD has done), these boundaries will come still closer together than shown by the diagram.

As appears from the values of this table (for the sake of comparison with West Greenland BERTELSEN's figures for requirements of calories have been used), the total covering of the calorie requirements of the East Greenlanders by means of imported European commodities in the 5-year period 1900/01—1904/05 was only 2,9 per cent, whereas in the years 1935/36—1938/39 it had become as high as 30.8 per cent.

BERTELSEN has computed the corresponding values for the whole of West Greenland for the years 1901 and 1930, and on the same basis a calculation has been made for the settlement of Julianehaab, these being in the following table (66) compared with the corresponding East Greenland figures.

Table 66. Covering of calorie requirements by imported commodities in West and East Greenland.

Year	West Greenland		East Greenland		
	In all ¹⁾	Julianehaab ²⁾	In all	Angmagssalik	Scoresby Sound
1901.....	17 per cent	11.1 per cent	0	0	—
1930/31.....	63 per cent	40.7 per cent	18.7 per cent	13.4 per cent	43.2 per cent

The East Greenlanders' total covering of calorie requirements by means of imported commodities was thus in 1930/31 only rather more than a third of that of the West Greenlanders, but whereas the covering percentage of Angmagssalik proper is even lower (about $\frac{1}{5}$), that of Scoresby Sound is fast approaching that of West Greenland, and already in 1930/31 it was a trifle higher than that of Julianehaab.

At Scoresby Sound the population is concentrated in the neighbourhood of the main settlement, for which reason their hunting and dietary conditions are practically the same for the whole district, and the covering percentage of imported European commodities consequently applies to all inhabitants alike.

At Angmagssalik conditions are, however, quite different, seeing that the consumption of imported articles in the highest degree depends upon the greater or smaller amount of game at the various centres of habitation and their distance from the main trading post of the settlement.

In the following an attempt will be made to indicate the relative consumption of imported articles of European food at the various centres of habitation, which for this purpose have been divided into three groups, according to the smaller or greater abundance of game. As formerly

¹⁾ A. BERTELSEN; p. 88.

²⁾ POUL IBSEN; p. 57.

mentioned, no statistics are at hand as to the hunting proceeds, and so a division of the centres of habitation based upon this foundation must rest entirely on an estimate, which in spite of many elements of uncertainty can, however, be regarded as fairly correct and is authenticated by various people, who are intimately acquainted with the dietary conditions of the population in this district.

The three principal groups of population are the following:

1. The main settlement with the permanently employed Greenlanders and other Greenlanders, who mostly earn their living by means of hired work, although on occasion they also do some hunting. The possibilities of hunting are, however, small, as the situation of the settlement, from the point of view of hunting, is very unfavorable, and as the work to be done for the administration is generally dependent upon fine weather, which should also be utilized for hunting. The Danes of the district (about 8 individuals) live at this settlement, and the total number of Greenlanders is about 130.
2. Dwelling places from which, under normal conditions, it is possible to reach the settlement (the store) in one day. To these belong the Cape Dan dwelling places, the outer dwelling places at Sermilik, and Kenertuarssuit. Hunting conditions are tolerable, but not good at these dwelling places. The total number of the population there amounts to about 340 individuals.
3. Dwelling places from which it is impossible or difficult to reach the main settlement (the store) in one day. To these dwelling places belong Kungmiut, the Sermiligaq dwelling places and those in the interior of the Sermilik Fjord and Isortoq. Hunting conditions are generally good at these dwelling places, the total population of which consists of about 350 individuals.

It is estimated that the population of

- Group 1. (about 130 individuals) cover some 80 per cent of their calorie requirements by means of imported European articles of food, rather more than less.
- Group 2. (about 340 individuals) cover about 25 per cent of their calorie requirements by means of imported commodities, and
- Group 3. (about 350 individuals) have a covering percentage of a little more than 5 per cent. Kungmiut's covering percentage for imported articles of food is, however, somewhat higher and probably approaches the covering percentage of group 2, but as hunting is good at Kungmiut, the food supply is on an average better there than at the dwelling places of group 2, where hunger periods are of not infrequent occurrence.

This division of the calorie covering percentage for imported articles of food consumed in the three groups of habitation is, as already mentioned, entirely based upon an estimate, but it seems fairly correct and gives an average covering percentage of 27.1 per cent, or a figure lying between those of HØYGAARD and BERTELSEN. A partial corroboration of the correctness of the above is further obtained by means of some dietary investigations undertaken by HØYGAARD at Sermiligaq. The investigations comprised a house with 16 inmates, 11 adults and 5 children, who during the 6 days the investigations lasted consumed the following imported articles of food:

Rice	600 gram
Sugar	800 —
Candy	200 —
Oats	2100 —
Barley groats.....	900 —

In the period in question the calorie requirements of the 16 individuals were as in Table 67, which also includes the calorie value of the imported commodities consumed.

Table 67.

	BERTELSEN		HØYGAARD
Calorie requirements of 16 individuals.....	231000	..	193200
Calorie value of the above-mentioned imported commodities .....	..	17435	..
Covering percentage by imported commodities	7.5 per cent	..	8.9 per cent

Sermiligaq is situated in group 3, where the percentage covered by means of imported commodities was estimated at a little above 5 per cent.

HØYGAARD is, however, of the opinion that the imported articles of food are of essentially less dietary importance for the population, than appears from the figures given above. On the strength of his investigations he specifies that the calorie requirements of the Angmagsaliks are covered in the following manner¹⁾:

Fresh meat, mostly seal	54 per cent
Stored food of animal origin, mostly seal	22 —
Fresh fish, mostly cod.....	16 —
Imported vegetable foods.....	5 —
Native vegetable foods	2 —
Birds	1 —
	100 per cent

¹⁾ ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 55.

According to this 93 per cent of the population's calorie requirements should be covered by sealing, fowling and fishing, 2 per cent by the berries and plants gathered, and only 5 per cent by imported articles of food of vegetable origin.

The latter estimation must, however, be too low.

The average covering of calorie requirements by imported foods for the whole of the Angmagssalik district was, as already mentioned, 30.3 per cent in the period, when HØYGAARD stayed there, and as this figure is based upon the settlement's accounts of imported articles of food sold at the store, there cannot be the slightest doubt as to its correctness. The imported commodities consumed by the eight Danes residing there has, it is true, not been separated from the purchases of the natives, but for one thing, the Danes get a rather considerable portion of their commodities by direct purchases from Denmark, that is, outside the store and the accounts of the settlement; for another, the amount of commodities consumed by the few Danes is of no very great importance as compared with that consumed by the 850 Greenlanders.

In HØYGAARD'S material concerning the composition of the food of the population there also seem to be considerable inaccuracies. The material consists of dietary investigations within 35 periods, comprising in all 343 days¹). Of these investigations 17 periods amounting to 225 days¹) fall upon a single Ikateq family, the head of which, Adolf, was an able hunter and besides had his salary as a catechist, so that he was one of better situated men in the district.

The amount of imported articles of food consumed by this family (7 individuals: 3 adults and 4 children) during the period of 225 days is according to HØYGAARD:

Oats	8.44 kg
Rice	9.99 -
Rye flour	20.62 -

This consumption of imported articles of food must, however, be regarded as too low, according to the experiences of persons familiar with local conditions at the dwelling place. Thus it lacks for instance the much used article, sugar, which no family, even the poorest, would do without for any length of time, and not at all for 225 days. According to the information given above of the quantity of sugar consumed per individual (p. 173) it must, at any rate, be maintained that a family, who had used no sugar at all for a period of 225 days, cannot by any means be regarded as typical of the consumption of imported food stuffs at Angmagssalik.

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD, table B; pp. 152 et seq.

For the sake of comparison reference is made to the above-mentioned consumption of imported commodities at Sermiligaq, where 16 persons in 6 days consumed 800 grams of sugar, and to other of HØYGAARD'S dietary investigations (Nos XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV), comprising in all 13 unities of persons (7 adult and 6 children), who in the course of 21 days consumed 31.32 kg of imported provisions, 8.36 kg of which was sugar and 1.00 kg treacle. It is true that these persons lived at the main settlement itself, where the consumption of imported commodities was greatest, but other families from the dwelling places, whose food has been weighed with a view to the investigations in question, and who as regards cash income were considerably less well off than the Adolf family, had also consumed comparatively considerable quantities of sugar.

It may with certainty be taken for granted that the Adolf family consumed several kg of sugar during the 225 days, when their diet was subject to control, and as this is by far the most comprehensive of the dietary investigations undertaken by HØYGAARD, there is reason to suppose that he has put the Adolf family's consumption of imported articles of food at too low a figure, and this will consequently make the consumption of the Angmagssaliks in general appear less than it actually is.

HØYGAARD himself seems to have had a feeling of this, as he calls attention to the fact that he raised the quantity of food used in Adolf's household by 12 per cent for the 225 days in question, seeing that the average daily intake per consumption unit of the Adolf family only amounted to 2500 calories, instead of 2800, which he put as the average daily requirements of an adult male, and he was of the opinion that this must be due to inaccuracies in Adolf's weighing of the provisions consumed¹).

Another fact pointing towards the probable incorrectness of HØYGAARD'S material of dietetic investigations is that the not inconsiderable quantities of imported articles of food, specified on p. 186 as consumed at Sermiligaq, were communicated to HØYGAARD, without however being included in table B. No. XX, which applies to this case.

As the total calorie value of the imported articles of food consumed is incontestable, and as it covered 21.1 per cent of the population's calorie requirements during the year, in which HØYGAARD carried on his investigations at Angmagssalik (1936/37), it seems to be proved that the imported articles of food have covered considerably more of the Angmagssaliks' calorie requirements than the 5 per cent computed by HØYGAARD.

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD; p. 36.

The great change in the East Greenlanders' food supply from self-produced animal foods to a more mixed diet, in which the imported element of vegetable foods is of ever increasing importance, must naturally have brought about changes in the proportional composition of the diet of the population, the contents of protein and fat having been reduced, whereas the contents of carbohydrates have at the same time been increased from an absolutely minimal to a not unessential percentage.

The change in the proportional composition of the diet has, however, another feature than the one mentioned above, viz. that by the reduction of the self-produced animal food supply the East Greenlanders are deprived of a certain part of their natural source of vitamins. In the future it will, therefore, probably be necessary to find some means by which this deficit in vitamins can be counterbalanced, as the imported carbohydrate food stuffs lack the vitamins, which the former animal food supply contained.

THE EAST GREENLANDERS' PURCHASES OF OTHER IMPORTED COMMODITIES

It is not only the consumption of imported articles of food, which has increased greatly since the founding of the settlement; also the purchases of drapery goods have increased very considerably, as appears from the following table (68), which shows the East Greenlanders' annual consumption of drapery goods in kroner for the 5-year periods from the establishment of the settlement.

Table 68. The East Greenlanders' consumption of drapery goods in kroner from 1899—1938.

5-year period	Number of population	East Greenland		Angmagssalik		Scoresby Sound		West Greenland		
		In all	per individual	In all	per individual	In all	per individual	Upernavik	North Greenland	South Greenland
1899/00—1904/05	434	1682	3.88	1682	3.88	..	..	6.13	6.56	5.29
1905/06—1909/10	535	2317	4.33	2317	4.33	..	..	6.45	7.34	5.98
1910/11—1914/15	592	3356	5.67	3356	5.67	..	..	8.32	8.49	7.03
1915/16—1919/20	634	3958	6.24	3958	6.24	..	..	9.32	9.86	8.93
1920/21—1924/25	706	7674	10.87	7674	10.87	..	..	14.89	15.41	14.93
1925/26—1929/30	809	12108	14.97	8097	11.46	4010	38.93	19.34	20.88	22.39
1930/31—1934/35	956	16635	17.40	12341	14.87	4296	34.10	19.42	22.15	20.03
1935/36—1938/39	1041	20862	20.04	14687	17.08	6085	33.43	19.65	19.78	18.64

From the first to the last period the East Greenlanders' consumption of drapery goods per individual has thus risen from an average of kr. 3.88 to kr. 20.04 annually. This latter figure is a little higher than the average consumption of the West Greenlanders (kr. 19.35 per individual), and whereas there has been a suspension, and even a small decrease of the consumption in West Greenland since the 1925-period, the East Greenlanders' purchases of drapery goods have been gradually increasing.

It should be mentioned that the East Greenlanders, in spite of their relatively large consumption of drapery goods, are less well-dressed than

the West Greenlanders. This must probably be explained by the fact that the East Greenlanders do not repair and keep their clothes as well as the West Greenlanders, and there is here a possibility of doing a work in the future, by means of which a good deal of money could be saved.

If the total East Greenland consumption is divided into that of the Angmagssalik and the Scoresby Sound settlements, it appears that the Angmagssaliks' yearly consumption per individual, from the first to the last period, has risen from half the consumption of Upernavik to about the level of the latter, whereas the consumption of the Scoresby Sound population, immediately after its removal northwards, rose to more than three times the consumption of Angmagssalik and twice that of Upernavik.

Whereas the expenditure for drapery goods in Angmagssalik has been gradually increasing from one 5-year period to another, the inhabitants of Scoresby Sound seem to have bought drapery goods out of all proportion, as soon as they arrived in their new hunting area with the hitherto unknown large cash income. The yearly purchases per individual were, as appears from Table 68, at once trebled, decreasing, however, by about 10 per cent from the first to the second 5-year period, and this downward tendency rather seems to continue.

The annual average consumption per individual of material sold by the yard (out of which the Greenlanders themselves manufacture various out-door garments) and the warm Faroe woollen jerseys has been as follows (Table 69) for the entire population of East Greenland:

Table 69. Consumption of material for out-door garments
from 1899—1938.

5-year period	Material by the yard: per individual	Faroe and Jutland woollen jerseys: per individual
1899/00—1904/05.....	4.76 m	0.31 pieces
1905/06—1909/10.....	5.02 -	0.35 —
1910/11—1914/15.....	5.54 -	0.41 —
1915/16—1919/20.....	7.10 -	0.49 —
1920/21—1924/25.....	10.57 -	0.39 —
1925/26—1929/30.....	9.25 -	0.28 —
1930/31—1934/35.....	10.29 -	0.19 —
1935/36—1938/39.....	9.53 -	0.13 —

The consumption of material by the yard has not risen so much per individual, as was to be expected from the increased expenditure on drapery goods in general, and since 1920 the purchase of material by the yard has remained the same, though with rather a downward tendency.

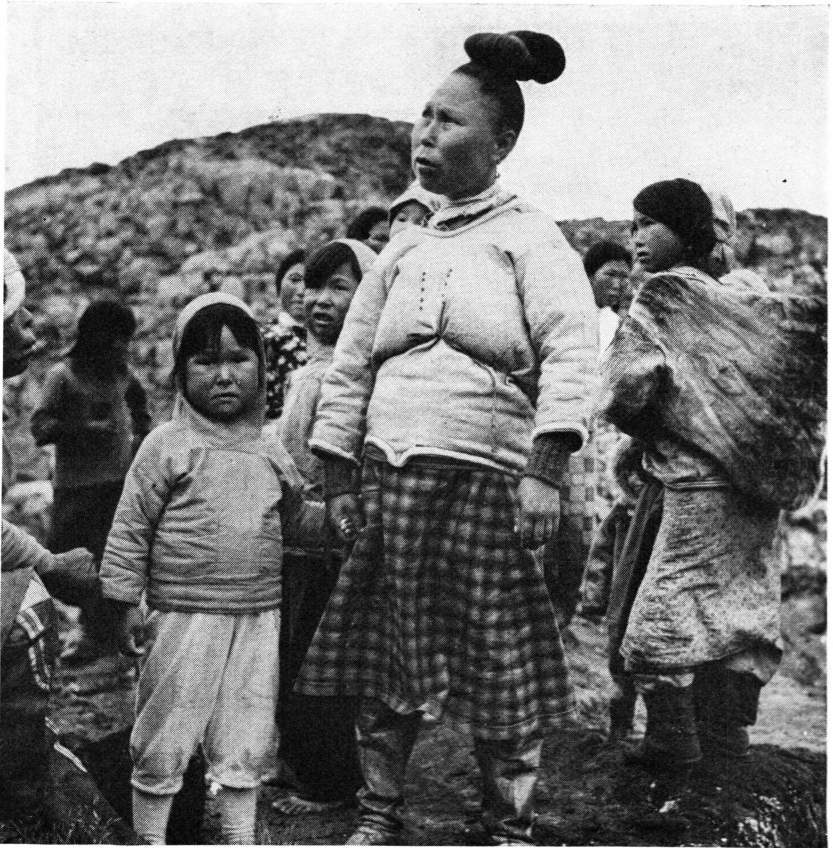


Fig. 23. Angmagssalik women and children in garments partly consisting of European materials. (JETTE BANG phot. 1937).

The prices of materials underwent no changes from 1904 to 1919, but in 1920 they rose perceptibly i. e. by about 20 per cent. The prices rose once more in 1924/25 and the immediately following years, but fell again in 1928/29, and only of quite recent years has there been another rise. These fluctuations in the prices of materials by the yard do not, however, coincide with the increases or decreases in consumption, and the latter can thus hardly be ascribed to the changes in prices.

The Faroe and Jutland jerseys were from the first much sought after as out-door garments (0.31 per individual), and the consumption rose gradually until about 1920 (0.49), after which period it has been steadily declining (to 0.13 per individual), and at present it seems to be of no importance as part of the clothing of the population.

In this case it must decidedly be the rising prices, which have caused the decreased consumption. The prices of the jerseys remained the same (kr. 2.25 for a Faroe jersey) until 1919; then the rise set in, the price

of a jersey being kr. 4.00 in 1924/25; in 1929/30 kr. 4.50, in 1935/36 kr. 5.00 and finally in 1938/39 kr. 7.00.

This development has decidedly not been for the benefit of the population, as the partial abandonment of the warm woollen jerseys (especially after sealskins for clothing had become a rarity) must have weakened the population's power of resistance against the winter cold. The unfortunate effects are, however, somewhat remedied by the greatly increased sale of knitting wool, which in the year 1938/39 rose to kr. 1.07 per individual at Angmagssalik (as compared with kr. 0.76 at Scoresby Sound and kr. 0.88 at Upernavik). The knitting wool is by preference used for the making of sweaters, but unfortunately not all the women of the district are able to knit these, and their menfolk must then get along as best they may throughout the cold winter without any warm woollen clothing.

The East Greenlanders' consumption of all kinds of drapery goods is comparatively considerable, which appeared from the table of expenditure for these commodities. This also applies to the following table (70) which shows the quantity of drapery goods sold per individual in the year 1938/39 at Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound, Upernavik being included for comparison:

Table 70. Drapery goods sold per individual.

	In kroner			In quantity			
	Ang- mags- salik	Scor- resby Sound	Uper- navik		Ang- mags- salik	Scor- resby Sound	Uper- navik
Material for outer garments	10.25	14.51	10.75	metre	9.92	14.33	10.57
Ready-made outer garments	3.66	6.82	2.88	piece	0.66	1.29	0.55
Material for underclothing	2.10	2.47	1.68	metre	2.26	2.37	2.10
Ready-made underclothing	1.16	2.30	0.58	piece	0.67	1.38	0.37
Wool (for knitting)	1.07	0.76	0.88	kg	0.13	0.09	0.10
Stockings, mittens etc.	0.86	3.24	0.65	pair	0.55	2.18	0.49
Sewing thread	0.79	1.17	0.88	reels	3.73	5.81	4.57
Caps	0.31	0.97	0.26	piece	0.17	0.50	0.15
Scarves	0.21	0.56	0.44	piece	0.57	1.34	1.31
Silk- and woollen wear	0.17	0.58	0.31	metre	0.24	0.91	0.39
Tent canvas	0.17	0.30	..	metre	0.14	0.24	..
Towels and material	0.11	0.46	0.12	?	0.10	0.32	0.15
Tape	0.08	0.25	0.06	metre	0.64	1.65	0.64
Divers	0.08	0.98	0.36	..	0.01	0.12	0.03
	21.02	35.37	19.85				

As appears from the above, the East Greenlanders' consumption of drapery goods has become proportionally very great in the course

of the forty years, which have elapsed, since they saw the first European fabrics.

This is in so far a regrettable development, as the population managed extremely well as regards clothing until 1894, and in reality had better and warmer clothes than the relatively expensive and less durable imported articles of dress, which have now become a necessity.

Before the colonization the clothing of the natives was exclusively manufactured of variously prepared sealskins, which material was eminently suited for the climate of the country, and the preparation of such skins was a highly developed proficiency, not to say art. Now, however, the valuable sealskins must be sold at the store in order to get sufficient cash for the purchases of necessities, among others ready-made articles of clothing and the imported materials now generally used for the making of various garments.

There is no doubt that some of these imported articles of clothing—such as underwear and scarves—are better than those which the East Greenlanders themselves could make out of their native products, but as long as they did not know them, they got on very well without, as without so many other articles, which they now regard as indispensable. In other cases there is, however, no doubt that the change, which has taken place, has been a change for the worse. This for instance applies to the extremely serviceable outdoor garment, the anorak. In former times it was made of sealskin or various other seal products (gutskins, unborn seal and the like), and it was warm and weather-proof, wore well and did not require any cash outlay, as every bit of it was produced at home. Now the anorak is generally made of cotton or some other imported textile, and most of the hunters must thus do without their old protection against the cold. Another change, which has been brought about by the introduction of imported articles of clothing and materials, is that fashion has come to play a greater part than was possible, when all garments were made of the same materials, and this further adds to the expensiveness of the present-day East Greenland clothing, as the women especially are desirous of acquiring the new materials, when these arrive with the vessel and are shown at the store.

So upon the whole the apparel of the East Greenlanders has undergone an unfortunate, but inevitable change, which began very soon after the first West Greenlanders' arrival in the Angmagssalik settlement. It was then that the old-fashioned woman's dress began to be replaced by an imitation of the West Greenland costumes, which seemed so desirable to the women of Angmagssalik, when worn by the wives of the clergyman and the catechist. But such costumes were expensive, as particularly fine skins were necessary for the making of them, as well as many beads for the collar and purchased dye-stuffs for the vari-



Fig. 24. Old-fashioned tent with sealskin covering (JETTE BANG phot.).

coloured kamiks and skin-embroideries. The result was much to be regretted, for when so much had been sacrificed on the altar of fashion, the East Greenland women could only afford to wear their fine skin dresses on Sundays and other festive occasions, while for every day use they contented themselves with a dress exclusively made of imported materials, perhaps, for the sake of warmth, with old and worn-out skin trousers as underwear.

Many of the East Greenlanders also wish to replace the warm and extremely serviceable sealskin kamiks with imported footwear, more particularly rubber boots in winter and light rubber shoes in summer. Hitherto it has, however, been possible more or less to prevent the fulfilment of this wish, which is as ill-timed as can be imagined, as rubber boots are partly far too expensive for the income of the East Greenlanders, and partly too cold in winter, seeing that moisture is apt to gather on the inside. This moisture must be dried off, if the boots are to give any warmth at all, but it is difficult to teach the East Green-



Fig. 25. Modern tents at Angmagssalik.

landers how to handle rubber; if the boots need drying, they are frequently placed so near a fire or a lamp as to be overheated in the drying process, and the result is that they are spoiled within a very short time.

Before the time, when nearly all sealskins were sold at the store, the East Greenlanders had large and warm tents of sealskins sewn together. These tents have now almost entirely disappeared, and instead of them the population has tents of stout or cotton cloth; even old floursacks are sometimes used for this purpose. This is also an extremely unlucky development, as the East Greenlanders still spend the summer on hunting expeditions with tents as their only habitation, and even the best of those new-fashioned tents are cold in wind and damp in rain and sleet. The colds, which have been of such frequent occurrence during later years, are beyond doubt, directly or indirectly, very much due to the abandonment of the old-fashioned warm skin tents in favour of the Europeanized but cold linen tents, the use of which coincided with the introduction of European materials instead of the old and warm skin clothing.

The annual consumption of shooting requisites in kroner has been as in Table 71.

The increase in expenses for the purchase of fire arms etc. is not approximately as great as that for grocery and drapery goods, being

Table 71. Consumption of shooting requisites in kroner.

5-year period	Number of population	East Greenland						West Greenland		
		In all	Per individual	Angmagssalik		Scoresby Sound		Upernavik	North Greenland	South Greenland
				In all	Per individual	In all	Per individual			
1899/00—1904/05..	434	893	2.06	893	2.06	..	..	..	..	..
1905/06—1909/10..	535	965	1.80	965	1.80	..	..	..	..	..
1910/11—1914/15..	592	1450	2.45	1450	2.45	..	..	..	..	..
1915/16—1919/20..	634	1419	2.24	1419	2.24	..	..	..	..	..
1920/21—1924/25..	706	2258	3.02	2258	3.02	..	..	4.71	4.07	4.01
1925/26—1929/30..	809	3376	4.17	2569	3.64	807	7.83	6.27	5.34	5.58
1930/31—1934/35..	956	4801	5.02	3890	4.69	911	7.23	5.71	5.11	5.08
1935/36—1938/39..	1041	5857	5.63	4623	5.38	1234	6.78	5.70	4.57	4.17

only a little more than doubled from the first to the last 5-year period. The East Greenlanders' total consumption of shooting requisites during the two last 5-year periods is very nearly equal to that of Upernavik, but considerably above the average consumption of North and South Greenland. This is only natural, as the East Greenlanders exclusively subsist by means of hunting, whereas fishing is of great importance for the West Greenlanders.

The hunters at Scoresby Sound spend much larger amounts on shooting requisites than the hunters at Angmagssalik and Upernavik. During the two first 5-year periods, and more particularly during the first year of the existence of the settlement, the annual consumption of these commodities per individual was even more than twice that of the Angmagssaliks during the same period.

This is probably due to the rather considerable hunting of ringed seals—and more particularly of those which in summer creep on to the ice to bask in the sun—and the fowling, which is also rather considerable as compared with that of Angmagssalik. Both of these pursuits require a large consumption of ammunition, and as it must be presumed that the hunters, who were transferred to Scoresby Sound, did not bring shotguns (for which they had hardly had any use in Angmagssalik) and already the first year could afford to buy these comparatively expensive fire arms, we have here part of the explanation of the great amount spent on shooting requisites during the first 5-year period. When the guns had once been bought, it is natural that the need should have been less during the following periods, which show about 10 per cent decrease in the consumption from the first to the last 5-year period.

The following table (72) shows the annual quantity of shooting requisites used by all hunters or males over 12 years of age:

Table 72. Yearly consumption of shooting requisites by males over 12 years.

5-year period	Angmagssalik		Scoresby Sound	
	Number males	Consumption in kroner	Number males	Consumption in kroner
1915/16—1919/20	170	8.35	..	..
1920/21—1924/25	197	11.41	..	..
1925/26—1929/30	203	12.65	27	37.37
1930/31—1934/35	216	19.79	27	33.34
1935/36—1938/39	209	23.91	36	34.28

From this it appears that the male population of the Scoresby Sound settlement during the first period spent three times as much on shooting requisites as that of Angmagssalik, and in relation to the average income per hunter it is a rather considerable amount, which at both settlements is spent yearly on the purchase of shooting requisites.

As already mentioned, tobacco is in reality the only luxury, which the East Greenlanders are able to buy at the store, for even though part of the consumption of sugar to a certain extent comes under this heading, it is also of dietary importance and cannot be regarded as pure luxury. The natives at Scoresby Sound—but not at Angmagssalik—are entitled to buy another article of luxury, viz. coffee, but though this pleased them very much at first, the novelty soon wore off, and the consumption at present only amounts to about 90 øre per individual annually. The consumption of tea is also small, only about 31 øre per individual, and at Angmagssalik it is even as low as 10 øre per individual.

Other articles of luxury the East Greenlanders are not allowed to buy, and this is just as well, for the amount of tobacco consumed, and its percentage proportion of their total purchases at the store, is so great that they are decidedly unable to afford other luxuries, which must be paid for in cash.

The consumption of tobacco in kroner is shown in Table 73.

The East Greenlanders' expenditure for tobacco has thus been gradually rising from the time when tobacco was introduced until 1934/35. Before 1905/06 the amount spent on tobacco was doubled from one period to another, which is possibly due to two causes, viz.

1. that the entire population gradually acquired a taste for tobacco, and that the consumption consequently was bound to rise, and

2. that a comparatively great rise in the price of tobacco influenced the expenditure for this commodity during the following 5-year period (1905/06—1909/10).

Table 73. The East Greenlanders' yearly consumption of tobacco in kroner.

	Popu- lation	Income		East Greenland			East Greenland				West Greenland		
		In all	Per in- divi- dual	In all	Per in- divi- dual	% of in- come	Angmags- salik		Scoresby Sound		Uper- navik	West Greenland	
							In all	Per individual	In all	Per individual		North	South
1894/95—1898/99 ..	307	2024	6.59	262	0.85	12.9	262	0.85	..	..	..	..	..
1899/00—1904/05 ..	434	4810	11.08	719	1.66	15.0	719	1.66	..	..	..	..	..
1905/06—1909/10 ..	535	6251	11.68	1336	2.50	21.4	1336	2.50	..	..	..	..	..
1910/11—1914/15 ..	592	7806	13.19	1604	2.71	20.5	1604	2.71	..	..	..	..	..
1915/16—1919/20 ..	634	9638	15.20	1534	2.42	15.9	1534	2.42	..	..	..	..	..
1920/21—1924/25 ..	706	14908	21.12	2761	3.91	18.5	2761	3.91	..	..	7.75	6.63	5.65
1925/26—1929/30 ..	809	29813	36.85	4140	5.12	13.9	3144	4.45	1014	9.84	10.67	9.06	7.65
1930/31—1934/35 ..	956	39933	41.77	6120	6.40	15.3	4887	5.89	1233	9.79	12.85	12.30	11.33
1935/36—1938/39 ..	1041	48387	46.48	5077	4.88	10.5	4209	4.89	2138	11.75	11.53	11.27	9.73

The prices of tobacco have been rather fluctuating, and for the most commonly used tobacco (for pipes) it has been as follows (Table 74):

Table 74. Price of pipe tobacco.

1894.....	kr. 1.44	pr. kg	1927.....	kr. 4.00	pr. kg
1904.....	- 1.92	- -	1929.....	- 3.60	- -
1919.....	- 2.40	- -	1930.....	- 3.20	- -
1924.....	- 3.20	- -	1938.....	- 4.00	- -
1926.....	- 3.60	- -			

The rise in prices of tobacco from 1919 does not seem to have influenced the East Greenlanders' consumption, except in so far that they have spent more money on it than formerly, and it appears at the same time that they gradually buy less of the expensive roll tobacco, while the consumption of the cheaper smoking tobacco is steadily increasing.

Only after 1934/35 there is a not inconsiderable fall in the East Greenlanders' consumption of tobacco, or rather in that of the Angmags-saliks, while the consumption of tobacco at Scoresby Sound has risen very much within the same period, being now more than that of Upernavik.

It is possible that the rise in the prices of tobacco has forced the Angmags-saliks to buy somewhat less than before, the demand for all

imported articles having risen so much that decided necessities must come first, whereas less necessary commodities and luxuries, such as tobacco, are thrown somewhat in the background.

This is, it seems, only what might be expected, but it is hardly probable that a deliberate self-rationing should as yet have taken place in East Greenland, where the purchases are determined by the desire for enjoyment and not by sense, and the cause of the decrease in the Angmagssaliks' consumption of tobacco must probably be looked for in other circumstances, of which it is not possible to judge at the present moment.

Instead of the decrease in the Angmagssaliks' annual expenditure for tobacco per individual, there would have been reason to expect a not inconsiderable increase of expenses, as by an ill-advised disposition cigarettes were sent to East Greenland about 1930. Since then cigarettes have become an extremely coveted commodity, particularly by the young people, both males and females, who are now prepared to do without many necessities in order to get money to buy cigarettes. Nevertheless there is an absolute, as well as a relative, decrease in the East Greenlanders' total expenditure for tobacco, which fully appears from the sixth column of Table 73, where the consumption of tobacco has been specified in percentage of the income.

The relatively largest consumption took place in the period from 1905/06 to 1914/15, the average expenditure for tobacco being 21.4 and 20.5 per cent of the average cash income. After that time the consumption of tobacco decreases in relation to the cash income, and it reaches its temporary minimum in the period 1935/36—1938/39 with 10.5 per cent only.

The East Greenlanders' direct expenses for tobacco are great, but even so less than half of the consumption of the West Greenlanders. This is, however, exclusively due to the compulsory moderation of the Angmagssaliks, as the yearly expense for tobacco of the "wealthy" population of Scoresby Sound is a little higher per individual than that of the Upernavik population, and considerably higher than the total average expenditure of the West Greenlanders.

Working tools and ironware were greatly desired by the East Greenlanders during the first years of the colonization, but there are limits to the need of these commodities, and the increase in the purchases is far below that of the greater part of the other imported commodities.

The following table (75) shows the annual amounts, which throughout the years have been spent by the East Greenlanders on the purchase of working tools and ironware.

There have also been rises in the prices of these commodities after 1919, but they have not been particularly great and have hardly influenced the purchases in any degree worth mentioning.

Table 75. The East Greenlanders' purchases of ironware in kroner.

5-year period	Angmagssalik		Scoresby Sound	
	In all	Perindividual	In all	Perindividual
1899/00—1904/05	326	0.75	..	..
1905/06—1909/10	378	0.71	..	..
1910/11—1914/15	695	1.17	..	..
1915/16—1919/20	663	1.04	..	..
1920/21—1924/25	1284	1.80	..	..
1925/26—1929/30	1289	1.82	979	9.50
1930/31—1934/35	2195	2.63	1237	9.82
1935/36—1938/39	2561	2.98	1696	9.32

The steady and gradual increase of the amounts spent on ironware from one 5-year period to another shows the normal development of purchases of usable commodities, where there is no particular occasion for waste.

The consumption has risen rather considerably during the two last 5-year periods, and this is probably due to the fact that more wood is now used in the houses than in former times, so as to require more working tools and more iron materials, for instance nails.

The great difference between the consumption of ironware at Angmagssalik and at Scoresby Sound is probably due to the fact that the population of the latter settlement exclusively lives in wooden houses, and therefore are in much greater need of tools, as well as materials for repairs, than the Angmagssaliks, who chiefly live in houses of turf and stone, at most with an inside wood panelling.

THE AMOUNTS PAID BY THE EAST GREENLANDERS FOR EUROPEAN COMMODITIES

The fixing of prices for the European commodities sold at the store takes place in the same manner for East as for West Greenland, and at any given moment the prices are the same all over the country. Even though there are therefore in this respect no special features characterizing East Greenland, it should, however, be mentioned in this place in order to give a picture of the change, which the price level has undergone throughout the period.

The prices are fixed by the Administration of Greenland for a year at a time—formerly for a number of years—and are not changed within this period. The starting point of the fixing of prices is the cost prices paid by the Administration of Greenland in the preceding year. These cost prices are supplemented by an additional amount, which varies according as the Administration of Greenland is more or less interested in a smaller or greater consumption of the classes of commodities in question. For shooting requisites, which are regarded as particularly necessary for the Greenlanders, the supplements calculated are very small (0—5 per cent) and by no means cover the expenses of the Administration, whereas in the case of luxuries, such as tobacco, a supplement of 66 per cent is calculated. But even this is not sufficient to cover all the expenses incurred by the Administration for the purchases made in Copenhagen, the transport across the Atlantic and the distribution in Greenland. Consequently, there will always be a deficit in the economy of Greenland, in so far as the sale of European commodities in that country are concerned.

There has, however, been one very great deviation from this general principle, in that the prices remained unchanged for the duration of the Great War 1914—18, as the Danish Government had resolved to keep the Greenlanders outside the increases in prices resulting from it.

In order to give an idea of the changes caused by the fluctuation of prices in Greenland since the beginning of the 20th century, a price index has been computed (Table 76), based upon the total consumption of

European commodities commonly used in the whole of Greenland and the prices paid for them there. The prices for 1919/20 have been put at 100, according to which the following indexes are obtained for the individual periods:

Table 76. Price indexes for European commodities.

1899—1904.....	78	1930—1931.....	100
1904—1919.....	82	1931—1932.....	92
1919—1924.....	100	1932—1933.....	81
1924—1925.....	120	1933—1934.....	83
1925—1926.....	122	1934—1935.....	85
1926—1927.....	127	1935—1936.....	87
1927—1928.....	112	1936—1937.....	89
1928—1929.....	104	1937—1938.....	91
1929—1930.....	102	1938—1939.....	104

The prices have thus been comparatively unchanged until 1919. After that period the prices rose, reaching their maximum in 1926/27 with a price index of 127. From this year the price index has been falling until 1932/33, and then it rose again, particularly in 1938/39. When according to what has been stated above, the development of prices in Greenland did not closely follow the general movement in Denmark, this is due to the fact that the various classes of commodities play a different part in the Greenland and the Danish price indexes; thus rye flour and sugar are relatively of much greater importance in the Greenland than in the Danish consumption, and therefore make themselves much more felt in the price index.

If the indexes here given for the commodities sold at the store are compared with the prices, which the Greenlanders receive for the skins of seals, foxes and bears (see p. 161), it appears that price conditions during the period investigated have changed very materially in favour of the Greenlanders. That is, the Greenlanders now obtain much greater quantities in the way of groceries and articles of clothing etc. in exchange for the skin of a bear, a fox or a seal, than they did a generation ago, and—as will be mentioned later (p. 210)—the resulting loss has led to a deficit for the Administration of Greenland, that is, for Denmark generally.

It will be of interest to elucidate what the consumption of the East Greenlanders amounts to in kroner within the period investigated, when reckoning with a uniform level of prices. This means in the present case that the amounts used in the various years are compared with the prices of 1919/20 by recalculation according to the price index, and in this manner the following summary (Table 77) of the total yearly consumption for Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound is obtained.

Table 77. Amounts in kroner used in East Greenland for European commodities.

	Total yearly consumption at actual prices	Price index	Total yearly consumption at 1919/20 prices
1899/00—1904/05.....	6028	78	7728
1905/06—1909/10.....	8644	82	10541
1910/11—1914/15.....	11631	82	14184
1915/16—1919/20.....	14397	86	16741
1920/21—1924/25.....	29413	104	28282
1925/26—1929/30.....	45066	113	39881
1930/31—1934/35.....	66286	88	75325
1935/36—1938/39.....	89614	93	96359

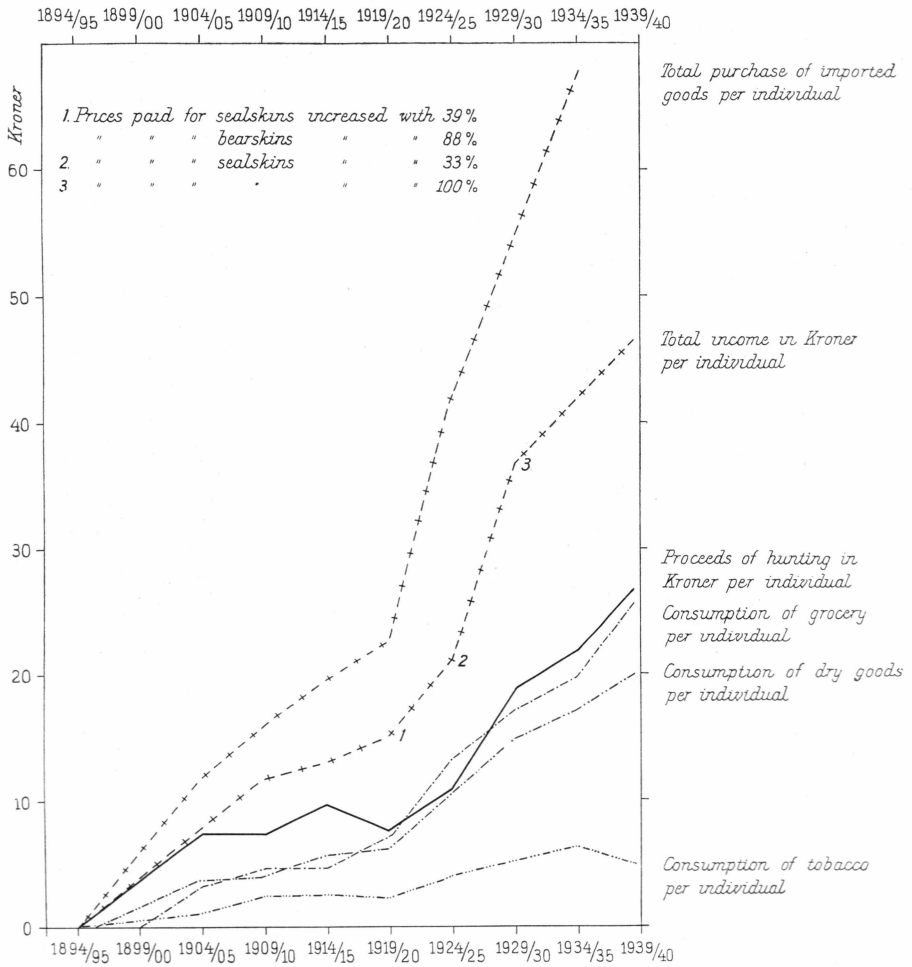


Fig. 26. Income and purchases of the Angmagssalik.

ministration, such as church and school, care of health and the wireless station. These institutions have, however, in their turn mostly spent the amounts received on payment for native assistance and for purchases at the store. Of the more direct expenses of the Administration may be mentioned salaries for native employees and payment for work by hire, as well as the amounts paid to the Greenlanders for native products. The amounts used for salaries by the different institutions are again collected in one group, and this also applies to the total income of the Greenlanders. Practically all the amounts which have been paid as salaries to the natives, or which in some other way have been bestowed on the Greenlanders, have again been spent at the store, from which they have once more entered into the total cash balances, and so the circulation of money in the year of 1934/35 has been completed.

THE ECONOMICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE EAST GREENLAND SETTLEMENTS FOR DENMARK

In the chapter on the foundation of the Angmagssalik settlement, it was said that it was already then taken for granted that the colonization could not be supposed to pay its way, and there is consequently every reason to investigate, whether this a priori estimate has proved to be correct. It is, however, a difficult task, as there are no specified accounts for the settlements on the east coast of Greenland, which have been regarded as part of the general economy of the Administration of Greenland. But although it is not possible at the present time to distinguish sharply between the economy of the settlements on the western and the eastern coasts, some rough information can be given in illustration of the economical importance of East Greenland for Denmark.

When apportioning the common expenses incurred by the joint administration of East and West Greenland, it will not be correct to undertake a proportional division of the latter, as for instance the demands made on the vessels employed in the navigation of East Greenland through the pack ice are essentially greater than in that of West Greenland, and the navigation of East Greenland must therefore be relatively more expensive. The vessels required for the navigation of East Greenland must be smallish wooden vessels, especially adapted for this purpose, and though, it is true, such vessels can also be used for the navigation of West Greenland, they are economically less suited for it than larger vessels. It should also be borne in mind that the insurance of these vessels has been set at a relatively high, uniform percentage, covering the season's navigation both of East and West Greenland, and the yearly premium would undoubtedly not be so great, but for the dangerous navigation of East Greenland. This navigation has for a number of years been carried out by the S/S "Gertrud Rask", which during later years has made two or even three journeys to the west coast and only one or, very rarely, two to the east coast.

In order to get some idea of the costs of a normal yearly navigation of East Greenland we have calculated the total expenses of the "Gertrud Rask" in one year (1937/38) at kr. 153.728, and have roughly estimated that East Greenland's share in these shipping expenses amounts to kr. 35—45.000.

The greater part of Denmark's expenses in the colonization of East Greenland fall on the commodities, which every year are sent to Angmagssalik and Scoresby Sound. Information is, however, not at hand as to the value of the commodities sent, but only as to the amount of the yearly consumption, which includes both that of the Greenlanders and the Danes living there, as well as what is spent by the administration of the settlements.

The total figures for the financial year 1937/38 are the following:

At Angmagssalik, total purchases	kr. 71.248
At Scoresby Sound, ,,	- 32.047
<hr/>	
Value of imported commodities according to prices fixed for Greenland.....	kr. 103.295

For the commodities sold to the Greenlanders and the local Danes there have, as already mentioned, been calculated various supplements to the purchase prices, whereas the commodities used in the administration of the settlements have as a rule been specified at cost price. It must, therefore, be reckoned that the expenses of Denmark for commodities sent out to East Greenland may in the year in question be estimated at kr. 70—80.000.

Part of the salaries to the Danish officials at the East Greenland settlements are not spent in East Greenland, but on purchases in Copenhagen, where they are paid for with drafts in some form or other. These amounts are estimated at kr. 5—7000.

The East Greenland settlements have also their share in the overhead expenses at Copenhagen, f. i. for the purchase and sale of commodities, for the statement of accounts etc. The total expenditure of the Greenland board in Copenhagen for the financial year 1937/38 was kr. 450.341, whereas the expenses of the administration amounted to kr. 163.739. How great a part of this falls to the share of East Greenland must depend upon an estimate, but it is presumably rather too low than too high, when the yearly amount is put at kr. 15—25.000.

Finally an amount must be allowed for the payment of interest on and depreciation of the buildings of the settlement, as well as on money invested in the stock of commodities. This amount may perhaps very cautiously be estimated at kr. 5—7000.

The total expenditure of Denmark on the East Greenland settlements within the financial year 1937/38 is according to the above-mentioned figures estimated as follows:

Cost of shipping	kr. 35—	45.000
Commodities sent out	- 70—	80.000
Drafts	- 5—	7.000
Share in overhead expenses at Copenhagen.....	- 15—	25.000
Payment of interest and depreciation	- 5—	7.000
		Total... kr. 130—164.000

The expenses are balanced by the income derived from the sale of the products sent home, which are determined by the quantities and prices of the latter. As these quantities do not vary greatly from one year to another, the quantity of skins and blubber sent home in 1937 was made the basis of the calculation of the income. The quantity of products sent home was as follows (Table 78):

Table 78. Export of hunting products in 1037.

	Angmagssalik	Scoresby Sound	In all
Sealskins	5705	947	6652
Foxskins, blue	8	56	64
— white.....	19	264	283
Bearskins	58	47	105
Blubber in barrels.....	..	122	122

Although information is at hand as to the prices paid for skins sent home from Greenland in general, there is no specified account of the prices of East Greenland skins. These prices vary very much, and when attempting to form an idea of the economy of the colonization, it is consequently necessary to compare the prices paid in a period comprising a number of years. In the following table (79) are given the prices obtained for the various skins for the 10-year period 1929/30—1938/39, which approximately corresponds with a period of conjuncture.

With this information at hand it is naturally very difficult to form an accurate idea of the possibilities of income, when the commodities sold fluctuate so much as in the present case, but it will hardly be incorrect to reckon with prices amounting to kr. 4—10 for sealskins, kr. 125—200 for blue foxskins, kr. 60—85 for white foxskins and finally kr. 100—200 for bearskins. No price is available for salted blubber, a raw material used in a specially built oil factory belonging to the Green-

Table 79. Prices obtained for various skins.

	Sealskins a piece	Foxskins		Bearskins a piece
		blue	white	
1929/30.....	10.75	217	91	105
1930/31.....	7.11	93	55	104
1931/32.....	2.56	95	77	84
1932/33.....	3.64	124	85	92
1933/34.....	3.89	168	90	88
1934/35.....	10.41	86	51	168
1935/36.....	6.74	112	63	248
1936/37.....	5.99	169	89	186
1937/38.....	10.96	220	67	231
1938/39.....	8.05	118	37	118

land board, but the price of blubber may, based upon the price of oil, be estimated at kr. 35 per barrel, after having deducted its share in the expenses of the manufacturing process. Finally, various other commodities which have been sent home are estimated at kr. 500 annually.

In order to arrive at the total income, the figures of the quantities given above and the prices mentioned are worked up into the following table (80):

Table 80. Approximate total income.

	Number	Price	Market value
Sealskins.....	6652	4— 10	27000—66000
Blue foxskins.....	64	125—200	8000—12800
White foxskins.....	283	60— 85	17000—24000
Bearskins.....	105	100—220	10500—23000
Blubber.....	122	35	4300
Diverse.....	..	..	500
Total...			67000—131000

With this table as a basis—compared with the summary given above of the yearly expenses incurred by the colonization—there is a small possibility that the East Greenland settlements may in some years yield a trifling surplus, but on the other hand there is also a possibility of a deficit of about kr. 100.000.

When trying to estimate the importance of East Greenland for the general economy of Denmark one ought to reckon with an average yearly deficit of kr. 25—40.000. This deficit will, in our opinion, probably be increased in the future, unless special dispositions are made, seeing that sealing, as already mentioned, threatens to decay, while foxskins

probably will be cheaper in consequence of the rational breeding of foxes in Europe. On the other hand, according to what has been stated above, the sending out of European commodities to East Greenland must be presumed to become larger and, consequently, more expensive in the future than it has been in the past.

It must further be borne in mind that the entire risk, involved by varying conjunctures, according to the existing monopoly falls upon Denmark, whereas the population of Greenland in its turn must bear the very considerable risk of fluctuations in the quantity of game.

Finally, there are very few Danes, who earn (or in the future will be able to earn) their living in the administration of the east coast settlements, as well as in the trade and navigation on Greenland, as it has been the guiding principle of the Danish colonial policy, as far as possible, to keep the few possibilities of occupation in East Greenland in the hands of the East Greenlanders themselves.

HABITATIONS OF THE EAST GREENLANDERS AND THEIR MEANS OF TRANSPORT BY SEA IN RECENT TIMES

The new era, which began with the colonization, and the radical changes brought about in the food supply and clothing of the East Greenlanders by the imported commodities and articles of consumption has also, though in a lesser degree, influenced their dwellings.

The winter houses were in former times built of sods and stone, covered with old skins of umiaks, over which was laid a layer of turf and earth, kneaded with old seal oil and blubber to make it fairly water-proof. The house was heated by blubber lamps, and the entrance was through a long passage way, which functioned as an airlock, while the light penetrated into the house through a couple of gutskin windows.

The result was a warm, water-proof and very serviceable dwelling, built of the materials at hand and highly suited for the natural conditions of the country, and it is much to be regretted that the housing conditions of the East Greenlanders became considerably poorer in the course of years. This is partly due to the increasing indifference shown in the construction of the houses, partly to the fact that some of the good local materials of the past have been replaced by imported wooden materials, which, it is true, are very serviceable for other purposes than those, for which they are now used by the East Greenlanders, but which are not suited for house building under present conditions.

The house passage, which meant so much for the warmth of the house and thus for the comfort of the inmates, has disappeared almost everywhere, and is at best replaced by a small and leaky porch, patched up of boards from old boxes and the like. Instead of the airlock, which was a proof of great ingenuity, and which experience had taught the Eskimos of the past to pay due attention to, as well as the inside seal-skin hanging, so preeminently suited to prevent draughts and to keep the house warm, there is now generally a single door made of boards of extremely poor workmanship and—as a rule—fitting badly into the frame. Even though the door is closed as well as possible, it does not



Fig. 28. Two types of modern houses at Angmagssalik; to the left a house built of sods, to the right one constructed of framework and boards.

keep out the cold, and when it is opened, if only for a moment, the heat rushes out, and the indoor temperature falls to a minimum, while the snow drifts into the room, whether the badly fitting door is closed or not.

The gutskin window has been replaced by glass panes, which are as a rule broken and have always been rather casually inserted into a home-made frame, so that although the interior of the house, it is true, is lighted up by the window, it decidedly does not keep the cold out. Besides, the old gutskin casement did not cost anything, being a by-product of sealing, whereas glass panes are comparatively expensive. In Angmagssalik the owners of the houses have paid for glass

1929/30	kr. 19.25
1938/39	- 109.35

The inner sides of the walls were in former times covered with seal-skins, which kept the houses warm and looked pleasant and tidy. Now people can no longer afford to use sealskins for this purpose, and instead of that single boards have in most cases (about 50 of 70 houses) been placed along the walls. These boards as a rule only serve to prevent a too direct contact between the people lying farthest out on the sleeping platform and the icy wall. The insides of some few houses are entirely covered with boards, a kind of panel, which is generally put up in rather



Fig. 29. Building of a modern house.

a careless manner, and it does not make the hut warmer, although the effect may be quite pleasant.

Most of the houses are now provided with wooden floors, which are laid as well as possible with the materials at hand, but this does not say very much. The wooden floor is naturally much warmer to the touch than the stone floor of the past, but the latter was surely more sanitary, as it was generally possible for it to dry, whereas all the solid and fluid constituents, which in the course of time find their way through the cracks and holes in the wooden floor, are rarely or never removed, and so gather as a kind of cess-pool below the boards.

Also the serviceable, warm and water-proof roof coverings of the past are no longer in existence, or at least only in very few houses. Instead of the old umiak covering (fig. 3), the East Greenlanders now use tar paper, which is loosely extended over the roof and covers a much thinner layer of sods than in former times, all of it being kept in place by stones and turf. This roof covering is not good, as it is cold and pervious to rain through the many openings between the pieces of tar paper, or the warmth from the house melts the snow on the roof, so that the melting water drips on to the inmates of the house, who try to ward off the flow of water by suspended tins, which are rarely emptied before they run over.

Some houses, especially those with inside panellings, now also have flat roofs made of boards, which is as bad as can be imagined, seeing



Fig. 30. Good Wooden house in Angmagssalik, belonging to a midwife.

that such roofs are as a rule not sufficiently strong to carry a covering of warming sods, and to this must be added the great practical difficulty in fixing the roof on the walls without causing too large leakages. The inside moisture always condenses on the underside of the thin roof boards, on which ice crystals glitter, when the stove is extinguished, or from which water drops fall on the inmates, when it is burning.

The houses, which are partly built of wood (about 30), are in many cases provided with a stove instead of the old blubber lamp, as the latter could not give sufficient heat to the draughty house. However, the stove requires fuel, by preference coal, which can be bought at the store, but only very few of the inhabitants of a settlement can afford to buy or are able to transport it, as most of them lack umiaks. Instead they gather driftwood as fuel, with the result that the great quantities which in the past had been washed up along the shores of the Angmagssalik district, have now become so reduced that it is difficult, not to say impossible, to find sufficiently large pieces of wood f. i. for the frame of an umiak. Thus it will not be long, before it is utterly impossible within the boundaries of the Angmagssalik district to procure other driftwood for fuel, houses etc. than what is by chance found floating in the sea, and that is not much.

If coal or driftwood cannot be obtained for the stove, blubber is used, which burns well and gives good heat, but is an extremely uneconomical fuel, the cost being kr. 0.16 per kg.

During his stay at Angmagssalik in 1936/37 HØYGAARD collected a good deal of material as regards winter houses, their size, heating etc.¹⁾ from which it appears that only one of the 73 Greenland houses of the district had a house passage; 13 had a more or less badly made kind of porch, constructed of boards or turf with an outside and an inside door, whereas the remaining 59 houses only had a single and far from well-fitting door.

HØYGAARD examined and measured 35 of the houses of the district and stated that they were on an average inhabited by 10.3 people and had a cubic content of 25.4 m³ or 2.3 m³ per inmate. The largest of the houses had a cubic content of 3.8 m³ per inmate, the smallest only 1.2 m³. By measuring 5 houses W. THALBITZER had in 1906 arrived at the result that they had an average cubic content of 58 m³ per house, or 3.9 m³ per inmate.

HØYGAARD states that an average of 1.2 kg blubber per day was necessary during the winter months for the heating of a house with a single door and inhabited by 9 individuals. This quantity of blubber corresponds with a production of heat of 11.0 kilogram calories, and according to HØYGAARD's calculation the total production of heat of the blubber lamp and the 9 inmates amounted to $11.0 + 4.7 = 15.7$ kilogram calories. A little more than a third of the necessary heat was thus produced by the bodies of the inmates.²⁾

As long as the old-fashioned houses were used, it was the rule to take off the roof, when the house was deserted in early summer. Thus wind, sun and rain could penetrate into it and remove dirt and germs of diseases before the next winter occupancy. This made the old-fashioned houses more sanitary than the modernized houses with a fixed roof, as these i. a. never can be properly aired.

The winter houses at Angmagssalik have thus become essentially smaller and poorer than they were before the time of the colonization, and deliberate enlightenment, and possibly even some more direct influence, as f. i. the refusal of building loans, unless the house fulfils certain minimum requirements, may be necessary in order to remedy this unfortunate state of affairs.

At Scoresby Sound the inhabitants have gone the whole length and entirely given up the stone and sod houses of former times, for in this northern settlement everybody lives in wooden houses, built in the European manner with framework and double boards, roof and ceiling. If these houses are built as carefully as those supplied to the first settlers by the Scoresby Sound Committee, they are serviceable winter dwellings,

¹⁾ ARNE HØYGAARD: De hygiejniske Forhold i Angmagssalik: Det grønlandske Selskabs Aarbog. 1938; pp. 79 et seq.

²⁾ ARNE HØYGAARD: p. 88.

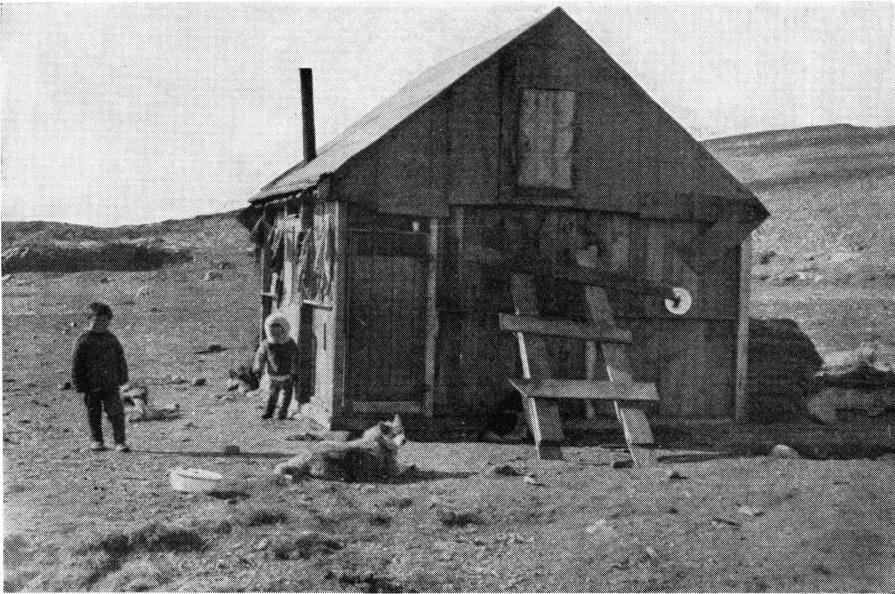


Fig. 31. House at Scoresby Sound without outer board covering and wall of sods.

particularly as there are sufficient and easily worked occurrences of coal for the necessary heating in the immediate vicinity. A number of the houses built at a later period are, however, not properly put together and are consequently very cold, and nearly all of them lack the indispensable outer wall of sods which, for that matter, was a condition for obtaining the houses built by the Scoresby Sound Committee.

At Scoresby Sound the good custom, prevailing in former times, viz. that the inhabitants moved into tents as soon as the weather permitted, has been entirely abandoned, and the population remains in the houses throughout the summer, while the Angmagssaliks, as mentioned on p. 196, no longer use the warm skin tents of a former age, but now make their tents of cotton material, so that they are damp and cold and absolutely not suited for the windy and moist summer climate of Angmagssalik.

It is a regrettable fact that the housing conditions of the East Greenlanders have thus, both in summer and winter, deteriorated considerably from the days before the colonization.

The means of transport by sea have always been of vital importance for the East Greenlanders, as the country is so mountainous and the waterways so dangerous because of the strong currents that sledging in winter is difficult, often dangerous or even impossible, and the only way to cover long distances with greater quantities of provisions etc. is, therefore, in summer by umiak, perhaps by kayak.

The umiak was thus entirely indispensable for the East Greenlanders of the past, who as a rule every year went to look for new hunting grounds, for only by means of an umiak was it possible for a hunter to transport his family and the necessary equipment from one hunting and wintering place to another.

In proportion to the number of the population the umiaks have decreased greatly, which appears from the fact that

in 1896 there were 21 umiaks with an average of 18 individuals per umiak									
- 1905	—	—	38	—	—	-	—	-	14
- 1915	—	—	27	—	—	-	—	-	23
- 1925	—	—	33	—	—	-	—	-	21
- 1935	—	—	31	—	—	-	—	-	27

In so far as it is possible to form an idea of the development in the future, the number of umiaks must keep on decreasing, if the decline in the hunting of large seal continues, as it will in time be impossible in the Angmagssalik district itself to get sufficient sealskins suitable for the covering of them. As mentioned, it also becomes more and more difficult to find suitable driftwood for the making of umiak frames, which are spoiled either by improvidence or shipwreck, or which f. i. have been burnt, on cold winter days, to heat the modern houses with stoves!

It is already now so difficult to get coverings for umiaks that for this reason alone it has been necessary to store a number of frames, which are still in a good condition, but in the course of a few years wind and sun will spoil these frames and make them unfit for use.

Viewed in proportion to the entire population of Angmagssalik, the number of umiaks, as already stated, has fallen off considerably, but if conditions are investigated for a single locality as e. g. Cape Dan, the situation is essentially worse, which appears from the information given below (Table 81) of the number of umiaks etc. in this locality.

Table 81. Number of umiaks at Cape Dan in proportion to the population.

Year	Number		Individuals per umiak
	population	umiaks	
1896	61	4	15
1905	76	5	15
1915	108	4	27
1925	173	8	22
1935	198	5	40
1937	206	4	51

This increase in individuals per umiak is all the more regrettable, as 2 of the 4 umiaks found at Cape Dan in 1937 were in such poor condition that they could not be used without new coverings, which, as already mentioned, it is practically impossible to procure.

For the population of the Cape Dan islands this is in reality very nearly a catastrophe, as by far the greater part of the population of the islands are unable, unaided and by means of their own conveyances, to cross the water so as to get away from their winter dwellings to the good summer hunting grounds, which are their only possibility of procuring sufficient meat and blubber for winter supplies. Owing to the lack of umiaks it is also impossible, in early summer, to take women and children to the angmagssat grounds in order to collect the angmagssat, which make such an important part of their food supply or, later in the summer, to the localities on the larger islands, where there is an abundance of edible plants and berries. Finally—and this is not the least important—it is, as formerly mentioned, utterly impossible for people, who have not the right of disposal of an umiak, to travel to good and familiar hunting grounds outside the district, where it might be possible to find better means of subsistence and i. a. also new coverings for umiaks and kayaks. The decrease in the number of umiaks thus directly and indirectly prevents the population from getting the best possible livelihood under given conditions.

For an Angmagssalik family the proprietorship of an umiak means complete independence of others and of natural conditions, as well as comparative prosperity, whereas the families, who cannot obtain the right to dispose of an umiak, must sink into more and more oppressive poverty and dependence upon umiak-owners. Thus their horizon is gradually narrowed to comprise only the small island, where they have been deposited by Fate, and which they cannot leave with their families without an umiak or without other assistance from the owner of such craft.

At Scoresby Sound the umiaks have disappeared, as there are no large seals for the making of coverings. This, however, is not of the same importance here as at Angmagssalik, because the summer season with open water is short and the winter ice on the fjord so thick and solid that for 9—10 months of the year it is possible to sledge wherever one wants to, and so to visit the most remote regions of the fjord area.

The number of kayaks, now as before, corresponds fairly well with the number of hunters, but on an average the kayaks are less durable than in former times, as it is gradually becoming more difficult to provide the necessary suitable skins, even for the covering of these small skiffs. Whereas the kayak of the past was re-covered every year, the same covering must now do duty for two or three years, if not longer.

During later years there has been an absolute lack of kayaks for the young men of the Angmagssalik district, about 30 of these having no kayaks in 1937, and yet everywhere at the settlement or dwelling places several kayak frames are seen lying about without coverings, which are simply not to be obtained.

In former times it was the pride and duty of a father to give his son a kayak, when the boy was about ten years of age, so that through play he might become familiar with the handling of a kayak. This is, however, now only possible in very few cases, and the consequence is that the growing male generation cannot attain the same proficiency in handling a kayak, as their fathers had, and so they are unable, at a sufficiently early period, to identify themselves with the only important occupation at Angmagssalik, viz. sealing. And this again means that the hunters of the future will hardly be as proficient as those of the past.

During recent years attempts have been made to replace sealskin coverings with canvas, and this will probably help a number of young men to get a fairly serviceable kayak. But the experience in handling kayaks, which they should have acquired in their boyhood, they have not got, and the comparatively expensive canvas covering means a further drain on the already strained financial resources of the Angmagssalik hunters.

At Scoresby Sound it is as yet somewhat easier to get kayak coverings, as the fjord seals caught there are generally older than at Angmagssalik, the skins thus being fairly serviceable. And the young men at Scoresby Sound may also be lucky enough to catch a fox, and thus themselves earn sufficient cash for the purchase of the materials necessary for making a kayak and acquiring the covering for it, be it the skin of a ringed seal or canvas. But upon the whole the kayak at Scoresby Sound is by no means of the same importance as at Angmagssalik, seeing that hunting conditions are different and the period of kayaking so short.

HEALTH CONDITIONS OF THE EAST GREENLANDERS AFTER THE COLONIZATION

It is difficult to form a substantiated opinion on the state of health in East Greenland before the colonization, but both A. W. GRAAH and GUSTAV HOLM, as well as others familiar with the old East Greenland community, had the impression that it consisted of strong and healthy individuals. This impression is, however, now thought to be largely due to a natural selection of the fittest, seeing that conditions of life were so difficult that many infants died, because they were not sufficiently capable of resistance, and further it not rarely happened that parents, or inmates of the same house, killed newly born babes, which did not seem to be fully normal or viable. The consequence was that only the healthiest and strongest individuals were allowed to live and attain maturity, and by this process of selection the East Greenland tribe came to present the appearance of being healthier and stronger than it really was¹).

In spite of this, illness was not a rare guest among the East Greenlanders, who were very much frightened by all that might be termed internal diseases, whereas they were extremely hardy in the face of visible and outward diseases or bodily injuries.

During one of the first years after the colonization (1898/99) a physician wintered at Angmagssalik; in 1903, 1904 and 1905, and then again in 1927, 1931, 1938 and 1939 physicians came up with the vessel bringing the yearly supplies, and during the few days spent at the settlement they examined the population and gave medical assistance to those, who were found to be ill. In 1934/35 and again in 1936/37 physicians wintered at Angmagssalik, more particularly in order to study the conditions of health and nutrition of the East Greenlanders.

In 1932 a nurse was appointed at Angmagssalik, with the object of supervising the state of health of the whole district, and at the same

¹) KNUD PAULSEN, Contribution to the Anthropology and Nosology of the East Greenlanders, M. o. Gr. 28; p. 147.

time a small infirmary with up to ten beds was established. Hospital, supervision and treatment of patients at the dwelling places, medicine, dressings etc. are naturally free of cost, as well as all other assistance supplied to the Greenlanders by the Administration of Greenland. Also native midwives have gradually been appointed at most of the greater dwelling places (5 in the Angmagssalik district and 1 at Scoresby Sound), and since 1939 an East Greenland woman, who has had her training in Copenhagen, has been employed as a kind of social service nurse, her chief object being, however, to instruct the mothers in the best possible way of nursing infants.

Until the appointment of the nurse in 1932 it was the duty of the the East Greenland managers to advise the natives in case of illness or severe bodily injury, and from these laymen, who often were of great assistance to the sick natives, date the following facts as to the causes of death from 1911 to 1937:

Pneumonia and pulmonary diseases as well as epidemics.....	196
Accidents.....	82
Children's diseases.....	63
Still-born.....	32
Childbirth.....	26
Brain diseases, two of which of tubercular origin, from 1936 ...	8
Tuberculosis (first specified as cause of death in 1937).....	7
Outward diseases.....	6
Old age.....	6
Cramps, diarrhoe, inflammation of the throat and heart diseases..	6
Inflammation of the kidneys.....	4
Cancer.....	3
Cause unknown.....	22
	475
Deaths in all...	475

in 27 years. This gives a yearly average of 17.6 deaths over against 34.9 births a year within the same period.

It appears from the list of the causes of death that the infant mortality (including still-born) makes 20 per cent of all deaths, and that 17 per cent of the deaths are due to accidents. Most of these accidents fall upon the hunters, so that in spite of the better hunting implements of the present time, the danger involved in hunting is still very considerable.

But by far the greater part of deaths are due to pneumonia and pulmonary diseases and epidemics, seeing that 196 individuals in all (40.7 per cent of all deaths) have died from these causes in the course of the 27 years in question. The causes of this great mortality resulting

from colds must simply be looked for in the fact that the East Greenlanders, before the colonization, lived so isolated from the outer world that no contagious germs could reach their dwelling places. But after the year of the colonization and the resulting intercourse with other countries and people, i. a. by the annual arrival of the vessel with supplies, this state of affairs was entirely changed, and the natives, so susceptible to infection, were exposed to great and deadly perils from diseases, which are as a rule not regarded as particularly dangerous for men and women in other parts of the world.

Thus, every year after the call of the vessel, the population is ravaged by violent "cold" epidemics, which generally last for a month or six weeks. These colds are very apt to pass into pneumonia, and nearly every year several East Greenlanders die of this disease. With intervals of a few years these cold epidemics seem to become more violent in character than usual, being rather of the nature of a severe influenza with complications of the lungs and very deadly. Thus in the winter 1935/36 the Angmagssalik district was ravaged by the hitherto severest influenza epidemic, which carried away about 9 per cent of the adult population. A peculiarity of this epidemic was that it broke out in the month of December and not in the period immediately succeeding the call of the vessel, which took place in August, although there had ever since then been a rather severe cold epidemic throughout the district.

The authorities have tried to minimize the danger of infection, which threatens the East Greenland community from the vessel bringing the yearly supplies, by demanding that everyone, who may be expected to visit the inhabited parts of East Greenland, should be subjected to medical examination immediately before leaving the last European port. This and the compulsory quarantine, to which these travellers are subjected by the 10—12 days' journey to Greenland, have hitherto been sufficient to prevent many infectious diseases from reaching the population of East Greenland, where e. g. the most ordinary children's diseases are unknown. Also venereal diseases are thus far unknown in East Greenland.

It cannot now be decided whether the 196 deaths, which the managers have recorded collectively as being due to pneumonia and pulmonary and lung diseases, also include deaths from tuberculosis, as the first of these cases (7 in one year) was communicated by the nurse of the settlement in 1937. Opinions are, however, greatly divided as to whether tuberculosis had made its appearance in the East Greenland community before the colonization. GUSTAV HOLM and other laymen familiar with East Greenland regarded the many cases of haemoptysis as being due to tuberculosis, whereas the later and professionally trained

investigators attach less importance to the cases of hæmoptysis so commonly occurring among the East Greenlanders, which they take to be caused by the fact that their mucous membranes are more susceptible than those of other people¹).

It is consequently possible that the occurrence of hæmoptysis cannot be taken as a valid proof that tuberculosis has existed in the East Greenland community of the past, although Dr. A. BERTELSEN is of the opinion that this has been the case²). Dr. KNUD POULSEN also feels justified in maintaining that in 1898/99 he met with rather indubitable cases of tuberculosis, suggesting, however, at the same time that the possible tuberculosis in East Greenland has an essentially milder course than that known from other countries³). In 1903 Dr. BERTELSEN noticed 2 cases of deformity caused by surgical tuberculosis, and other visiting physicians also think to have proved the existence of what they regard as lighter attacks of tuberculosis.

The medical investigators, who of later years have visited Angmagssalik, and who more particularly have examined the occurrence of tuberculosis among the East Greenlanders, seem however to be of the opinion that even though the East Greenlanders of the past have suffered from tuberculosis, it must have died out at a given time and must in any case have been a disease of an entirely different and milder character than the tuberculosis known from a later period in East Greenland. But whether tuberculosis is a new disease or not in East Greenland, the experts seem to regard it as a foregone conclusion that the marked alteration in its course is closely connected with the radical change of diet, which has taken place during the last 30—40 years, in the same manner as an unmistakable connection can for instance be proved as to the occurrence of tooth caries⁴).

Recent investigators are further of the opinion that the now known form of tuberculosis has come to Angmagssalik with the vessel bringing supplies about 1933. They substantiate this supposition with the fact that only four or five of the inhabitants of Angmagssalik reacted positively to the Pirquet test, when applied in 1934 by a French physician, who spent a year at Angmagssalik and examined the entire population, but who unfortunately has not published his material regarding tuberculosis in these parts.

In 1933 the population of Scoresby Sound was examined by two French physicians who did not, however, prove the existence of undoubted

¹) ARNE HØYGAARD: Tuberkulosen hos Eskimoerne i Angmagssalik. Særtryk af Nordisk Medicinsk Tidsskrift, 1938: 16 (1647—1656); p. 22.

²) Ugeskrift for Læger 1941; p. 487.

³) KNUD POULSEN: M. o. Gr. Vol. 28; p. 148.

⁴) A. BERTELSEN, Ugeskrift for Læger 1941; p. 487.

tuberculosis, and tubercle bacilli were not found in the sputum, neither of the Angmagssaliks nor of the population of Scoresby Sound.

Although there has undoubtedly been tuberculosis at Angmagssalik since 1934, the disease was at first very mild and caused no deaths in the years 1934, 1935 and 1936. After the formerly mentioned severe influenza epidemic in the winter of 1935/36 tuberculosis, however, suddenly became malign, and it has since then caused comparatively

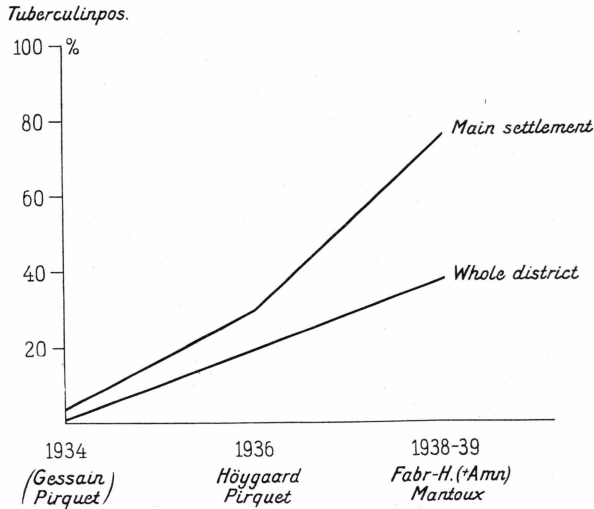


Fig. 32. Tuberculin test at Angmagssalik¹⁾.

many deaths, whole families having been carried away in the course of a very short time.

In the year 1936/37 ARNE HØYGAARD subjected about 90 per cent of the population of Angmagssalik to the Pirquet test and proved positive reaction in about 20 per cent of these. In the summer of 1938 the population was again examined, and 40 per cent were positive according to the Mantoux test.

The per cent rise in the number of individuals, who reacted positively to the tuberculin test, is thus alarmingly great, and it also appears from the diagram that the population of the trading post itself is much more infected by tuberculosis than the population of the dwelling places.

HØYGAARD arrives at the same conclusion and maintains²⁾ that tuberculosis is very unevenly distributed in the Angmagssalik district, seeing that in 1936/37 about 10 per cent of the native population at the main settlement were found to suffer from pulmonary tuberculosis,

¹⁾ After ESTHER AMMUNDSEN: Ugeskrift for Læger 1944; p. 485.

²⁾ ARNE HØYGAARD, Særtryk af Nordisk Medicinsk Tidsskrift; p. 24.

as against only 1.5 per cent in the outlying districts. He calls attention to the fact that hygienic conditions are essentially better at the main settlement than at the dwelling places; also that conditions of life and understanding of the value of cleanliness are on a higher level, and that the population generally is more enlightened than at the dwelling places. There was consequently every reason to expect that the resistance against tuberculosis would be greater at the trading post itself than at the dwelling places, but as already mentioned, the population at the dwelling places principally live by hunting, that is by means of animal food, whereas the native population of the trading post predominantly subsist by means of imported articles of food of vegetable origin, and so HØYGAARD arrives at the conclusion that tuberculosis is furthered by the imported commodities bought at the store, whereas it is checked by the animal food produced in the country.

The same view was held by ESTHER AMMUNDSEN, and it seems to be shared by various other experts on tuberculosis¹).

Thus it may perhaps be taken for granted that the experts on tuberculosis are apt to agree with HØYGAARD as to the conclusion he arrived at in his paper "Tuberkulosen hos Eskimoerne i Angmagssalik"²), from which the following extract is taken:

"Tuberculosis among the primitive Eskimos is no great problem, but has become so in and with the colonization. . . . There is only one effective remedy against the tuberculosis at Angmagssalik, and that is decentralization. This remedy is unfortunately only of theoretical value, in so far as the development tends in the opposite direction; the population increases greatly in numbers, and hunting consequently decreases. But other measures have only been of very limited value and will be much more expensive."

With decentralization is meant removal from the overpopulated dwelling places in the Angmagssalik district, which has become so poor in game, to the outer districts north and south of it, the old familiar hunting grounds, where the grandparents of the present Angmagssaliks subsisted by means of hunting only, and where the animals of capture since then have been permitted to propagate in peace, safe from the persecution of man.

This remedy against the increasing tuberculosis is however not—as HØYGAARD points out—of "purely theoretical value", for the Angmagssaliks themselves have gradually realized that some of them

¹) The above facts as regards the tuberculosis at Angmagssalik are principally taken from:

ESTHER AMMUNDSEN: Tuberkulosen i Angmagssalik, Ugeskrift for Læger 1941; (pp. 482 et seq.).

²) ARNE HØYGAARD: Tuberkulosen hos Eskimoerne i Angmagssalik; p. 24.

must move away, in order that all who live along the coast may get sufficient food, and in the summer of 1938 no less than 150 individuals, men, women and children, left for the outer districts.

A small outpost, provided with a store and navigated once a year with Angmagssalik as basis, will be sufficient to make this moving out permanent, and the outlay for this must be regarded as a very small price to be paid on the part of Denmark in order to counteract the sneaking tuberculosis, which undermines the health of the East Greenlanders, and which has probably been imported from Denmark.

As already suggested, the change in the diet of the East Greenlanders from an exclusively animal one to a mixture of the latter and imported articles of vegetable origin has also led to the result that the teeth of the East Greenlanders are not by any means as good, as they were in former times.

This fully appears from the material gathered by the dentist P. O. PEDERSEN, who in 1937 undertook a thorough examination of the teeth of the East Greenlanders¹⁾. In 1937 he examined the teeth of a large number of craniums, as well as the teeth of practically the entire present East Greenland population, with the result that caries were found in the following percentage:

The Eskimos of the past.....	0.4—2.9 per cent
The population of the dwelling places in the Angmagssalik district.....	4.5 —
The population of the Angmagssalik main settlement	47.5 —
The population of Scoresby Sound.....	33.0 —

In the Angmagssalik district the population of the main settlement, which chiefly subsists by means of imported articles of food, has thus much poorer teeth than that of the dwelling places, whose principal means of subsistence still consists of animal products.

As compared with the sound teeth of the Eskimos of the past, even the teeth of the population of the dwelling places have become essentially poorer in the course of the 2-3 decades, in which imported articles of food have been used in such quantities as to be able to influence the condition of the teeth.

The deterioration of the teeth of the East Greenlanders is, after all, in its initial stage, but there is hardly any doubt that according as the animal food of the past is increasingly replaced by imported commodities, the teeth of the population of East Greenland—as those of the West Greenlanders—will deteriorate more and more.

¹⁾ P. O. PEDERSEN: Meddelelse om odontologiske Undersøgelser i Grønland. Tandlægebladet, No. 3, 1938; p. 151.

CONCLUSION

When in 1894 the Danish colonizing work was begun in East Greenland with the foundation of the Angmagssalik settlement, the population was in rapid decline; north of Angmagssalik all Eskimos were extinct, and south of Angmagssalik the last remains were on the point of emigrating to West Greenland. In the Angmagssalik district itself there was also a marked decline, not least as the result of increasing scarcity of game, and as an unmistakable sign of continued decline the number of children was relatively small, the tribe being in consequence markedly characterized by the older age classes. GUSTAV HOLM was therefore undoubtedly right when maintaining that it was necessary to found a settlement like those of West Greenland, if the tribe were to be saved from extinction or, at best, from emigration to West Greenland, in which case the entire east coast would be totally depopulated.

The decline in the number of the population was brought to a standstill, and during the fifty years, which have elapsed since then, a decided change has taken place in the prospects for the future of the East Greenlanders. This change has found its two most distinct expressions in the great total increase of the population, and in the change in the distribution of the population according to age groups, there being now comparatively many children and quite young people.

In this period of half a century the Danish Administration has followed the lines of direction, which were laid down at the time when it was decided to establish the Angmagssalik settlement. The colonization of this entirely primitive race should take place according to the main principles, which had been followed in the colonization of West Greenland, though with such changes as experience had proved to be most suited for attaining the aim in view: to protect the vital interests of the population and successively to qualify them to be brought into contact with the outside world.

This policy, as already mentioned, has been strictly followed, and the Danish colonizing work in East Greenland has been characterized

by a firm continuous adherence to the lines laid down. There can hardly be any doubt that this Greenland policy has contributed materially to the progress made by the East Greenlanders, and to the fact that the tribe is now no longer entirely without any understanding of what happens around it. But on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the work done on the part of Denmark for the benefit of the East Greenlanders has gradually met with considerable difficulties, which it will be necessary to face, if this work is to be continued in such a manner as really to further the interests of the population.

Thus, the preceding chapters have very clearly shown that the consumption of imported commodities, and particularly of European articles of food and luxury, has risen very considerably, one feels almost tempted to say alarmingly so. For this relatively large increase in the consumption of imported commodities has not been for the unqualified good of the East Greenlanders and their general state of health, as appears from the information given regarding increasing tuberculosis and the condition of their teeth etc., and it is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that the development of these symptoms of a weakened constitution has some intimate connection with the radical change of diet.

For the sake of the population itself it is, therefore, in the future necessary to try to stem the course of this development, and as far as possible to reduce the consumption to the original articles of food, which are surely most suited for the climate and for the constitution of the population. The same view may also be applied to their wearing apparel, as the warm sealskin clothes of former times undoubtedly lent themselves better to local conditions than the thin European materials, now of such general use and perhaps in part the cause of the severe cold epidemics, which ravage the population during the autumn.

A limitation of the consumption of imported commodities is in itself a very difficult and ungrateful task for anyone to undertake, as it has become "the fashion" for the Greenlanders to use as many of the imported commodities of the store, as is economically possible. The greater part of the population will probably be of the opinion that an attempt to reduce the consumption to a level, more in accordance with their own interests, or to check the not entirely satisfactory Europeanization, would be an encroachment on the privileges, which they now think they have attained.

If, in spite of this, the Administration of Greenland should desire to limit the East Greenlanders' consumption of imported commodities, there are various methods, which can be used. The most effective of these would be to raise the prices of the imported commodities sold at

the store, and possibly at the same time to lower the prices of the hunting products purchased from the Greenlanders. In this manner the Greenlanders would have less money at their disposal and, to a greater extent than at present, be forced to utilize their own hunting products; besides achieving the purposed aim, such a proceeding would also contribute to make the settlement pay its way better. But, however effective, such a drastic policy can only be recommended within very narrow limits, seeing that it would undoubtedly be felt as a great injustice by the East Greenlanders, and would greatly weaken their confidence in the Danish officials, thus running counter to what has until now been the guiding principle of the Danish work of colonization. Besides, it must be borne in mind that it is only half a century since the East Greenlanders came under the direct influence of the Danes, and so it cannot be expected that they should be able to understand dispositions, which would apparently clash with their interests and their now customary way of life, but which would nevertheless be for their future good. The East Greenlanders would in particular be apt to regard it as an inconceivable injustice, if different prices were used in East and West Greenland in order to bring about the wished-for and beneficial reduction of the purchases at the store. Therefore, the greatest possible caution must be shown in adopting the suggested proceeding for reducing the consumption of European commodities, and a possible rise in prices for imported commodities should, at any rate at first, only affect mere articles of luxury.

Another and essentially more humane proceeding would be to teach, and in every way to urge, the East Greenlanders to make a different and better use of the cash income, which they derive from the products sold at the store. Children of the moment as the East Greenlanders are, they will at the earliest possible opportunity transmute the amounts received on purchases of imported commodities, without realizing their possible future needs. Thus, if there had been a momentary great sale of bear- and sealskins etc., they bought comparatively many commodities and articles, for which they had perhaps no immediate use. The consequence is that even enterprising and successful hunters lack both cash and commodities in times of need, and for the same reason they can only with great difficulty find money for larger purchases such as rifles, shotguns and skiffs of European make, which are to be used for the continued expansion of their trades. The local savings banks, which, as already mentioned, were founded in 1938 by the Administration of Greenland, both at Angmagssalik and at Scoresby Sound, were consequently a step in the right direction. Here the East Greenlanders—as had long been the case in West Greenland—could invest

their immediate surplus of cash at a reasonable interest and so provide themselves with an emergency capital, which might come in handy for greater purchases during hunger periods, or when hunting failed. But as yet the results achieved in this respect are of course very small, and a deliberate process of enlightenment and agitation must be undertaken, in order to impart to the East Greenlanders an understanding of the advantages of saving on a large scale. This can be done through the direct influence of the manager, when the hunter comes to the store with his more valuable furs, such as bears and foxes, or else by incessantly pointing out the importance of saving, whenever there is an opportunity, not least in the small duplicated local newspaper.

In this connection it must be pointed out that saving is only possible at all, if the decline as regards the native products is checked, so that the decrease aimed at in the consumption of sugar and farinaceous foods might be replaced by a greater supply of seal meat.

The most effective means towards improving the health of the rapidly growing population of East Greenland and providing it with better food conditions by an increased supply of native products, is to try to spread it over a greater part of the coast, than is the case at the present time, as the great increase of the population has actually brought about a considerable overcrowding of the Angmagssalik district when viewed in relation to the decreasing hunting possibilities. The first important step in this direction was the founding of the Scoresby Sound settlement in 1924, but the spreading of the population ought to be continued and furthered by an extensive support given by the Administration of Greenland to the hunters moving out to the formerly used hunting areas outside the Angmagssalik district.

There are several of these hunting grounds, which from of old bear a good repute, on the coast between the Angmagssalik district and Lindenows Fjord, particularly at Umivik, Akorninarmiut and Tingmiarmiut. In these localities hunting conditions are so good that East Greenlanders settling there would be able to catch enough seals to provide themselves with food in sufficient quantities, as well as with skins for clothing and boat coverings, in which case they would not, to the same extent as now, be obliged to have recourse to the store and its cheapest articles of food and clothing.

Also north of Angmagssalik there are several good hunting areas, to which successful expeditions have been made by the East Greenlanders of the past, and particularly the Kialineq region is well known as an excellent hunting ground. Still farther north there is an area round Kangerdlugssuak, where the Eskimos formerly lived for several generations, and where—as proved by a wintering expedition of 1935/36—

there are still very considerable hunting possibilities¹). South of Scoresby Sound, in Turner Sound and partly at Cape Dalton, there are also good hunting possibilities, and finally mention must be made of the large and untouched hunting area in the interior of the huge fjord system of Scoresby Sound.

However, such a migration cannot nowadays, or in the future, be undertaken at the initiative of the East Greenlanders themselves, seeing that in the course of years they have come to depend far too much on the store with its many imported provisions, articles of clothing, fire arms, ammunition and tobacco. It has also, as already mentioned, become almost impossible, or at any rate very difficult for the population itself to transport even the minimum annual consumption of commodities from the store to such remote parts. If a more comprehensive migration to the above-mentioned good hunting grounds is to be achieved, it will therefore be necessary to establish small stores in centrally situated regions. These stores must be managed by a Greenlander in the employ of the Administration, in other words a development of a similar kind as the establishment of outposts in West Greenland a century ago, the object of which was exactly the same as the one now aimed at in East Greenland: to relieve the concentration of the population round the store of the main settlement.

In order to be able to continue the general Danish cultural work by the establishment of such new trading posts, and in order to satisfy the East Greenlanders' requirements of greater enlightenment, it will—as has also been done in the smaller establishments of West Greenland—be necessary to appoint native catechists, who can teach the children the most elementary school subjects and minister at the necessary church functions.

When new hunting grounds are thus made habitable for the surplus population, the hunting proceeds of the East Greenlanders will be increased, and thus they will be able to get the absolutely necessary quantity of meat as food, skins for clothing and boat coverings, and a minimum cash amount for purchasing the most important of the now indispensable imported commodities.

In case it should prove possible to carry out the spreading of the population along the coast, without

¹) L. R. WAGER, *Geographical Journal* Vol. XC. 1937; p. 413.

Mr. WAGER wintered with a party of Angmagssaliks, amongst whom were 2 grown-up hunters and 2 young men, having in all 4 kayaks. One of the grown-up hunters, Hansi, kept a list of game taken, and WAGER writes about this:

Hansi kept a careful list of the game killed each month. The total for the year were: 410 seals (including 22 bearded seals) 28 bears and 40 narwhals. The Kangerdlugssuak region will be of great value, when pressure of population forces the Angmagssalik Eskimo to find new grounds.

meeting unsurmountable resistance from any quarter, and to do it in such a manner that the native population may continue its existence under the protection and guidance of the Greenland Administration, we are persuaded that it will be possible to follow up the development, which has gone on throughout the last fifty years, and in the main along the same lines as hitherto.

If suitable measures are taken, there are still along the coast of East Greenland good living possibilities for a considerably greater native population than at present, and the people moving out along the coast will be able to lead a healthier and happier existence than the needy population, which is now concentrated round the Angmagssalik trading station. The remaining part of the population of Angmagssalik would in this case also come to live under better conditions than formerly, seeing that the number of hunters would be smaller and consequently have better hunting conditions, with a resultant better standard of life for the families.

If the greatly increasing East Greenland population is thus given the material conditions, which determine their continued existence, the necessary basis will be created for following up and, in the course of time, completing the cultural work, which has been going on during the past fifty years. For it must be realized that this cultural work is as yet only just begun, and that the interruption of it will involve the destruction of the results already obtained and more.

The continuation of this cultural and civilizatory work can, however, hardly be carried on without understanding and even active goodwill from interested international quarters, and this must presumably find expression in the areas, where the interests of the East Greenlanders and those of the "white man" may be imagined to clash.

The East Greenlanders have hitherto found a natural protection in their isolated situation behind the broad ice current, which from the Polar Basin flows along the coast of East Greenland towards and beyond Cape Farewell. During the greater part of the year all shipping is impossible owing to the huge masses of ice, and only in late summer are smaller wooden vessels able to penetrate as far as the coast. Some small vessels, which no longer can pay their way by sealing, have of later years been let to tourists and pleasure hunters, who were willing to pay a large sum in order to obtain a greatly coveted hunting trophy in the shape of a bear or musk ox, and who would pay more and more, the rarer this and other Polar game became. These tourists and other pleasure hunters have, up to the present, only visited the uninhabited regions, and except in a few cases they have had no intercourse with the East Greenlanders. But if further extended—and this is very possible, as the

risk is diminished by more suitable vessels, wireless etc., these trips may prove a danger for the population and a serious problem for the Administration of Greenland.

Furthermore, it is to be expected that the ice belt along the coast will offer still less protection in the future than in the past, seeing that large aeroplanes may perhaps in a short time pass the otherwise impassable ice barrier on the short flight between Iceland and Greenland, for instance on their way between Europe and America, and thus greatly facilitate access to this characteristic country.

There is consequently reason to fear that European and American tourists, during the few fine summer months, will attempt to visit the coasts of East Greenland with its wild and rugged Alpine scenery, the beautiful glaciers and the huge inland ice in the background, and if difficulties are thrown in their way by the Danish Administration, it is possible that they will try to obtain the assistance of their governments in order to force the protection and the limited access to the country, which is the result of the present Greenland monopoly system.

There is no reason whatsoever to suppose that the East Greenlanders should have more power of resistance against the blessings accompanying the visits of tourists than primitive peoples in other parts of the world. It is even a likely supposition that such visits would involve still greater sufferings for the East Greenlanders than for other primitive peoples, as the time for collecting supplies of meat and blubber for the long and lean winter is the short summer season, when hunting possibilities are greatest and conditions generally better than at any other time of the year. But supposing that tourists come to an East Greenland dwelling place during the short hunting period, the inhabitants would be very apt to let themselves be lured from their natural and necessary occupations by gifts and payment for assistance, which at the time might seem—and perhaps also were—a very reasonable remuneration, but which would not in the long run make up for the neglected hunting possibilities. And in this manner the famine, which is always threatening the permanently residing East Greenlanders, might become worse than usual during the dark and stormy winter months, when the tourists were far away from the inclement coasts of East Greenland. It is therefore our conviction that the further opening of East Greenland for tourists and pleasure hunters in the course of a few years would greatly endanger the cultural work, which is now being performed in the interests of this flourishing tribe.

In our opinion there is slightly more justification for the wishes of enterprising Europeans to exploit the supposed economic possibilities of the country with a view to finding occupation for unemployed hands, and for their protest against the thousands of kilometres of coast being

reserved for the East Greenland tribe, which at the present moment only numbers about 1100 inhabitants.

As a matter of fact it would be very difficult to go against such wishes, if the coast of East Greenland really should offer living conditions for a number of white inhabitants. However, it is extremely doubtful if this inhospitable coast would be able to yield possibilities of a livelihood for even a hundred Europeans, without the direct or indirect support of their governments. In this connection it must also be borne in mind that the yearly mean temperature along the entire coast is negative, and that the summers are so cold that it would be out of the question to obtain any addition to the necessary food supply from the soil itself. For instance, an attempt at keeping sheep must, with the exception of a few specimens, also fail, owing to the insuperable difficulties of providing them with winter fodder.

It has been mentioned that a few European hunters—up to the present at most 20—25 a year along the entire coast of East Greenland—to a certain extent manage to maintain themselves by hunting bears and foxes, the skins of which are comparatively valuable on the European market. It should, however, be remembered that the bears, as already mentioned, only occur in such small numbers that the stock must already now be estimated as having greatly declined, and it is to be supposed that this decline will be greater, if the number of European hunters increases.

As regards fox hunting there are, it is true, possibilities in various districts near and north of Scoresby Sound, for instance at the great bird cliffs, where a number of foxes find their food, but also in other places. It is, however, our conviction that the skins, which in this manner can be brought to the European market, might more easily and cheaply be supplied through an extension of fox farming in Norway and Canada. In any case it must be regarded as certain that East Greenland cannot yield more than a fraction of the number of foxskins that are now supplied by the Norwegian breeders, and—even with a rational fox farming—it would not be possible to procure sufficient food in East Greenland for a larger number of foxes in captivity. And here again we are convinced that without direct or indirect government support to the hunters, who during later years have carried on fox hunting along the coasts of East Greenland, this kind of hunting will in the course of a very few years lose ground in the competition against rational fox farming and cease to be remunerative.

Finally, there are the possibilities for mining. Owing to the difficult conditions of navigation, mining can presumably only be undertaken, if very large and concentrated mineral riches are found, seeing that it will always be very expensive to transport machinery and the like to—or

raw materials from—possible mining centres and through the broad belt of pack ice. Depositions of minerals, which would be even very valuable elsewhere in the world, would in consequence of the difficult conditions of transport most likely be of no economic importance whatsoever in East Greenland. In order possibly to find such exorbitantly rich occurrences in East Greenland, as might prove remunerative from an economical point of view, it would be necessary systematically to investigate the whole of the coast. Such an investigation should by preference be undertaken under a state monopoly by a large institution, which would furthermore be able to take care that possible rich finds of minerals could be exploited, without putting serious obstacles in the way of the natural occupations of the East Greenlanders. In this connection it is only necessary to call attention to the cryolite mine at Ivigtut, which is intensively exploited and yet in no way hinders the colonization work on either side of the mining area.

The only possibility for white men to obtain a livelihood on or along the coasts of East Greenland is—as far as can be seen at present—the hunting of sea mammals, and possibly a little fishing. The latter occupation will, however, not be able to yield any considerable profit beyond the possibilities of shark fishing off the coast of Southeast Greenland, and as already mentioned, these possibilities are not very great.

The hunting of sea mammals, and more particularly seal, has, as already described, for the last hundred years been a not inconsiderable trade off the coasts of East Greenland. European hunters may naturally be as good at hunting seal as the East Greenlanders, but their claims as to the profit to be obtained from hunting are decidedly not as modest as those of the natives, who cover the greater part of their requirements by means of seal products, which under existing conditions are the food best suited for them, and they therefore feel a very natural resentment against the European hunters, who only take the skins and the blubber of the animals killed, while the meat is left to rot on the ice floes.

Besides, the East Greenlanders, who have their permanent abode along the coast, have no possibility whatsoever of earning a livelihood elsewhere in the world, while the European hunters have hitherto only hunted seal along the coasts of East Greenland for a very small part of the year, and in no case have attempted to make a proper yearly income by sealing, even in such regions where they have the right by treaty to stay all the year round for purposes of hunting.

It is, however, very likely that European hunters in the future, as has to some extent been the case in the past, will visit the coast of East Greenland in order to carry on completion hunting,

when sealing along the outer boundary of the pack ice has not yielded sufficient profit.

As already mentioned, the quantities of seals, which resort to the pack ice off the coast of East Greenland in order to breed there, are rapidly declining, and it is therefore probable that the sealers of the future will exercise an increasing pressure on their governments in order to have the limitation suspended, which the monopoly has hitherto imposed upon hunting enterprises along the shore. Nor can it be denied that completion hunting, also in the future, may be of direct economical importance for some hunting expeditions, as the sea mammals living in fjords, where they have not been hunted for a number of years, are a comparatively easy prey for practised hunters, who in such a circumscribed locality may obtain economical profit through a short visit. On the other hand it must, however, be remembered that from Scoresby Sound and southwards such a profit is only attained at the expense of the most essential conditions of life for the East Greenlanders, and it is consequently necessary to balance the temporary interests of the completion hunters against the vital interests of the native population, all the more as the reckless decimating of the stock of seals in a fjord—or along a stretch of coast—makes itself felt there and in the vicinity for a number of years. In our opinion the balance must be struck in favour of the East Greenlanders and their continued possibilities of subsistence in a country where other people cannot—or will not—take up a permanent abode.

The emphasis put upon the fact that due regard ought to be taken to the fully justified vital interests of the East Greenlanders need, however, not lead to the utter neglect of the wishes of European sealers, viz. to get a reasonable basis of existence for their sealing on the ice in the Polar Current.

When regarding this problem in all its bearings there is, in our opinion, not even a contrast, but in fact rather a parallellity between the interests of the East Greenlanders and those of the European seal-hunters, seeing that both must be concerned in maintaining a reasonable stock of those animals, which are the common basis of their existence, and a sensible exploitation of the wealth of seals found in the Polar Current must be an aim about which everybody concerned ought to be able to agree.

If according to what has been elucidated, it is acknowledged that the maintenance of the stock of seals must be a central point in an international economic policy, the proceeding adopted by the European hunters throughout the centuries is decidedly objectionable.

It is universally known that two or three centuries ago there were inconceivable quantities of valuable whales at Spitzbergen and along

the coast of East Greenland, and that a reckless hunting supplied the whalers with large quantities of whale oil and baleen. This was at times an extremely remunerative trade, but the whalers and the owners of the whaling vessels only considered the immediate profit and paid no attention to the fact that the stock of whales was gradually destroyed, the inevitable result being that whaling decreased and finally ended with the total extermination of the Greenland whale in the North Atlantic waters. The whalers consequently looked out for and found new hunting grounds, where profitable whaling might still be carried on, but the Eskimos were obliged to stay behind on the impoverished coast, now essentially poorer than before, because by the extermination of the whale they had been deprived of one of the species of animals, which supplied them with part of the basis of their existence. There is presumably some connection between this fact and the gradual extinction of the Eskimos along the northerly part of the coast, at the same time as they lost their power of resistance in the more southerly part of the coast of East Greenland.

What has happened to the whaling industry has also happened to the much less significant trade: the hunting of walrus. In former times these large and unwieldy animals were found in very great flocks off the coasts of Northeast Greenland, and owing to their immobility ashore and their curiosity when in the water they were rather slaughtered than hunted. Their skins as well as their blubber and ivory tusks were greatly coveted, and for several decennia the hunting yielded good profit. But the unfortunate result of this intensive pursuit was that the hunting of walrus, as an economic possibility for Europeans and Greenlanders, has now almost entirely ceased, so that also this source of income is essentially a thing of the past.

The two other large animals of capture on the coast of East Greenland, viz. polar bear and seal, have not as yet fared quite so badly. However, it cannot be denied that the bear hunting of later years has brought about a very great diminution of the stock. When regarding the hunting of polar bear from a general economical point of view, it seems decidedly wrong that the greater part of the bears are killed in summer, when owing to moulting the skins are of no particular value. Instead, bear hunting ought to be limited to the six winter months, seeing that skins from that period still fetch good prices in Europe and America, and a limitation of the purposeless summer hunting would therefore seem to be for the general good.

As far as the seals are concerned, hunting is still carried on to a very large extent at the breeding places along the outer boundaries of the pack ice and in Danmarks Strait. Here, in comparatively limited areas, the seals gather in spring in tens of thousands, and here they have

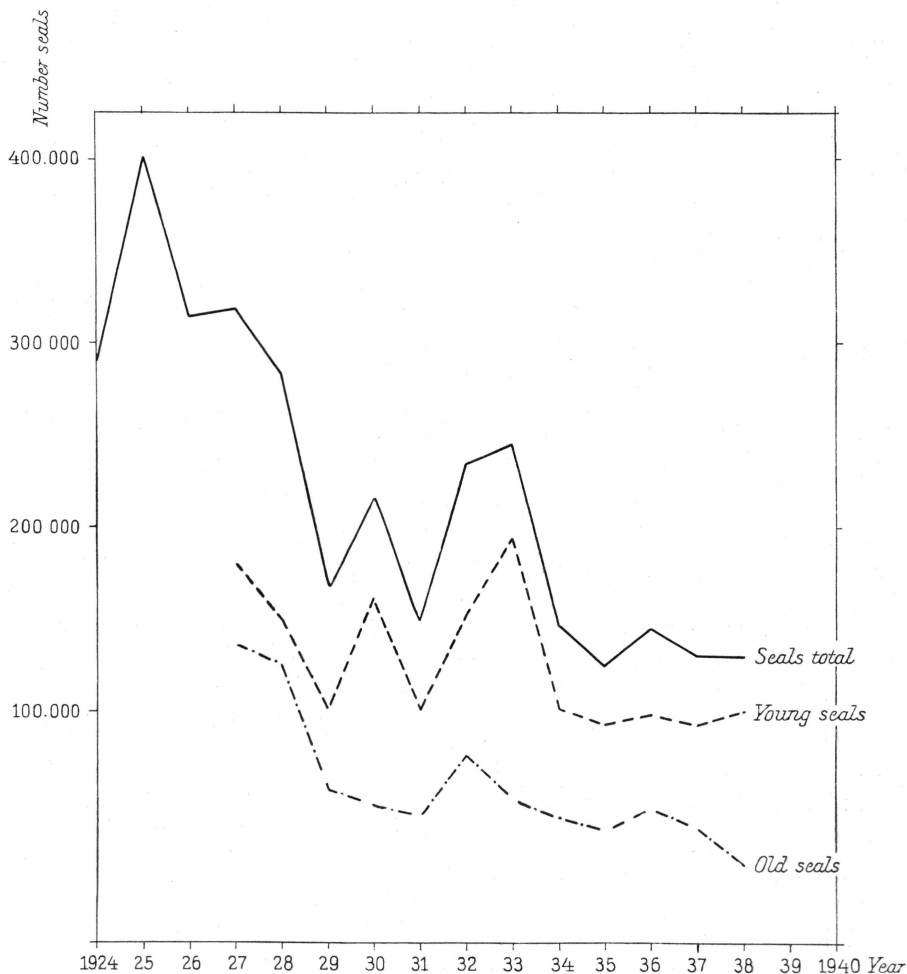


Fig. 33. Number of saddleback and bladdernose seals caught by Norwegian sealers.

throughout the 19th, and at the beginning of the 20th century been an easy prey for the hunters, who on the large ice floes have been able to attain a rich profit within a short hunting season. In the Northern Atlantic there have been such quantities of seals that it has been possible to carry on this destructive pursuit at the breeding grounds for more than a century, and only after many years' hunting experience shows a great decrease in the stock of seals. In this manner seal hunting has become considerably less remunerative, and the number of professional sealers, as well as the vessels taking part in the hunting, are decidedly decreasing.

The decrease in the number of seals caught appears as a whole with striking clearness from the diagram (fig. 33¹), which shows the

¹) Prepared on the basis of "Aarsberetning vedkommende Norges Fiskerier", Beretning om selfangsten 1935 og 1939.

number of seals brought home annually by Norwegian sealers in the period 1924—1938. The decrease is so pronounced and gradual, and it extends over such a long period that it can hardly be due to a periodical decrease in the stock of seals, but must really be an expression of the fact that the stock is rapidly declining.

The diagram covers the total yearly catch of bladdernose and saddleback seals and also shows the catch of young and old seals. It appears from the diagram with all possible clearness that the very stock of old seals is declining, and that this must be so, when the inroad made upon the stock of young seals is as enormous as it has been of late.

The hunting of bladdernose is less variable throughout the years than that of the Greenland seal, seeing that the yearly average of bladdernose seals taken by Norwegian sealers has been the following¹⁾:

	Total number of seals	Young seals	Old seals
1925—1929.....	55.158	—	—
1930—1934.....	47.999	26.960	21.039
1935—1939.....	50.772	27.960	22.812

The catch from 1930 to 1939 (both years inclusive) is distributed with 44.4 per cent old seals and 55.6 per cent young seals. As far as the bladdernose seals are concerned, it is thus also more particularly the young seals that are killed.

Besides the Norwegian sealing there are the essentially greater enterprises on the New Foundland Banks. Also this sealing is rapidly declining, although not in such a pronounced degree as that of the Norwegian hunting in the west ice off the east coast of Greenland. To the number of seals caught at the principal hunting grounds must, furthermore, be added the very large number of animals, which are wounded or killed without the hunter being able to secure his prey.

The stock cannot hold its own against this violent pursuit, and the very uneconomical diminution of the numbers of these animals which, throughout a century or more, have formed the basis of a rather considerable trade, is bound to meet with severe criticism. The first to mention the opportuneness of a protection of seals, with a view to maintaining their stock, was GEORGE WILLIAM MANBY, who in 1821 took part in one of WM. SCORESBY'S whaling expeditions²⁾. But the most prominent

¹⁾ "Aarsberetning vedkommende Norges Fiskerier, Beretning om selfangsten 1939".

²⁾ MANBY: Journal of a Voyage to Greenland in the Year 1821; p. 36.

critic is FRIDTJOF NANSEN, who in various ways has pointed out the evident lack of understanding shown by the extermination of the stock of whales and has uttered a timely warning against a similar extermination of the stock of seals.

His warning words have, however, had no effect whatsoever towards limiting the ravages of sealing off the east coast of Greenland, but it must be mentioned that, at the initiative of Russia, a far-going protection of seals has been carried out in the White Sea.

In case an economical policy, based upon an international agreement, could be arrived at with a view to the preservation of the stock of marine animals of capture in the northernmost Atlantic and at New Foundland, it might still be possible to safeguard the future possibilities of a smaller sealing industry. In our opinion this would, at the same time, be the necessary presupposition for safeguarding the existence of the East Greenlanders in the country of their fathers, and for the continuation of the colonization work begun.

In the preceding we have attempted to draw a picture of the conditions and mode of life of the East Greenlanders, both before they had come into touch with the Europeans, and after the Danish colonization work has been going on for half a century. We shall not presume to maintain that the work done on the part of Denmark for the furthering of the interests of the East Greenlanders is above criticism; on the contrary, there is a good deal that can be criticized, but nevertheless we are persuaded that this work has been characterized by an unselfish desire to protect and help a small and primitive people, which without this assistance would undoubtedly have perished.

There is serious ground to fear that the work already done would be wasted, if the lines, hitherto so consistently followed in these colonizing efforts, were now abandoned, and the protection given through the Greenland monopoly was either dropped or weakened to such an extent as to become of no importance. Should this happen, the primitive East Greenland tribe might in the near future be brought into unchecked contact with the outposts of civilization—hunters or tourists—as has been the case with so many other primitive peoples.

There can be no doubt that Denmark is willing to bear the continued economic sacrifices involved in the colonization of East Greenland and the protection of the East Greenlanders by means of the Greenland monopoly. And it is to be hoped that the Danish work for the East

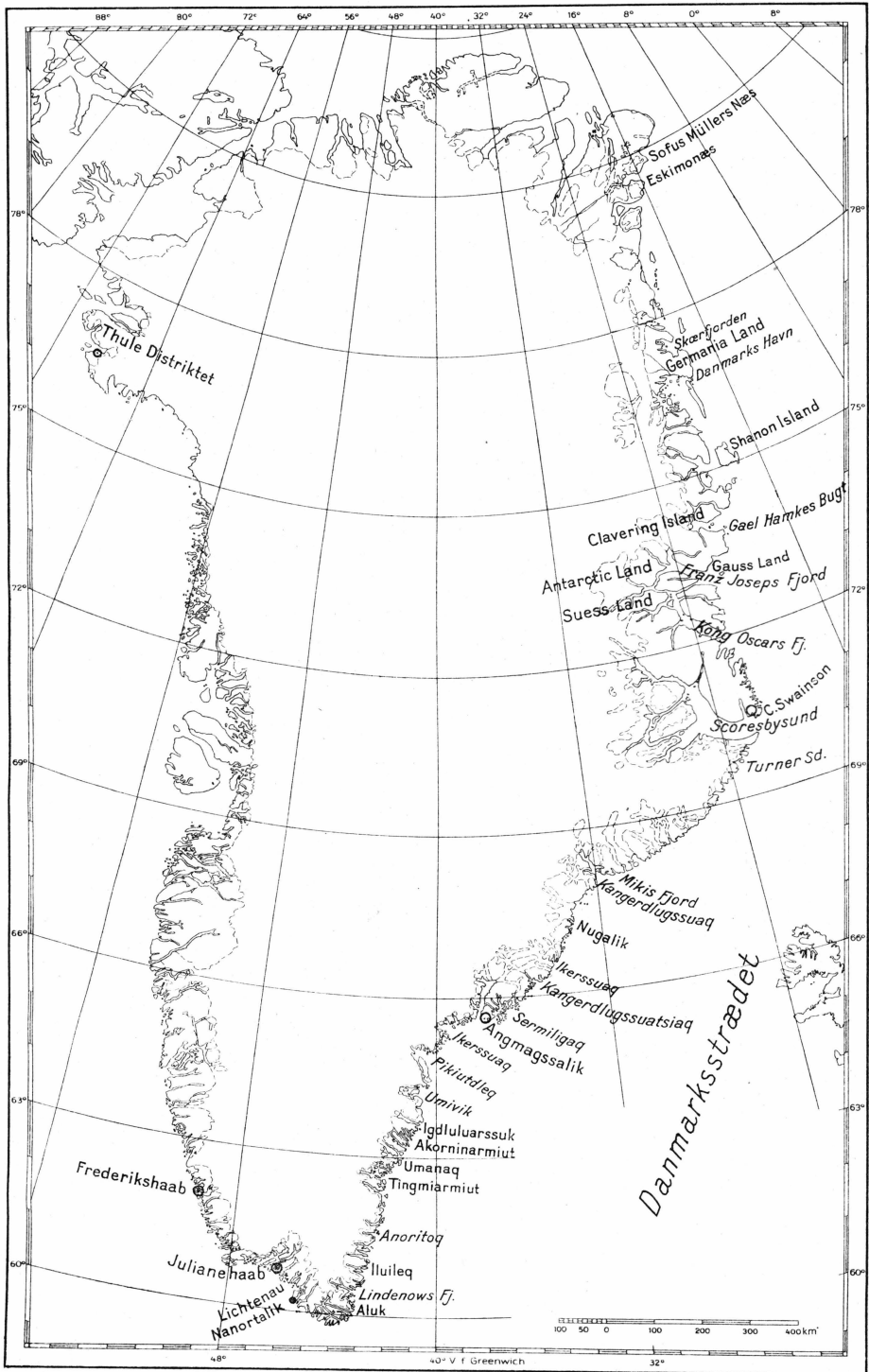
Greenlanders' development towards independence has such results to show that it will win international acknowledgement and thus be allowed to continue along the same main lines as hitherto. Only in this way will there be a possibility of utilizing the experience gained for the continued guidance of the East Greenlanders, until they become sufficiently mature to be able to enter into freer intercourse with other people.

We have also tried to show that it will be possible to continue such a work without encroaching to much upon the pursuits of the European sealers and hunters, and that these and the East Greenlanders in reality have parallel interests in the best possible preservation of the stock of animals, which provide the means of existence for both parties.

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Greenland, with special reference to the east coast.