

Einar Lund Jensen, Kristine Raahauge and Hans Christian Gulløv

# Cultural Encounters at Cape Farewell

The East Greenlandic Immigrants and the German  
Moravian Mission in the 19th Century









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Cover photo: Christian graves at the Moravian village Tinuteqisaaq slightly east of Cape Farewell with a view of the “The Gateway to East Greenland,” which lies behind the high mountain massifs behind the low point in front, from which the umiaks came sailing from the east coast. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark (see Fig. 96, p. 235).

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# Preface

The idea for this investigation arose about ten years ago with the establishment of SILA – the Greenland Research Centre of the National Museum, which in its research programme had given studies of meetings of cultures a high priority. The southernmost part of Greenland was a natural choice of geographical area, because our historical knowledge of this part of the country was limited, as the region had never been an object of independent research.

We wanted to remedy this by engaging in a research project which was given the working title *The Front of the Back Side* or *Tunup Saqqaa*, where we were thinking of the East Greenland, Tunu or the “back side” of the country, whose history until just over a hundred years ago lay hidden behind the East Greenlandic Drift Ice. Before that time, this history only turned up sporadically together with immigrating East Greenlanders, who literally stepped out of the mists of prehistory when they entered European places in the colonised West Greenland. Here their history started, and with our project we wanted to put this history into focus by studying the sources on the immigrants which were preserved in West Greenland – a region which in an historian’s eyes can be described in this context as the front of East Greenland – Tunup Saqqaa.

Nevertheless we also found it relevant for the overall project to take soundings of the temporal extent of human habitation at the end of the country, Nunap Isua, by performing archaeological investigations in selected places. The knowledge which we accumulated has been included in this presentation to the extent that it illuminates the Inuit’s or the now living Greenlanders’ prehistory, which archaeologically is known as the Thule culture.

The archaeological fieldwork took place in 2001 and 2002, after which studies in the archives were started and in 2004 supplemented with a journey from the west to the east coast in the wake of the women’s boats, with the aim of carrying out a topographical investigation of the settlements which had been strongly influenced by the Moravians in the Cape Farewell area. At the same time as the studies in the archives, an investigation based on interviews was carried out in Nanortalik among now living descendants of the immigrant East Greenlandic families, with the aim of casting light on the relationship between history and memory.

In the present book, an edited and compiled version of the meeting of cultures at Cape Farewell is presented, with special focus on the East

Greenlandic immigrants and the German Moravian mission in the 19th century. Digressions are made on the prehistory of Cape Farewell and on East Greenlandic culture, which never managed to stem the tide of European dominance, and finally in the form of a presentation of a little piece of Greenland which is today to be found in Herrnhut.

# Acknowledgements

Work on the present book would not have been possible without financial support from several sources. In this connection we must express our great thanks to the Carlsberg Foundation, who for two years financially secured the extensive task of working through the archival sources in Copenhagen, Nuuk and Herrnhut.

The analysis and subsequent compilation of the collected material was for a year made possible by a grant from the Ministry of Culture's Research Committee, whom we thank for this economic support.

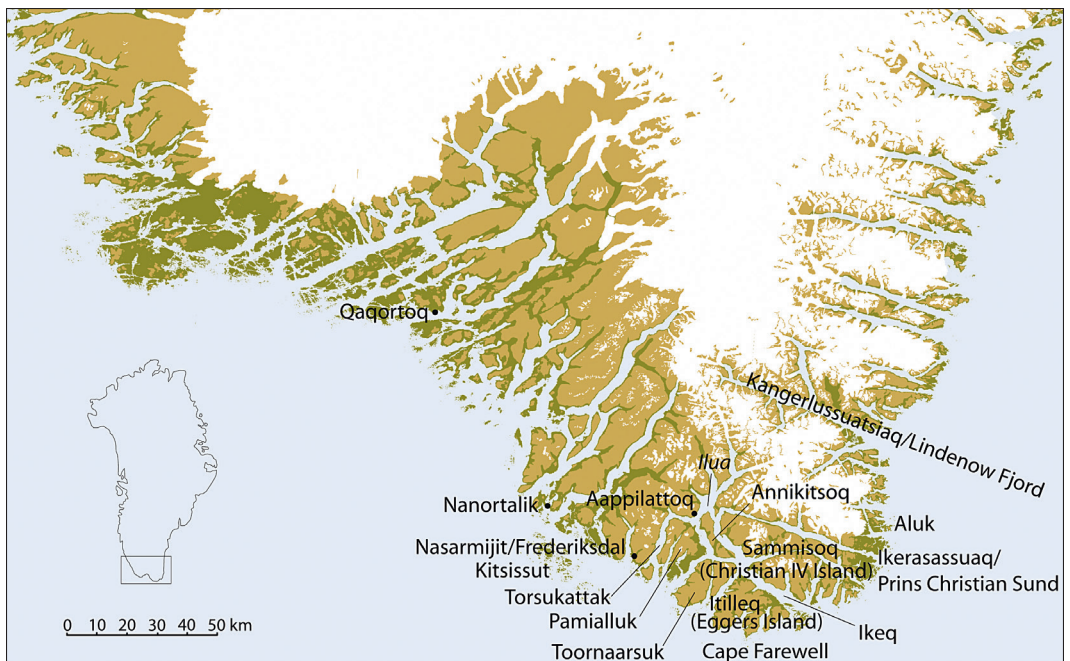
In Greenland, we have in the previous Nanortalik Kommune and in Greenland's National Museum & Archive in Nuuk met great interest in our work on the special history of the Cape Farewell area, and it is a great pleasure for us through this investigation to be able to emphasise the story behind the distinctive culture which characterises the southernmost part of Greenland. We express our thanks for the great help which we have received in Nanortalik and Nuuk during the process.

A considerable collection of items from the Moravian Brethren's activities in Greenland is today in the Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut in Saxony, and in Herrnhut there is also a large quantity of archive material, including photographic records, in Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität. We thank the personnel at the museum and the archive for extensive help, both during several study trips and in subsequent helpful correspondence.

Our colleagues at SILA have during the working process been attentive discussion partners before parts of the project were to be presented at meetings and conferences in Denmark, Greenland and elsewhere abroad. We thank all of them for an excellent and productive collaboration.

Einar Lund Jensen, Kristine Raahauge and Hans Christian Gulløv





**Fig. 1.** The Cape Farewell area is the most southerly part of Greenland. The area is dominated by large islands, sounds and fjords. Storms come in regularly from the Atlantic, but high mountains give shelter and have for centuries offered the possibility of sparse settlement and exploitation of the country's resources. Nowadays there are two settlements in the area: Narsarmijit (Frederiksdal) and Aappilattoq.

# Introduction

## About the Cape Farewell area

The country's end, Nunap Isua, lies below the 60th degree of latitude, and thus goes relatively far down into the North Atlantic. This means that the annual level of precipitation in Prins Christian Sound is more than 3000 mm, which is due to the frequent west-east-going areas of low pressure which pass here. But the climate is nevertheless subarctic, because the East Greenland current, which carries large amounts of broken up sea ice and icebergs with it around Cape Farewell, cools the sea, and the Inland Ice, which immediately north of Cape Farewell reaches right down to the coast, cools the land (Fig. 1).

Down in this area there is however a big difference between the east and west sides of the country, and this is due to the country's topography. High mountains, whose peaks have never been worn down by the ice, reach up more than two kilometres above sea level and characterise the Cape Farewell area as alpine. The western side lies in the lee of high mountains and has in the course of time been a place of permanent settlement, and the ruins left by the medieval Norse farmer society stand today as a visible proof of the great difference between the west coast and the east coast (Fig. 2).

For the pre-historic Eskimo hunter societies, the situation has been quite different, as hunting for seals in the ice off the coast took place on both sides of the country, and their settlements also lie like pearls on a string along the travelling route through the sounds between the two sides of the country.

It is not however possible to show that the Cape Farewell area has been continually inhabited, and this is because of the periodic changes in climate which have a marked influence on human habitation in the arctic regions. The first Palaeo-Eskimo immigrants entered the country from the high arctic area of Canada about 4500 years ago, and the last Palaeo-Eskimos lived in high arctic Thule in the 13th century, but had not lived in the southern part of the country since the beginning of the Christian era.

The warm period, which it has been possible to demonstrate occurred in the northern hemisphere in the period from AD 800 to 1200, made it possible to establish the Norse agricultural society in Southwest Greenland, but at that time the original inhabitants only lived in the part of the country furthest to the north.



**Fig. 2.** The entrance to Torsukattak, the sound through which one normally sails from Nanortalik and Narsarmijit west round Pamialluk Island to Ilua. Nowadays the settlement of Aappilattoq lies here, but in the 19th century there were several smaller settlements. Torsukattak is surrounded on both sides by mountains, which rise steeply from the sea, several of them to a height of more than 1000 m. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

It was not until the 15th century that the Inuit's forefathers, the so-called Neo-Eskimo whale hunters of the Thule culture, got down as far as South Greenland, which became the end station of their long journey from Alaska that had been started 300 years earlier, and settled here for the winter; but by then the Norsemen had left Greenland.

The Cape Farewell area has – like other regions of the Arctic – been inhabited by humans when the climate made this possible. Since the 15th century, however, the area has been continually inhabited (Fig. 3).

## **The source material**

The material on which this book is based is mainly to be found in the national archives in Copenhagen and Nuuk, together with the Moravian Brethren's archives in Herrnhut. In addition we have used a large collection of written tales which originate from the immigrant Greenlanders, and which to a great extent have been published or made available in public databases.



**Fig. 3.** The East Greenland Drift Ice is carried with the current down along the east coast of Greenland and round to the southwestern part of Greenland. Here seals live in their thousands and have for centuries formed the basis for human existence in the Cape Farewell area, amongst others. To the southwest, Cape Hoppe can be seen, and behind this there is a clear view to Cape Farewell. Sailing round the steep headland has been filled with risks, and so travellers from East Greenland have sailed in behind this and followed the route in sheltered waters through the sounds. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

There are ethnographic collections from the southernmost part of Greenland and the east coast of the country in the National Museum of Denmark, the Greenlandic National Museum & Archive and in Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut; and here the collections in Herrnhut, in particular, have contributed to our investigations of the meeting of cultures at Cape Farewell, due to their close relations to the collectors (the German Moravian missionaries) and to their cultural origins (the East Greenlandic immigrants).

In the Cape Farewell area, prehistory extends to the end of the 18th century, only interrupted by fragmentary written material from the country's Norse period, with information from 1408 about the wedding in Hvalsø as its last sign of life. Archaeological investigations carried out in connection with the current project have been able to show that Inuit have been present in the Norse Eastern Settlement while this was still inhabited. However, it was not until after the Norse population had finally left Greenland that Inuit established an actual winter settlement



in the region. The archaeological material which has been used in this investigation comes from excavations carried out in Ammassalik in 1931–32, on Frederik VI's Coast south of Ammassalik in 1932 and 1990–92, and in South Greenland, in the previous Julianehåb district, in 1934. In connection with the current investigation, excavations were performed in selected localities in 2001–02, with the aim of supplementing our knowledge of the Inuit's prehistory in the southernmost part of Greenland.

The archaeological investigations and the many historical journeys made in the area have supplied us with a comprehensive topographical material which forms the basis for a description of the Thule culture's settlement patterns, whose dynamics tells us of a mobile society with cultural contacts both to the original population and the European whalers on the west coast, and to the population on the east coast of the country.

From about 1800, the southernmost part of Greenland was colonised, and after this the amount of written material increased to an extent which makes it possible to use it in treating the history of the Cape Farewell area during most of the 19th century. The main part of the historical sources falls into two main groups: sources originating in the Danish colonial administration, and sources from the German mission, the Moravian Brethren. The Danish sources come from the colonial authorities, the Trading Company and the Danish mission.

When the Greenland ship *Hans Hedtoft* sank off Cape Farewell in 1959, the archive from the Southern Inspectorate, and therefore an extensive mass of collated material which would have been able to illuminate the current topic, was lost. Incoming correspondence and letter-books are however stored in the National Archive in Copenhagen, and can – in spite of some missing items – when supplemented by other original source items replace the lost material. This consists primarily of correspondence between traders and missionaries in the Julianehåb district, including Nanortalik and the southernmost trading stations, the South Greenlandic inspectorate in Nuuk and the Missionary College and the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company in Copenhagen. In addition, the people of the trading company were in this period obliged to keep a diary, in which events and circumstances of significance for trade were to be noted down. At the start of the period these could contain a good deal of personal considerations, but as time went by they became more and more standardised, and by the end were schematised reports, which contain a good deal of useful statistical information. Finally, there are designation lists and lists of inhabitants which shed light on the development of the population and other demographic data.

The other large group of sources comes from the missionaries associated with the Moravian Brethren, to whose congregation almost

the entire population of the Cape Farewell area belonged during most of the 19th century. From the mission station Friedrichsthal, which was established in 1824, the missionaries sent annual reports and also more personal letters to Herrnhut, a small town in southeastern Saxony, from which the mission was sent out and directed. The letters which were received were archived together with other correspondence, diaries etc. in the Moravian Brethren's archive, Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität, where they even today, in spite of changing circumstances and from time to time even dramatic events, are well-preserved and complete. This material is extensive and able to shed light on many aspects of the German mission's presence in Greenland, its relationship to and views on Danes and Greenlanders etc. In the current investigation, we shall focus on information in the reports and letters from the missionaries which had been sent out which sheds light on the meeting of cultures seen from a German point of view, which emphasises aspects of the German presence in the area, and which contains information on the Greenlandic congregation. Much information has also been found in the Moravians' lists of inhabitants, and in the church register from Friedrichsthal, where the latter is to be found in Greenland's National Museum & Archive.

Apart from the two already mentioned main groups, Greenlandic material is available from the latter part of the 19th century from people who have visited South Greenland – and in some cases also the Cape Farewell district – and who particularly wrote about their impressions of the area via the Greenlandic language newspaper *Atuagagdliutit*, which first appeared in 1861. In addition to information about the South Greenlandic population and the immigrant East Greenlanders, this material also gives some insight into attitudes to the latter among that part of the West Greenlandic population who by then had for about 150 years lived under and been affected by the Danish Trading Company and the two missionary points of view.

The Greenlandic place names appear in the material in many different spellings. Up to the middle of the 19th century there was no authorised Greenlandic orthography, so spelling has to a great extent been dependent on the linguistic ability of the person who wrote the text. A Greenlandic orthography was introduced in the middle of the 19th century, but this has been replaced by a new orthography from 1973. In the current presentation, Greenlandic place names and other Greenlandic terms will be given according to the rules of the new orthography. Quotations from the sources used will, however, be given without changes in the original spelling. Where it seems necessary, an accompanying explanation will be given. Certain East Greenlandic place names are in the material often called by their East Greenlandic names, and will here be given in a spelling which is adapted to match the East Greenlandic dialect.

The dominating feature in the history of the Cape Farewell area during the 19th century is the immigration of people from Southeast Greenland. There is no written material from the East Greenlandic immigrants themselves, as they could neither read nor write. A description of East Greenlandic immigration must therefore be based on the material from the Danish colonial authorities and the German mission. This was of course originally written in order to give a general view of and describe conditions related to trading and missionary activities respectively. Even if the sources were written by Europeans and reflect a European conception of the world outside and a European view of the world, they also operate with various descriptions or levels. The sources also contain a series of pieces of information which can be put together to give a clear picture of the East Greenlandic immigration at that time, and of the society which arose in the wake of this immigration. With this ethno-historical approach, it is possible to conclude something about long-term relationships, meetings with other cultures, changes in conditions in society etc.

Stories have been passed down from the immigrants themselves about life in Southeast Greenland and individual dramatic events which took place in the years up to 1900. They have been told, retold and used in various historical contexts, and still form an important part of the local historical tradition, as well as playing a role in giving the population of the southernmost part of Greenland their own identity.

The main emphasis in the historical part of this investigation has been placed on reconstructing events and describing conditions of special importance for the local population, or in other words on taking an ethno-historical approach to the existing written material and the tales which have been passed down. In addition to this, we have used micro-historical and personal cases as examples of how immigration and the new conditions influenced people's lives. In this way we aim to give a presentation of the history of the 19th century for the population of the Cape Farewell area – or, to use Greenlandic terms, both *qavaat*, who were already settled in the area, and *qavanngarnitsat*, who came from Southeast Greenland and settled in the Cape Farewell area.

## Terms for the population in the Cape Farewell area

The written sources which form the basis of this investigation are written in three languages, and as it is not always made entirely clear, we shall here briefly sketch what terms were used in various circles during the 18th and 19th century to denote the people who lived in East Greenland and who immigrated to Southwest Greenland.



The Greenlanders' name for themselves and their arctic kinsfolk was – and still is – *inuit* (singular: *inuk*). In the written sources from the 18th century, however, it can be seen that people have also called themselves *kalaallit* (singular: *kalaaleq*) (Egede 1925: 98), and at least from the 19th century this seems to have been the usual term. In *Atuagagdliutit*, this term is used in some of the very first articles.<sup>1</sup> And at the end of the 19th century Brodbeck states that in West Greenland it was much more common to use the term *kalaallit* than *inuit*. Brodbeck was a German missionary, and in 1881 travelled round to the east coast, from where he on the contrary could note that the East Greenlanders whom he met did not know the word *kalaallit*, and his interpreter had to explain to them that people on the west coast used this term for *inuit* (Brodbeck 1882: 75–76).

Starting from *Atuagagdliutit*, we give here a short list of the terms which during the 19th century were used in Greenlandic for people from South Greenland and East Greenland. The current term *Kujataa* (South Greenland) and the word *kujataamiu* (South Greenlander) derived from it have also been commonly used in the 19th century, and similarly the terms *Tunu* or *Tunua* (“Back side” or “Back side of the country”) and *tunumi* (East Greenlander) have apparently been the usual terms for East Greenland and its population.<sup>2</sup>

The terms *Kujataa* and *Tunua* are terms for particular geographical areas in Greenland. In Greenlandic it is, however, extremely common – and was perhaps even more so some centuries ago, when the population had probably not thought of the country as one large unit – to use the so-called demonstratives (Schultz-Lorentzen 1951: 37–39). In the concrete context here, this would be the demonstrative *qav\**, which specifies a position or direction to the left of a person who is standing looking out to sea. A precise term or translation will therefore depend on where the object described is seen from. Thus in West Greenlandic, *qavani* means “in the country down there (to the left),” i.e. in the south etc. In 1864, the editor of *Atuagagdliutit*, Lars Møller, went on a journey to South Greenland and in reporting on his impressions from staying in Qaqortoq just exactly uses the term *qavani* in the sense “(down) in the southern area,” i.e. seen from Nuuk, where he came from. While he was staying in Qaqortoq, some people were to come *qavánga Nanortalingmit*, i.e. “down from (the south) Nanortalik” (Fig. 4).<sup>3</sup>

From *qavannga* the word *qavanngarnisaq*, meaning a person who comes from or lives in this area, is derived. In some dictionaries, the translation or explanation of this is given as *kujataamioq*, i.e. South Greenlander (Petersen 1967) or “southerner; a Greenlander from the Cape Farewell area” (Berthelsen et al. 1990). In fact Lars Møller, whom we mentioned above, also uses the term *qavanngarnisaviit* (them from right down there



**Fig. 4.** The mountains at Itilleq reproduced after a drawing by Lars Møller, the editor of the Greenlandic language newspaper *Atuagagdliutit*. In 1864, Lars Møller had taken part in the inspector's journey of inspection to South Greenland, and he reported in his newspaper on the journey and his impressions of conditions in South Greenland (AG 1864: No. 36–37). Danish Arctic Institute, K020-29.

(in the south)), and says about them that they are difficult to understand, and that most of them were at the time away from home, either fishing *ammassaar* (English: capelins) or on the Kitsissut Islands hunting seals (*kipparsimavdlutik*). This characterisation corresponds very well to the population of the Cape Farewell area.<sup>4</sup>

A translation of *qav\** into something in the south or coming from the south is, however, seen from the dominating West Greenland. But in East Greenland the country to the left of a person who is looking out to sea lies to the north, so *qavani* and *qavannga* mean “in the north” or “from the north” respectively. In fact as early as 1800, Mørch, the merchant in Julianehåb, pointed out that “the easterners call North ‘South’ and South ‘North’” (Mørch 1942: 69).

In the very southernmost part of Greenland, the words *qavani* and *qavannga* are used about East Greenland, as we amongst other things see in the case of Daniel in Alluitsøq, who in 1877 in a long report on the Moravians in Greenland describes conditions at the mission station in Friedrichsthal at a given time, and states that there were still many people who arrived there *qavannga* – i.e. “from the northeast.”<sup>5</sup> This sense has been preserved in the period after the last wave of immigration, as

for example *qavunnarpoq* is used by the population of Cape Farewell in connection with hunting expeditions on the east coast (Simonsen 1996: 49).

In the same way, the expression *qavanngarnisaq* is used in the area to mean “East Greenlander; a person from East Greenland.” In *Atuagagdliutit* the term is used in this sense in the last part of the 19th century in a number of articles whose authors all have an association with South Greenland and are therefore familiar with or affected by the local language.<sup>6</sup> Thus along most of the west coast *qavanngarnisaq* has been the Greenlandic term for a person who lived in southern Greenland. In South Greenland, on the other hand, where contact to the population of East Greenland was greatest, and where the 19th-century immigration took place, a *qavanngarnisaq* was an East Greenlander or a person who came from East Greenland.

Nowadays the term *qavak* is used as a general term for a South Greenlander or a person from the Cape Farewell area (Berthelsen et al. 1990). The expression can, however, also be used in a negative and disparaging sense. And in southern Greenland the expression *qavappiaat* (real southerner) seems to have arisen as a term for people in the Cape Farewell area, and thus for the immigrant East Greenlanders and their descendants (Simonsen 1996).

With the immigration of East Greenlanders in the 19th century, a new term also turned up, namely *uiarneq* (plural: *uiarnerit*). This is a derived form from *uiarpoq* (“sails round something”) and refers to the fact that the immigrants on their way to Southwest Greenland had to travel round the southern tip of the country. Thus *uiarneq* means “a person who has sailed round something” – in this case Cape Farewell – i.e. an immigrant East Greenlander (Berthelsen et al. 1990).

The terms used in the Danish sources changed during the 19th century, as knowledge of the southernmost and eastern parts of Greenland grew. Around 1800, an approximate general view of the geographical relationships was built, and in talking about the population Mørch states that “The southerners, i.e. those who live about 20 Miles<sup>7</sup> south of the colony and further on towards Cape Discord” and “the easterners who live on the other side of the country” (Mørch 1831: 34).<sup>8</sup> In the early years we also often find the term “the so-called Österböigd” used to denote East Greenland and *Østbøygder* or *Østbøggder* to denote the population there (Ostermann 1918: 8),<sup>9</sup> which without any doubt is an influence from the Danish colonisers’ search for the Norse Eastern Settlement, which was for many years supposed to have lain on the east coast. However, the ordinary Danish terms for the population of the Cape Farewell area and of East Greenland quickly became respectively *sydlændere* or *sydlændinge* (English: “southerners”) and *østlændere* or *østlændinge* (English: “easterners”). In relation to Julianehåb, the

southerners lived in what has previously been defined as the Cape Farewell area, while the easterners were the inhabitants on the coast northeast of there.

The German sources which we have made use of in this investigation come primarily from the period after the establishment of a mission station in the Cape Farewell area in 1824, and here the terms used are extremely simple, namely *Südländer* and *Ostländer* for southerner/South Greenlander and easterner/East Greenlander respectively.

The terms which were used to denote the population of the Cape Farewell area appear, as stated, in the historical sources, and were partly a result of the meeting of cultures which took place in the area in the course of the 19th century. Before this time there had been a period of several hundred years on which the historical sources are more or less silent. Other sources, namely the archaeological ones, can however lift the veil on this period, which is the prehistory of the Cape Farewell area.

## The structure of the book

The sources are taken from archaeology, history, folklore, ethnography, ethno-history and linguistics, as it has from the very start been the intention of the project to involve as many groups of sources as possible, which together describe the cultural history of the Cape Farewell area and form the basis for the cultural relationships between Inuit and Europeans in the 19th century.

The content of the first four chapters can thus be read as a macro-historical description of South Greenland, which is followed by a historical, anthropological description of the social institutions in the original East Greenlandic society, after which the following three chapters can be seen as a micro-history for South Greenland.

Chapter I describes the prehistory during the roughly 400 years which passed from the time when the first Inuit arrived in the area until the creation of the social units which characterise Greenlandic society in the southern part of the country before European colonisation.

Chapter II presents the pre-requisites for the colonisation of South Greenland and thus describes the European presence in West Greenland after colonisation of the country was started in 1721.

Chapter III looks closely at the various actors in South Greenland and the motives behind their actions, which are characterised by the struggle for the unbaptised East Greenlanders and their contribution to colonial trade.

Chapter IV adds detail to the theme of the previous chapter by focusing on the struggle for the East Greenlandic immigrants and emphasising the

Moravian Brethren as the source of disagreement seen from the Danish mission's and Trading Company's point of view.

In Chapter V we leave the Cape Farewell area for a while and look at East Greenlandic society and the institutions which the original society could use in order to dam up for the massive European influence and thus make a last, but unsuccessful attempt to maintain its cultural integrity.

Chapter VI uses selected sources of a demographic type to illustrate the micro-history of the Cape Farewell area, and to follow individual families by looking at named individuals.

Chapter VII looks at how the East Greenlandic immigrants were integrated into their new occupational and social environment as members of society in West Greenland and the Moravian congregation, and describes the special East Greenlandic characteristics which still differentiate them from the population of South Greenland.

Chapter VIII describes how attitudes to their forefathers' way of life among descendants of the immigrant East Greenlandic families changed during the 19th century, and uses this as a foundation on which to discuss how history and identity are perceived in South Greenland.

Chapter IX presents and describes the collection of objects which were brought home to Europe by the missionaries and their families, and which have been preserved in Herrnhut.

# I. Prehistory

The Cape Farewell district has throughout Greenland's prehistory been passed by humans on their way between the southernmost part of the east and west coasts of the country; but despite well-documented sites from both the Saqqaq and the Dorset culture on both sides of the country, there has so far been no success – apart from in the case of some individual finds – in proving the existence of actual sites from these cultures south of Nuuk at 64° N on the west coast or Skjoldungen at 63° N on the east coast (Grønnow 1996: 4).

In connection with the fieldwork for the current investigation, however, lithic artifacts from the Dorset culture have been collected from places which have later been used by Inuit travelling through the Cape Farewell district. In these places, samples of charcoal have also been collected from supposed hearths, and dating of these samples shows that the places have been in use in the course of the last half millennium BC, i.e. in the early Dorset period in Greenland (Høegh-Knudsen et al. 2003; Raahauge et al. 2005).

There has been no success either in demonstrating the existence of archaeological remains which can document the remark in Arí Fróði's *Islendingabók* from the start of the 12th century that, after the Norse *landnam*, human dwelling places were found, together with fragments of (skin) boats and worked stone items (GHM, I, 1838: 168–169; Jansen 1972: 26ff.). Such remains would have come from the late Dorset culture, which we in Greenland only know from the Thule district, where it still existed in the 13th century (Appelt & Gulløv 1999).

This does not however exclude the possibility that this Palaeo-Eskimo culture can be shown to have existed in other places in Greenland, for example in the Ammassalik district, where the well-known stone fence on Kulusuk Island has been constructed in connection with battue for caribou, which however seems to have stopped after 1200, after which this animal presumably appears more sporadically on the southeast coast (Meldgaard 1986: 40ff.; Møbjerg 1988); or on the southern part of the west coast, where individual structures, for example a hunter's bed and a dwelling structure, have been dated to a period, or appear as a construction, which gets us to think of a possible relationship to the late Dorset culture (Grønnow et al. 1983: 82; Gulløv 1997: 435).

With the Neo-Eskimo Thule culture, which in the 12th century appeared in Greenland at Smith Sound, more than two thousand kilometres



north of the Norse Eastern Settlement, a population was introduced whose technological ability with respect to means of transport put them in a position to travel around and settle along the west coast of the country in a relatively short period of time. We shall now look more closely, in the light of the latest archaeological investigations, at these first Inuit and their contacts to the Norse population in the southern settlements of the country.

## **The first Inuit in the Norse Eastern Settlement**

Between the time when the Thule culture appeared in Greenland and up to the middle of the 15th century, where we no longer have any evidence of Norse presence in the country, 250 years went by, and in this period of time the settlement of the Inuit can be followed southwards. Datings show that Disko Bay must have been inhabited as early as the 13th century, which lies in the period during which the Norse hunters are known to have made regular hunting expeditions to the north (Gulløv 1997: 441; Arneborg 2004: 267), and in this century caribou hunting can also be shown to have taken place in the large ice-free area of land south of Disko Bay (Grønnow et al. 1983: 82).

From the last half of the 14th century there are traces of habitation on the coast off Nuuk Fjord, and at the same time hunting for caribou started further up in the fjord, but by then the Norse Western Settlement seems to have been abandoned (Gulløv 1997: 88, 344).

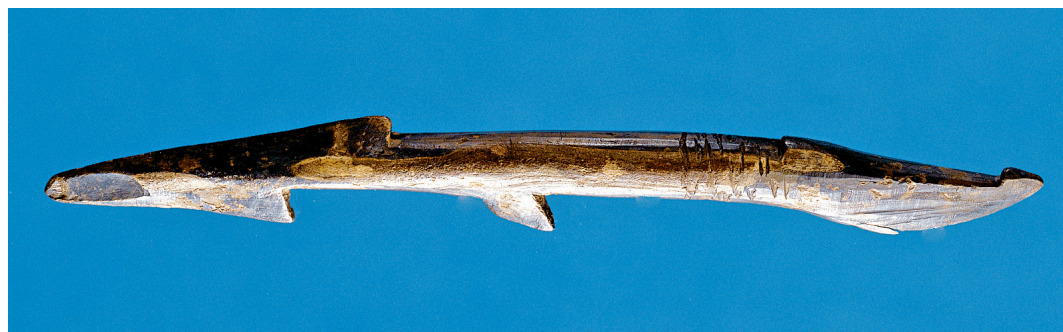
In the Paamiut district halfway between the two Norse settlements, there has been a site in the first half of the 15th century, and half a century later a winter dwelling was built at Uunartoq in the Eastern Settlement itself, which by that time had been abandoned by its original Norse inhabitants (Gulløv 1997: 434, 2004: 292).

The datings which have been used to determine the expansion of the Thule culture along the west coast have been performed on material which was collected at the very bottom of the middens, which – except for the southernmost dating of a ruin which postdates the Norse presence in the country – say nothing about the culture's material remains and dwellings. Thus an actual permanent settlement south of Disko Bay appears not to have taken place until the 15th century, at the same time as the earliest documented burials (Gulløv 1997: 473, 2004: 328).

We shall therefore assume that the activities which before then – i.e. in the 14th century – have left few, but clear pieces of evidence about Inuit presence south of Disko Bay can be related to journeys to the Norse settlements with the aim of maintaining trading connections which had

previously existed on the northern part of the west coast with goods such as iron and walrus tusks. From the same century we also find objects of a more exotic type left both in Inuit ruins far to the north and in the Norse farms and middens (Arneborg 2004: 267, 274) (Figs. 5a and b).

Activity like this can be deduced from the archaeological objects which have been found, but these do not tell us about the cases where the offer of goods did not live up to the recipient's expectations, or where the bartering ended in a conflict.



**Figs. 5a and b.** Examples of objects from the earliest phase of the neo-Eskimo Thule culture in Greenland found in connection with excavations of Østerbygden's Norse farms. The side prong of a bird dart (a) is 14 cm long and made of caribou antler. The external barb is a characteristic of the Thule culture which went out of use in Greenland in the course of the 15th century. Found in the midden of Ø34, a Norse farm in the Qorlortoq valley. Photo: The National Museum of Denmark. The handle for a hunting line (b) is 10.8 cm long and made of walrus tusk with carved polar bear heads at the ends. This type of handle can be dated to the Ruin Island phase of the Thule culture, for which evidence has been found for the period 1200–1400 in North Greenland. Found in Ø64c, a Norse farm in Vatnahverfi. Photo: The National Museum of Denmark.



We will however maintain our point of view that the relations between the two different populations in the country over 250 years have in the main been controlled by a code of conduct which was markedly different for the two parties, but which nevertheless set the stage for a necessary consensus in the meeting between them.

The Norse hunters had been sent out by the settlements' big farmers who had to atone for manslaughter committed "in the settlement or in the northern summer settlements to just under the North Star,"<sup>10</sup> but who also had to ensure the procurement of the walrus products which were their most important currency and wares for trade (Arneborg 2004: 266, 268). The task of ensuring this, which also involved relations with the Eskimo walrus hunters, could be achieved by entering into conflict-preventing trading partnerships, as was documented some hundreds of years later in connection with the meeting between European whalers and Inuit in West Greenland (Gulløv 1997: 406).

The well documented system of common law between Inuit, according to which access to resources and subsequent settlement could not be achieved as long as others by their presence demanded these rights, can serve as an analogy to the meeting between the two parties in medieval Greenland (Gulløv 1997: 361, 366). Compliance with this code of conduct can thus be considered as a probable explanation of the fact that winter occupation of the Norse settlements first took place after they had been abandoned, a fact which can be documented by archaeology and the written historical sources from the 18th century (Gulløv 1997: 408, 426–433, 2000a, 2008: 20–22).

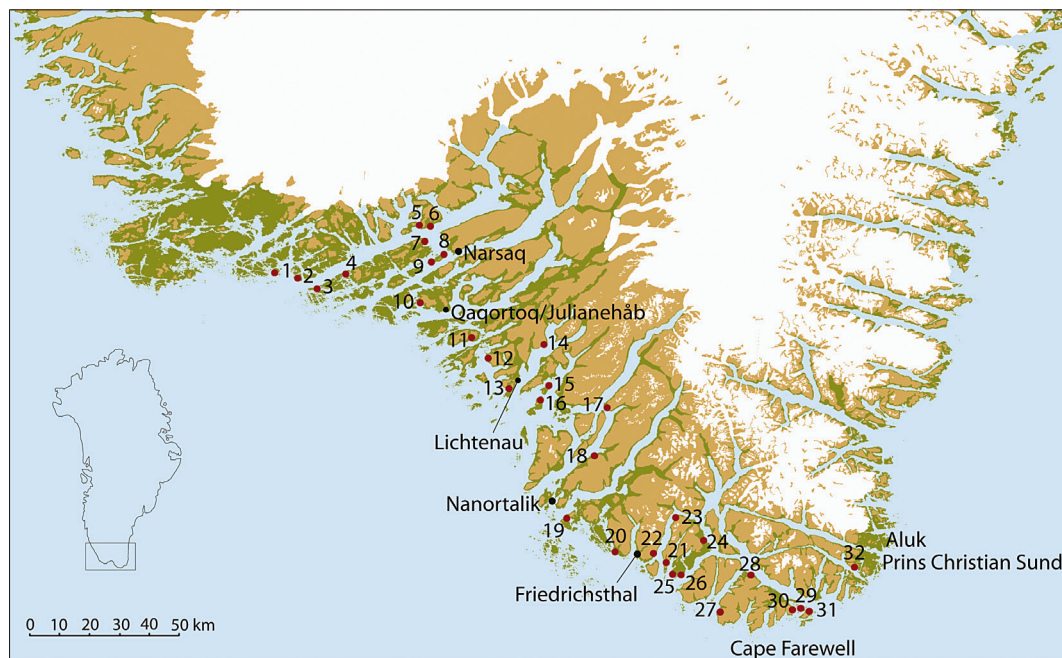
To this scenario for trade, which emphasises the involved parties' socio-cultural backgrounds, we can now add the results of new archaeological investigations of the early Thule culture in the Norse Eastern Settlement (Raahauge et al. 2002, 2003). From this region, which consists of the current Kommune Kujalleq (i.e. South Greenland municipality, previously Narsaq, Qaqortoq and Nanortalik communes), there is a list of the Thule culture's dwellings up to the 19th century, which today contains more than 200 previously inhabited winter sites (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936; Raahauge et al. 2002, 2003, 2005), but which nevertheless can all be dated to the time after Norse settlement had ceased.

The oldest, semi-subterranean winter houses have only a few stones in the walls and a few flagstones in the floor, whereas there are relatively many stones in the deep entrance passages (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 59). The ruins of these dwellings show up to three rooms, and can in some cases have a kitchen niche added on, to which there was only access from the inside of the dwelling (*ibid.*).

*Semi-subterranean house sites in South Greenland have been registered at the following localities*

Locality	Single room	Double room	Triple room	Total
1. Qassimiut	1	-	-	1
2. Upernivik <sup>b)</sup>	-	10	-	10
3. Qarmannguit	2	-	-	2
4. Qooroq	1	-	-	1
5. Qoornoq <sup>a)</sup>	2	-	-	2
6. Narsarsuaq <sup>ab)</sup>	1	2	-	3
With kitchen niche	1	-	-	1
7. Tuttutuup Isua <sup>b)</sup>	5	2	-	7
With kitchen niche	-	1	-	1
8. Illutalik <sup>b)</sup>	4	4	-	8
With kitchen niche	1	1	-	2
9. Uigorleq <sup>b)</sup>	1	1	-	2
10. Qaarusuarimiut <sup>ab)</sup>	3	-	-	3
With kitchen niche	-	1	-	1
11. Itilleq <sup>ab)</sup>	1	-	-	1
12. Kapuivik <sup>a)</sup>	1	-	-	1
13. Illunnguaq <sup>a)</sup>	2	-	-	2
14. Pernera <sup>a)</sup>	1	-	-	1
15. Uunartoq <sup>b)</sup>	6	2	2	10
With kitchen niche	-	2	-	2
16. Illorpaat	1	-	-	1
17. Sermilik	2	-	-	2
18. Umiarsuk <sup>ab)</sup>	2	-	-	2
With kitchen niche	-	1	-	1
19. Itilleq	1	-	-	1
20. Maakkarneq <sup>ab)</sup>	1	1	-	2
21. Kuummiut <sup>b)</sup>	2	2	-	4
22. Ujarasussuit	3	-	-	3
23. Illusaatissat	1	-	-	1
24. Anorliuitsoq <sup>b)</sup>	2	3	-	5
With kitchen niche	1	-	1	2
25. Pamialluk	1	-	-	1
26. Uukkat	-	1	-	1
27. Eggers Island, west <sup>b)</sup>	1	-	-	1
28. Kuummiut	1	-	-	1
29. Tinuteqisaaq	1	-	-	1
30. Illukoq	1	-	-	1
31. Uummanaq	2	1	-	3
32. Amitsuarsuk	2	-	-	2
	58	35	3	96

<sup>a)</sup> Near or in Norse sites. <sup>b)</sup> Archaeological investigations. (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936; Raahauge et al. 2003, 2005).



**Fig. 6.** Localities in South Greenland with the oldest winter settlements from the Thule culture, i.e. 1450–1650. In two localities (20 and 24), dwellings from the Thule culture from the end of the 14th century have been shown to exist. 1. Qassimiut; 2. Upernivik; 3. Qarmannguit; 4. Qooroq; 5. Qoornoq; 6. Narsarsuaq; 7. Tuttutuup Isua; 8. Illutalik; 9. Uigorleq; 10. Qaarusuarmiut; 11. Itilleq; 12. Kapuivik; 13. Illunnguaq; 14. Pernera; 15. Uunartoq; 16. Illorpaat; 17. Sermilik; 18. Umiarsuk; 19. Itilleq; 20. Maakkarneq; 21. Kuummiut; 22. Ujarasussuit; 23. Illusaatissat; 24. Anorliuitsaq; 25. Pamialluk; 26. Uukkat; 27. Eggers Island, west; 28. Kuummiut; 29. Tinuteqisaq; 30. Illukoq; 31. Uummannaq; 32. Amitsuarsuk.

The semi-subterranean houses which characterise the Thule culture's oldest architecture in South Greenland also appear here in later periods and can also have served purposes other than acting as winter dwellings. These features will be described in more detail in the next section. Before that we shall focus our attention on a couple of semi-subterranean houses with single rooms (in the sites Maakkarneq and Anorliuitsaq, nos. 20 and 24), which according to the archaeological investigations turned out to have been in use at the same time as the Norse presence in the Eastern Settlement (Fig. 6).

Maakkarneq is the name of a fairly large inlet which lies three kilometres west of the Norse Herjolfsnæs. Along the innermost coasts of the inlet can be seen large sanded up areas which have given rise to the Greenlandic name "where one goes and sinks in with the feet." On the slightly sloping grassy field along the east side of the inlet lie the ruins of a relatively large Norse farm with two grass-covered ruins of dwellings a

couple of hundred metres from one another. In addition to this there are twenty or so structures, made up of stone stables, barns, sheepfolds and warehouses, all of which are connected with the Norse animal husbandry and not least with trade. This group of buildings near Herjolfsnæs, where there according to Norse sources “lies a harbour which is called Sand, an ordinary harbour for Norsemen and merchants,” now confirms our assumption that Sandhavn is to be found here (Christiansen 2002; GHM, III, 1845: 251).



**Fig. 7.** Maakkarneq with several traces of Inuit activities in the 18th and 19th centuries, and a couple of older dwelling structures, of which one has been in use at the end of the 14th century. The remains of at least two Norse dwellings and several foundations for stone structures from what is presumed to be the Norse Sandhavn can also be seen.

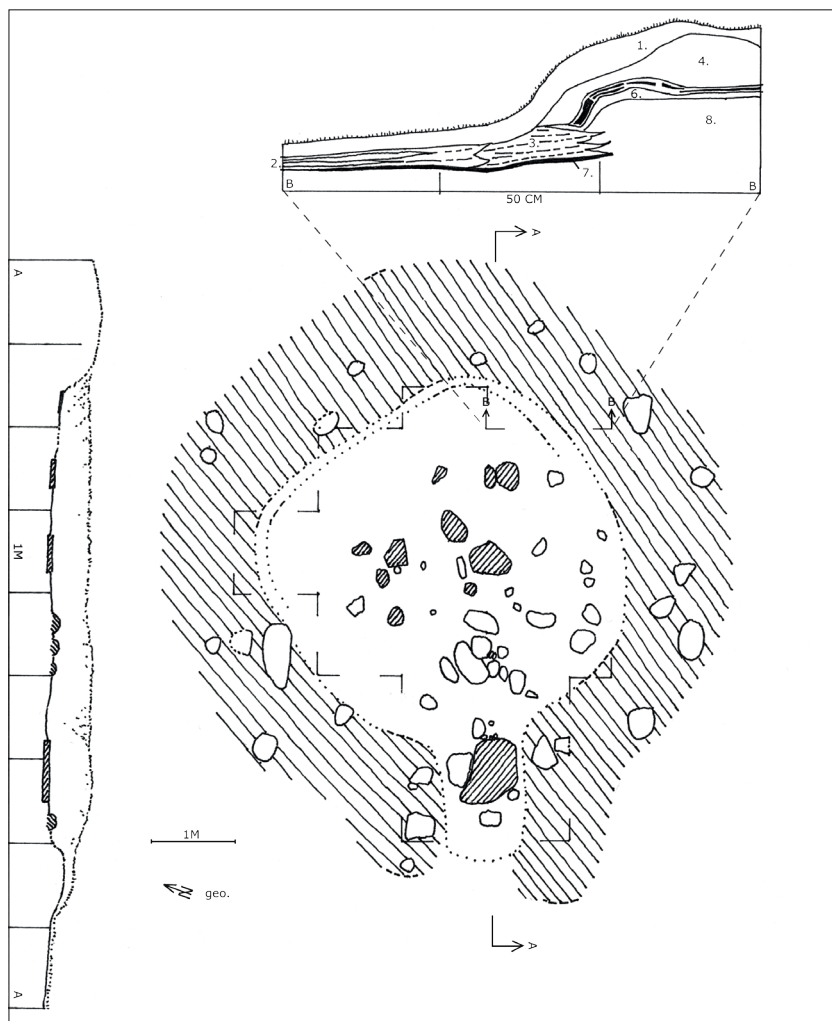
Around Maakkarneq it is possible to see individual Inuit winter houses, of which one with a double room appears to have been built on the site of a Norse house, together with tent rings with solid foundations to resist the powerful foehn winds of the region; there are also a number of well-appointed caves under large rocks as shelters for early Greenlandic sheep farmers in the 19th century. In total forty-six structures have been registered, most of which can be dated to colonial times (Raahauge et al. 2002).

On the grassy field near the coast below the Norse farm itself lies a semi-subterranean structure. A watercourse flows out into the inlet south of the ruin, which before being excavated looked like an almost circular depression in the terrain of 4.10 x 4.30 metres with a 1.5 metre long entrance oriented towards the water. The outline of a low wall of one to one and a half metre's width and with a number of larger stones on top surrounded the inner rooms of the site. Beneath the vegetation round the site, flying sand or sandy humus can be seen, indicating that drifting due to wind is a common occurrence in this region (Figs. 7 and 8).

The archaeological investigation (Raahauge et al. 2002, 2003) showed that the dwelling had been constructed on a previous activity surface, in which individual iron rivets and charcoal of willow and birch of local origin were found, both items being dated to the 13th century, and to judge by their distribution these appear to originate from a large fire. The charcoal has subsequently finished up on the walls of the dwelling, which are built up of material dug up from the interior of the room and laid on top of cut peat, in which three rivets were found.

Placed directly on the sandy subsoil in the inner room, the floor is seen as a thin cohesive surface for walking on, on which a platform of peat has been built up at the back of the ruin. Between the platform and the wall, a little bank of cut, insulating peat can be seen, and can be followed along the wall for the entire length of the platform. In front of the platform, a number of flagstones can be seen in the surface of the floor, and further on there are a number of fairly large stones which appear to have slid down from the top of the surrounding wall. On the floor there was an amount of burnt blubber and a couple of stones made brittle by fire, together with some birch charcoal, of which two samples have both been dated to the 14th century.

In the entrance lay a piece of worked soapstone from a cooking pot or lamp, and in the middle can be seen a large flagstone at the level of the floor, from where there is 15 centimetres up to the level of the area immediately outside the house. Thus there is no sunken entrance passage in this construction, as would normally be the case if it were a winter dwelling from the Thule culture, and the solid wall construction seems



**Fig. 8.** Ground plan of a dwelling covered over with skins from the Inuit temporary habitation in the 14th century near the Norse farm at Sandhavn. The entrance is formed as a threshold, in contrast to the winter dwelling's dug down entrance passage. Along the internal rear wall, a small insulating bank of heaped-up peat can be seen – a design detail which also appears in the Palaeo-Eskimo Dorset culture's autumn dwellings which were in use in North Greenland until about AD 1300. The profile is built up as follows: 1. Vegetative cover with sandy underside; 2. Dark brown peat filling with culture traces (charcoal) in two or three layers separated by light sandy layers which indicate inner construction (platform or floor); 3. Layered portion with visible peat structure in dark brown lenses (i.e. individual turves) with sandy undersides; 4. Heterogeneous red-brown sand with small stones and sandy areas (wall construction); 5. Layer of cut, dark brown peat, in which an iron rivet was found elsewhere; 6. Follows layer 5 as a layer of fine, washed out sand; 7. Coherent dark brown peat level (walking surface, floor); 8. Underground, consisting of fine, sandy, red brown, wind-blown silt.

unlikely to have served as the foundation for a summer tent, even if there could have been good reasons for taking precautions against the violent foehn storms.

The only available parallel to the structure described here is to be found in the late summer or autumn dwellings from the late Dorset culture in the high Arctic regions of Greenland, which in the 13th century still used the same constructional details – with the exception of the Palaeo-Eskimo mid-passage – as can now also be demonstrated in Maakkarneq (Appelt & Gulløv 1999: 12–20, 47).

It has not yet been possible to demonstrate the existence of corresponding structures north of the Eastern Settlement and south of Thule, but no attempts have been made to do so. On the other hand we must emphasise that the construction of this dwelling in Dorset architecture from the Thule culture in the Norsemen's Sandhavn would fit into the model for meetings of cultures and bartering which says that "evidence from the written sources and the objects found in population centres suggests that the Norse met Dorset people on their hunting trips to Nordsetur in the eleventh and twelfth century; and we assume that the Dorset transmitted their knowledge of these foreigners to the recently arrived Thule people in the thirteenth century. This period of coexistence can be dated to the middle of the Norse era. Accounts of the *skraeling* in the Norse sources point to two periods of contact: one before 1200, when the Late Dorset culture still occupied northwest Greenland, and one after 1300, when the Thule culture was dominant there" (Gulløv 2000b: 324).

When Inuit came to Maakkarneq in the 14th century, the nearby Herjolfsnæs was, according to the datings of clothing which has been preserved, still populated (Arneborg 2004: 261); and the farm at Sandhavn must, according to archaeological investigations, be assumed to have been in use. From the youngest layer in the floor of what is assumed to be a large storehouse, charcoal of local birch wood with bark has been collected up among the many Norse objects, and has been dated to that century with a *terminus post quem* of 1406 (Christiansen 2002; Raahauge et al. 2003).

But this locality is not the only one where the first Inuit settled. At Anorliuitsoq further to the east in the Cape Farewell area lies the place "where it is quiet when the wind blows," as the Greenlandic name tells us. This place lies on both sides of a stream which is rich in Arctic char, and includes the ruins of seven semi-subterranean structures and the ruins of ten younger, often conjoined buildings, which all appear to come from the colonial period. In addition, twelve tent rings or foundations, six graves and four caches were found, which together make this locality the biggest in the Cape Farewell district (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 66) (Fig. 9).





**Fig. 9.** Anorliuitsoq seen towards the southeast. In colonial times the settlement lay out on the headland until it was given up in 1948. The sites of the big communal houses can be seen on either side of the mouth of the river, and around these lie the ruins of the Thule culture's earlier settlement. Photo: K. Raahauge 2002, Nanortalik Museum.

The semi-subterranean structures turned out after investigation, however, to be from quite different centuries. The youngest is a large circular construction which has been used as a *qassi* or men's house from the 18th century; from the 16th century there was a dwelling with a kitchen niche, but with the same architectural characteristics as in the site at Maakkerneq, i.e. the little bank of cut peat along the inside of the platform, but here with stones in the wall and a sunken entrance passage, indicating that it has also been occupied in the winter; in a large site with three rooms and a kitchen niche, a piece of bell metal from a church bell was found, and this must date the settlement to after the abandonment of the Eastern Settlement in the 15th century (Raahauge et al. 2002, 2003) (Fig. 10).

The oldest construction is however a small, almost circular ruin which lies dug into the south-facing slope on the north side of the stream. The inner room of the ruin measures 3.5 metres, and the entrance can be followed out through the metre-thick wall. A 1.5 metre long wall for





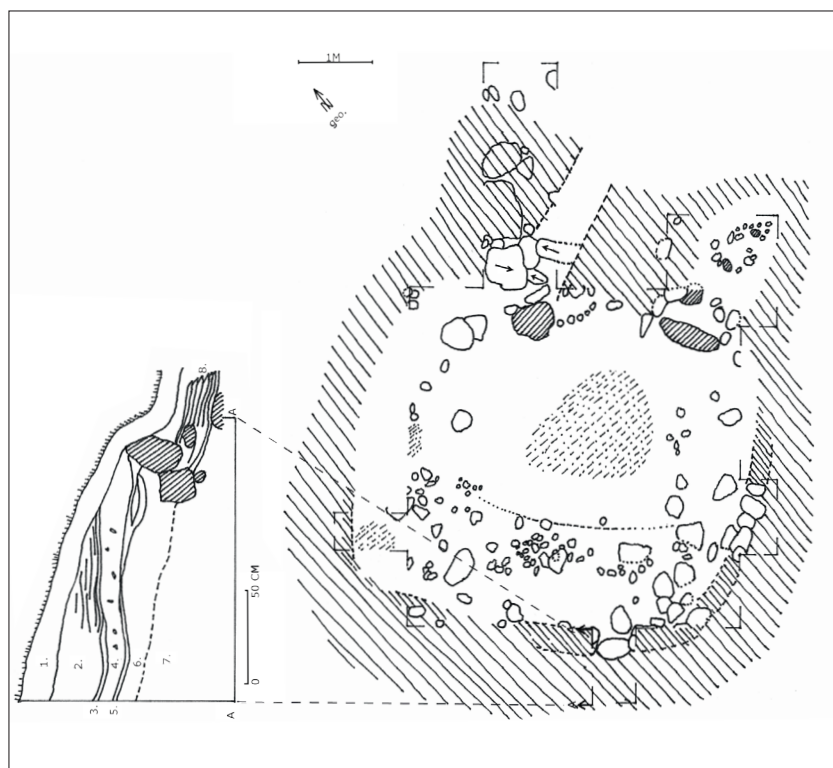
**Fig. 10.** Anorliuitsq with ruins from the 14th century (no. 2), from the period 1450–1650 (nos. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14), from the 18th and 19th centuries (nos. 3, 4, 5 (a men's house or qassi), 7, 9, 15, 16 and 17) and from the 20th century (no. 19 (a possibly flooded storehouse) and 20 (settlement given up in 1948)). Several tent rings (nos. 1, 6 and 18) and an older tent bank (no. 8) can also be seen. Graves and caches can be seen both among the ruins and out in the surrounding terrain.

shelter has been built transversely in front of the opening. Behind the ruin lies a fairly small, cache-like construction.

The floor appeared as a thin, stamped layer, which stopped half way into the ruin, where no trace could be found of a proper platform construction. At one place along the wall, layers of sandy peat could be observed, and these could be the remains of a little bank, as found in the ruin at Maakkarneq. The whole floor was covered with a thin culture layer, which consisted of peat with a few pieces of burnt blubber and bones, charcoal and an iron rivet. A piece of charred, locally grown juniper collected up near the iron rivet was dated to the 14th century (Raahauge et al. 2002) (Fig. 11).

As in the case of Maakkarneq, there was in the earliest dwelling in Anorliuitsq no sunken entrance passage which could indicate a winter

dwelling. We must therefore conclude that Inuit, in connection with summer expeditions to the southernmost part of Greenland, have quickly become acquainted with the country and its resources; and finds of blades and microblade cores of rock crystal from the early Dorset culture on Anorliuitsoq also show that exactly this locality with its good catch of Arctic char has attracted people at all times.



**Fig. 11.** Ground plan of 16th-century ruin on Anorliuitsoq (no. 10). On the right of the sunken entrance passage can be seen a small kitchen niche, which is a characteristic of early Thule culture architecture. The edge of the platform is marked with a dashed line, and along the internal rear wall a small insulating bank of heaped-up peat can be seen, cf. Fig. 4. The profile is built up as follows: 1. Vegetative cover; 2. Parts of roots mixed with small stones and obvious wall peat (black lenses with light gray, sandy undersides) over a distance of 0.5 metres; 3. Coherent black, peaty lower limit of layer 2; 4. Pale brown, gravelly layer with small stones; 5. Pale gray, sandy layer, delimited above and below by a thin, black, slippery peat filling; 6. Blackish brown, heterogeneous, gravelly peat. Presumably the wall structure for the first building, which is clearly marked by the stone structure and by layer 8; 7. Pale brown, gravelly underground, which can be observed all over the inner part of the ruin. The boundary to layer 6 is diffuse; 8. Clear wall structure of peat on peat, consisting of black peat layer with underlying pale gray, sandy layers.

We believe that we can now conclude from the above investigations that it is probable that Inuit were present in the Eastern Settlement before it was abandoned in the 15th century by its Norse population, and that the Palaeo-Eskimo Dorset culture has probably played an active role in disseminating knowledge of the Norse hunters on their common northern hunting grounds. We may further conclude that real Neo-Eskimo winter settlements do not occur until long after the Eastern Settlement had been abandoned, as we must have reservations about the datings of marine material from Qaarusuarmitut and the dating of caribou antler from the site in Uunartoq, which may originally have been collected somewhere else. Similarly, it can also be established that the earliest winter dwellings were often provided with a kitchen niche extension, as has been demonstrated here for seven localities, and which has for long been known to be a characteristic of the Neo-Eskimo pioneer architecture, i.e. the Ruin Island phase (Holtved 1944, II: 99).

*Datings of early Thule culture in Østerbygd*

Locality	Structure	Sample no.	Material	C14 yrs BP	Cal. AD, two sigma range
10. Qaarusuarmitut	Double room with kitchen niche (in a Norse ruin)	KIA-13203A	Burnt sea mammal bones (from kitchen)	902	1032–1216
Correction for reservoir effect, 450 yrs.				492	1290–1640*
10. Qaarusuarmitut	Double room with kitchen niche (in a Norse ruin)	KIA-13204B	Burnt sea mammal bones (from kitchen)	1122	784–86, 835, 879–994
Correction for reservoir effect, 450 yrs.				712	1040–90, 1120–1430*
10. Qaarusuarmitut	Double room with kitchen niche (in a Norse ruin)	KIA-11810	Picea/Larix driftwood (from kitchen)	1301	660–777
15. Uunartoq	Double room with kitchen niche	AAR-7371	Antler (from floor)	430	1435–80
20. Maakkarneq	Single room	KIA-15637	Betula sp. (from wall)	797	1164–69, 1185–1285
20. Maakkarneq	Single room	KIA-19733	Salix sp. (from wall)	759	1222–34, 1235–89
20. Maakkarneq	Single room	KIA-15638	Betula sp. (from floor)	628	1294–1333, 1337–1400

20. Maakkarneq	Single room	KIA-19732	Betula sp. (from floor)	592	1302–70, 1381–1409
'Sandhavn'	Norse storehouse	KIA-19734	Betula sp. (from last floor)	597	1302–71, 1380–1406
24. Anorliuitsoq	Single room	KIA-15634	Juniperus com. (from floor)	621	1291–1407
24. Anorliuitsoq	Single room with kitchen niche	KIA-15635	Betula nana (from kitchen)	347	1460–1639
24. Anorliuitsoq	Single room with kitchen niche	KIA-15636	Salix cf. arctica (from floor)	302	1486–1604, 1607–56
24. Anorliuitsoq	Single room with kitchen niche	KIA-19729	Betula nana (from floor)	329	1488–1605, 1606–39

\*A & B are from the same sample with common age for the period AD 1290–1430.

KIA: Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel; AAR: Aarhus University. Calibrated age is according to "CALIB rev 4.3" (Data set 2), Stuiver et al., Radiocarbon 40 (1998): 1041–83. Qaarusuarmit, one ruin (Gulløv 2000a); Uunartoq, ruin 3 (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 58–60); Maakkarneq, one ruin, KIA-15637 one sigma: 1216–77, KIA-19733 one sigma: 1251–54, 1255–85, KIA-15638 one sigma: 1300–27, 1346–74, 1377–93, KIA-19732 one sigma: 1313–54, 1387–1402 (Raahauge et al. 2002, 2003); Sandhavn, one ruin, KIA-19734 one sigma: 1307–34, 1337–54, 1387–1400 (Christiansen 2002; Raahauge et al. 2003); Anorliuitsoq, two ruins, KIA-15634 one sigma: 1299–1331, 1341–74, 1376–97, KIA-15635 one sigma: 1482–1525, 1557–1631, KIA-15636 one sigma: 1521–81, 1626–44, KIA-19729 one sigma: 1515–32, 1542–99, 1616–36 (Raahauge et al. 2002, 2003).

In spite of extensive reconnaissance, it has only proved possible to identify such kitchen niches in a single locality in the Western Settlement, which until further notice is the only place between the Eastern Settlement and Disko Bay. In Disko Bay they were in use until the 16th century (Gulløv 1997: 439), and so we must assume that it was from the more northerly regions on the west coast that the summer expeditions to the Eastern Settlement took place in the 14th and 15th centuries, before real settlement for the winter was started in the southernmost part of the country.

Settling for the winter in South Greenland, however, made special demands on the Inuit, who here had to make themselves acquainted with another distribution of the living resources. This can be seen from the archaeological material, where objects from Disko Bay used in connection with fishing make up 5% of the total hunting equipment, while the corresponding proportion in South Greenland is more than 40% (Gulløv 1997: 403). With the distribution of the country's resources which these numbers indirectly indicate, a basis for regional trading expeditions between Inuit in Greenland appears to have been created.

We shall now look more closely at the settlements which spread out along the coast in the abandoned Eastern Settlement, and which in the course of a couple of hundred years were greatly increased in number, until the region in the colonial period appeared as the most populated part of the country.

## **From festival house to communal house**

In the large majority of settlements in South Greenland, as is also the case in most of the Low Arctic parts of Greenland, we can see the grass covered ruins of dwellings, which originally had high stone walls, which have now often collapsed, and with a sunken entrance passage which in most cases is built at right angles to the long axis of the house. The inner room can be seen to have a rectangular ground plan, whose length is most commonly between five and seven to eight metres, although ruins of up to twenty metres length can also be found (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 9, 68–69).

Ruins with these characteristics are known as communal houses, and were the most prevalent form of dwelling when colonisation of the country was initiated on the west coast 500 km further to the north. Archaeological and ethnographic investigations in this more northerly region have shown that it is probable that the oldest communal houses, which here come from about 1700, have been built by South Greenlanders travelling to hunt whales in the north (Gulløv 1997: 387). Even if large communal houses do occur, the average ground area is about 25 m<sup>2</sup>, while the oldest winter houses with kitchen niches in South Greenland can have a ground area of between 20 and 40 m<sup>2</sup> (ibid.).

In other words, the term “communal house” is not related to its size, but to a travel activity which had taken place since the end of the 17th century, and which – judging by the extent to which the architecture is disseminated – as time went by covered the entire coast of West and Southeast Greenland. In South Greenland this rectangular form of dwelling is found in more than 160 localities, which also include ten or so places where their length is smaller than five metres (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 9–13; Raahauge et al. 2005).

The European objects which were found in connection with the archaeological investigations of these ruins (ibid.) were – apart from a few of Norse origin – almost all types which had been in use in the established colonies further to the north. The glass beads were of the same types as had been imported to the colonies, and which were also found in the excavated communal houses in the archipelago off Nuuk where colonisation had started (cf. Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 98; Gulløv 1997: 278–291).

A list of the finds from the ruins in South Greenland shows that these late European objects from the places investigated make up about 22% at Tuttutuup Isua, about 12% at Narsarsuaq, about 3% at Illutalik, about 2% at Uunartoq and about 35% at Arfermiut, which – compared with the corresponding proportions of the material from the communal houses in Nuuk – reflects a corresponding increase in European contact, which at Nuuk first gets up to 12% after the middle of the 18th century (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 90–93; Gulløv 1997: 367).

Whale hunting expeditions to the north, where also commercial whaling in the Davis Strait had started before 1700 and seriously took off with the increased Dutch activity after 1719 (Leinenga 1995), attracted many participants over the years, and after 1721 the Danish-Norwegian colonists also joined in. The majority of the South Greenlanders who travelled to join in returned, however, to their home region – some of them after overwintering – until the establishment of the colony of Julianehåb in 1775 stopped the long journeys, which for a long time had had the nature of real trading expeditions (Gulløv 1997: 400–407).

We must therefore assume that the relevant large and small dwellings in South Greenland are probably not older than – rather, that they are contemporary with or younger than – the settlements further north which lay closer to the European trading stations. After this, settlement increased considerably as new colonies were established along the coast in the course of the century, in which the East Greenlanders had also been present for a long time on the west coast as participants in this trading relationship (*ibid.*).

Before we in the next section look more closely at the prehistory of Southeast Greenland, from where a continually increasing immigration to the west coast took place, we will draw attention to a characteristic of the social structure, that in several places in Greenland must be considered in connection with the semi-subterranean circular structures which we in the previous section have included in the list of dwellings with a single room from the early Thule culture.

With their quite circular ground plan, whose diameter can be five metres or more, with the absence of an actual platform or other visible space divisions, with an often sporadically flagstone covered floor, with just a few stones in the wall, except in the entrance, and often with just a single or a pair of stones over the entrance near the inner room, it becomes difficult to imagine the function of these structures as actual dwellings. Structures with several of these architectural characteristics have been observed in at least twelve sites, namely 1. Qassimiut, 3. Qarmannguit(?), 5. Qoornoq, 7. Tuttutuup Isua, 8. Illutalik, 9. Uigorleq, 10. Qaarusuarmiut(?), 11. Itilleq, 15. Uunartoq, 18. Umiarsuk, 21. Kuummiut and 24. Anorliuitsaq.

In two places (nos. 7 and 8), the house sites deviate from this general description by having a stone inner wall, which underlined the striking architecture and led to the interpretation of this type of construction as a *qassi* (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 51). Structures of this type have been shown to exist in several places on the west coast of Greenland from Thule to Cape Farewell, but never on the east coast, and they have an unmistakeable similarity with the unroofed *qassi* from Canada, which have been used during the summer (Gulløv 1988; Mathiassen 1927: 9; Schledermann & McCullough 2003: 121).

In the terrain, the large circular ruins have the same shape as is seen in the glacier eroded circus valleys in the mountains, and which in the earliest Greenlandic dictionaries are translated as *qassi*. These dictionaries also include the verb *qassimiuaarput*, which has originally been translated as “they group together in a circle,” which refers to the ground plan of the ruins – and also to the memory of their function as a meeting room. On the other hand, *qassi* were described by the missionaries as whorehouses, because sinful lamp extinguishing games were supposed to have taken place there.

There is extensive documentation on *qassi* in Greenland which leaves us in no doubt that we are talking about an institution with an associated building, which had left its distinctive mark both in people’s memories and on the landscape, even if it had never been observed in central West Greenland in the 18th century. From here we have the earliest written records, which unanimously refer to the large communal house as the place for social and religious activities (Gulløv 1988).

As a starting point for the documented expeditions from South Greenland northwards in the 18th century, the region around Uunartoq is specifically mentioned as the most populous, and many hundred Greenlanders travelling from the south also came to it (Gulløv 1997: 401–402). In Uunartoq a couple of the excavated sites have just the characteristics which make it probable that they have been used as *qassi*, but no material has been preserved which can tell us about their age (Mathiassen & Holtved 1936: 62). The problem here is that the older, semi-subterranean houses appear everywhere with a growth of crowberry and willow, which is also seen on the circular structures assumed to be *qassi*, with the result that the latter do not appear to be contemporary with the grass-covered, more recent ruins – unless the original *qassi* have been in use for a long period.

New archaeological investigations in South Greenland have, however, been able to provide an answer to the question of how long the *qassi* have been in use. Once again we will focus our attention southwards, to the Cape Farewell district, where two sites with a circular ground plan have



been excavated in Kuummiut (no. 21) and Anorliuitsoq (no. 24) (Raahauge et al. 2003).

Kuummiut lies on the southwestern point of the island Pamialluk, with a view out over the sea and to the high mountains at Cape Farewell. The structures of the settlement can be seen on top of high slopes on both sides of a stream, which has given the place its Greenlandic name. To the east, a couple of newer hunting lodges lie in the ruins of two communal houses which have been built end to end, with an overall extension of 25 metres, and which are overgrown with high grass and lyme grass. A steep and luxuriant midden lies down the slope in front of the complex, and at the bottom lie a pair of older tent foundations in tall lyme grass. Six graves can be seen round the settlement, and five graves, two fox traps and four hunting shelters in caves were found on the mountain high above the settlement to the northeast.

To the west and on the top of a steep and gravelly erosion slope lies an eight metre long communal house with grass-covered walls 1.25 metres high built over a ruin. The remaining ruins in this place are all grown



**Fig. 12.** Kuummiut seen towards the southwest. A recent hunting hut can be seen on the slope in front of the large tent. The oldest structure of the settlement is found on the far (the western) side of the stream (opposite the red tent). Photo: H. C. Gulløv 2002, The National Museum of Denmark.

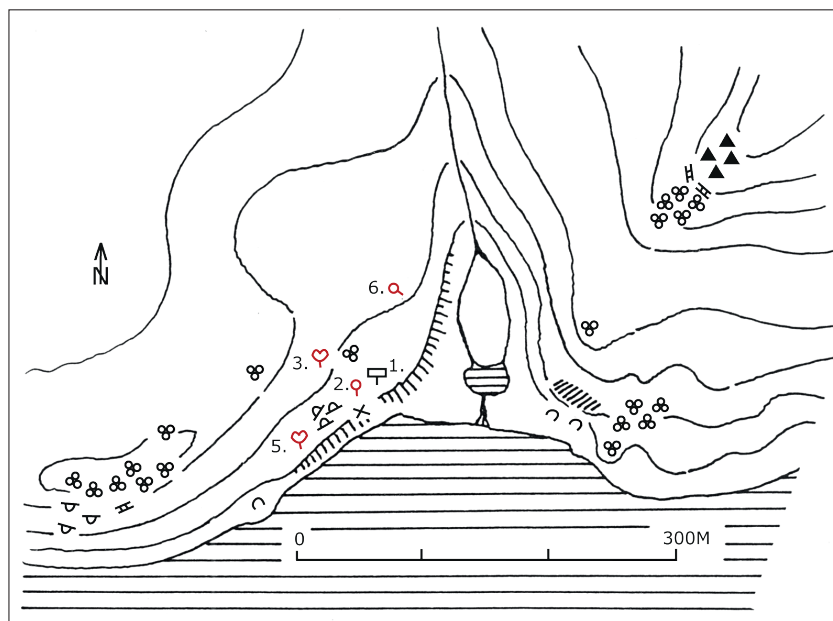


over with crowberry, together with some whortleberry and juniper, and are made up of two older ruins with double rooms, built-up stone walls and a long entrance passage; a semi-subterranean structure with a circular ground plan of about three metres and a narrow, crooked entrance passage; and finally – about 40 metres further to the northeast – a semi-subterranean, circular structure with an internal diameter of slightly more than four metres and an entrance passage of about 2.5 metres. The remaining structures in this place consist of nine graves, six caches, a tent foundation, a fox trap and a small stone construction of uncertain function (Fig. 12).

Both the luxuriant growth on the high walls of the communal house and the collection of glazed ceramics on the tent area indicate a relatively late date for these structures, which must have been in use after 1797, when Nanortalik was established, or after 1824, when the German Moravian Brethren established the nearby Friedrichsthal. The relatively many chamber graves must date from a time before the mission managed to change this burial custom in the course of the 19th century (Figs.13 and 14).



**Fig. 13.** Heathen grave on Kuummiut set on the headland east of the stream, with a view towards Pamialluk (behind the low headland below the low-lying coastal mist). Photo: H. C. Gulløv 2002, The National Museum of Denmark.



**Fig. 14.** Kuummiut with ruins from the 16th century (nos. 3 and 5), each with a corresponding *qassi* (nos. 2 and 6), and from the 19th century (no. 1). Individual more recent tent banks can be seen on both sides of the cove. There are twenty graves on the two sides of the stream. Six caches and a fox trap can be seen in the area west of the stream. Behind the five graves on the rock side northeast of the settlement there are a couple of fox traps and four hunting shelters in caves.

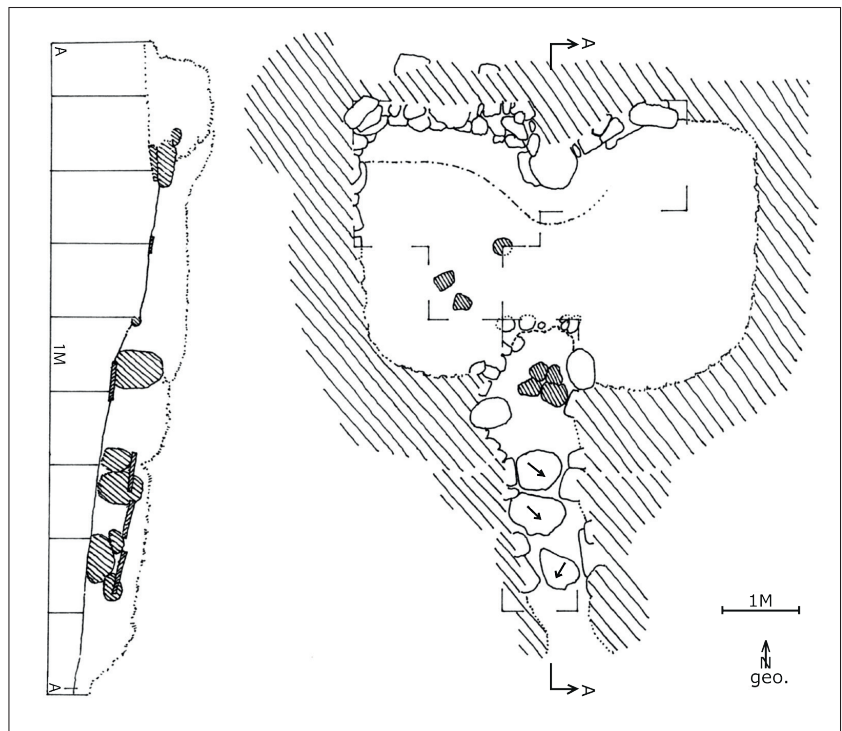
Thus at Kuummiut we have an original, undisturbed, early settlement, which consisted of two dwellings with double rooms and two circular structures. Both one of the dwellings and one circular construction have been investigated archaeologically (Raahauge et al. 2003).

The walls of the ruin are preserved up to half a metre above the surrounding terrain, which like the walls is covered with arctic willow, crowberry and some dwarf birch. The inner rooms, whose floor surfaces were not dug down and which lie about 14 metres above high water, measure in total 5.5 metres in breadth and both halves are 3.5 metres in depth. Three courses of the rear wall are preserved. The entrance passage is at right angles to the middle of the room and is 4.5 metres long with side walls, and three of its capstones are preserved.

Fallen stones in the room from the top part of the rear wall show that this has originally been built up with four courses and has thus risen about a metre above the floor surface. The walls are made up of alternating cut peat and stones, built up on the original vegetation surface. The dividing wall is terminated towards the inner part of the room with a large, flat

stone block, which has presumably functioned as the foundation for a roof support. The floor's culture layer is made up of a dark brown, slightly gravelly layer of peat, which towards the rear wall is about 1 centimetre thick with mussel membranes, mica and a little charcoal. On the floor, a few flagstones can be seen together with charcoal and slag from a melting pit – from the nearby Norse Herjolfsnæs. The flagstones which make up the innermost part of the bottom of the entrance passage lie about 35 centimetres under the level of the inner floor, and slope down evenly from here by about 30 centimetres over a distance of four metres (Fig. 15).

Here we have a well-built winter house without a kitchen niche, with the same design as the settlement's other double house, which is only 3.5 metres wide. A date determined for burnt, local dwarf birch collected in the floor surface lies in the 16th century, with a 20% probability of a *terminus post quem* of 1643, which is the same result as for the dated dwelling with kitchen niche from Anorliuitsoq. The two semi-subterranean structures with circular ground plans in Kuummiut appear to be



**Fig. 15.** Ground plan of 16th-century ruin on Kuummiut (no. 3) with an approximately five-metre long, sunken entrance passage with visible, fallen capstones. Several courses of the back wall in the internal living room are still standing, and the platform is indicated with a dashed line.

related to two separate dwellings. The vegetation here is of the same type, and thus indicates that they come from the same period, but their functions have been determined by archaeological investigation of one of the structures.

The semi-subterranean structure is overgrown with crowberry and arctic willow, and lies about 40 metres northeast of the excavated ruin. The room measures 4.3 metres across and 4.2 metres in depth internally, and thus appears with an almost circular ground plan, from which the entrance passage runs about 2.5 metres towards south. The internal floor surface lies about 15 metres above high water and about 60 centimetres below the top edge of the rear wall. A few large stones lay along the inner edge of the wall, while the wall itself consisted of gravel and small stones of the same sort as the interior of the ruin, from which they have been dug up. A thin, brownish culture layer with a thickness of 0.5 to 1 centimetre made up the walking surface in the inner room, which towards the rear wall consisted of black coloured, sandy peat, whose consistency and colouring could be thought to come from dissolved organic remains (skin?). In the surface of the floor were found burnt blubber, driftwood charcoal, and a piece of soapstone from what is assumed to be a lamp.

No details of the construction could reveal whether the room had been covered over in any way. Nor were there any traces of capstones in the entrance passage, although a couple of solid stones on one side of it had slid inwards. The compressed crawling surface here lay 25 centimetres lower than the internal floor (Fig. 16).

The complete exposed and undisturbed construction, whose design appeared as a symbolic indication of a room with an entrance, appears in no way to leave the impression of an actual dwelling. On the contrary, we find that it will much more probably be possible to relate its function to the activities which take place in *qassi*, whose form has been described in the early historical records from Greenland in the 18th century. Thus we also find it important that a building of this type is built on its own in Kuummiut, which underlines its special function separate from the winter house's.

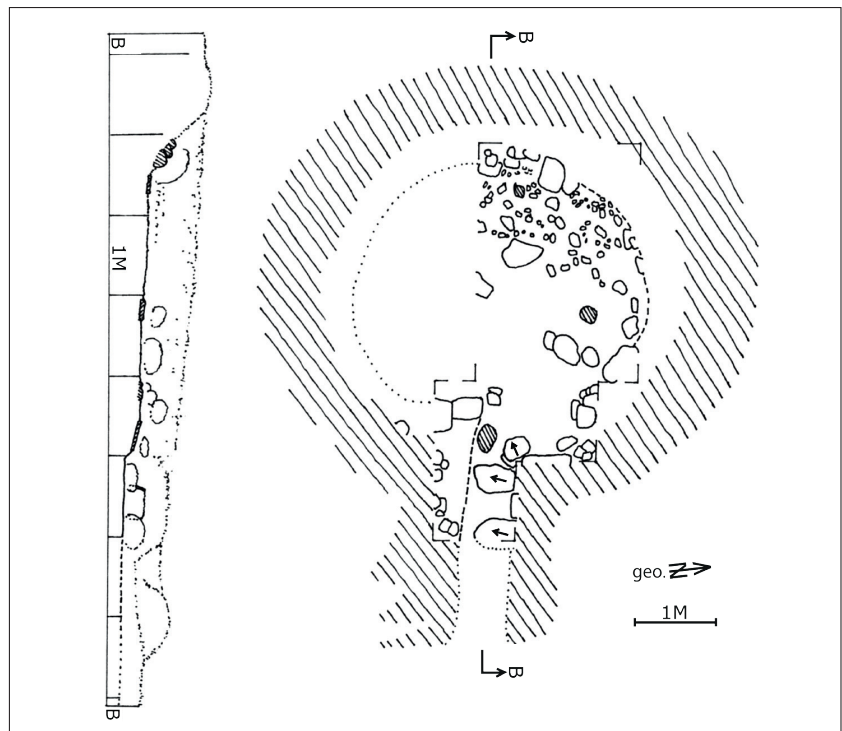
For comparison, we can mention the investigation of a *qassi* with a diameter of 5.2 meters, which lies in the settlement of Itilleq (no. 11). A dating of locally grown dwarf birch shows that activities here appear to have taken place in the 16th century, with a *terminus post quem* of 1642 (Gulløv 2000a).

There is a marked difference in architecture in South Greenland's early winter houses, which can both be semi-subterranean and supplied with a kitchen niche or be built with regular stone walls. The first type must date from the settlement's pioneer phase, whose earliest kitchen

extensions are a special characteristic in the north at Smith Sound, where they appeared at the time of the establishment of the Thule culture in the 13th century. The other winter dwelling appears to have come into use when society, with its social and religious institutions, had become consolidated in South Greenland, and at the same time *qassi* also appeared in the settlements.

When this functionally determined differentiation of the settlement's buildings stopped can be connected to the appearance of the large communal house, which was used on trading expeditions to whale hunts in West Greenland. The South Greenlanders returned from these with, amongst other things, the much prized baleen which was to be used for fishing lines, and the semi-subterranean winter houses were then no longer in use on the central west coast, but were replaced by the communal house (Gulløv 1997: 91–93, 404).

To elucidate the question of when the use of *qassi* stopped in the southernmost part of Greenland, we shall now mention the archaeological



**Fig. 16.** Ground plan of 16th-century circular men's house or *qassi* on Kuummiut (no. 6) with an approximately three-metre long entrance and wall stones which have fallen in, but with no traces of covering over the inner room or the passage. The boundary between the flat inner floor surface and the collapsed gravel wall is marked with a dashed line.



investigation of yet another semi-subterranean, circular construction (Raahauge et al. 2003). This lies north of the stream which divides the settlement of Anorliuitsoq, where the previously described summer dwelling from the 14th century can also be seen, while the settlement's five other semi-subterranean winter houses, of which some had kitchen niches, all lie south of the stream (Fig. 17).

The site is 5.5 metres in diameter with a four metre long entrance passage. The vegetation consists of grasses, crowberry and arctic willow. The inner room is dug into a slope, so the rear wall does not reach up above the surrounding terrain. Thus the surface of the floor lies about 1.3 metres below the upper part of the slope. The actual culture layer was quite thin and consisted of brown sand containing humus, with small quantities of charcoal, burnt pieces of blubber and bones, in which there were found a couple of soapstone fragments, including a rim with a hole bored in it and a tubular glass bead. Below this lay the gravelly subsoil, which also made up the material in the walls. A shift in soil colour along the rear part of the ruin appears to delimit another activity area. In contrast to the inner wall, some stones can be seen in the entrance passage, where a single capstone has also been preserved near the entrance to the inner room. The



Fig. 17. 18th-century circular men's house or *qassi* on Anorliuitsoq (no. 5 in Fig. 10) before excavation. Photo: N. A. Møller 2002, The National Museum of Denmark.

crawling surface in the outer entrance passage is at approximately the same level as the inner floor, and is only depressed where one has to pass under the large capstone (Figs. 18 and 19).

As was the case in Kuummiut, there is no sign here that this large room has been covered over, and thus nothing indicates that it had originally been a dwelling. In other words, we here have a freely open construction of a symbolic nature, which one first walks on after having crawled under

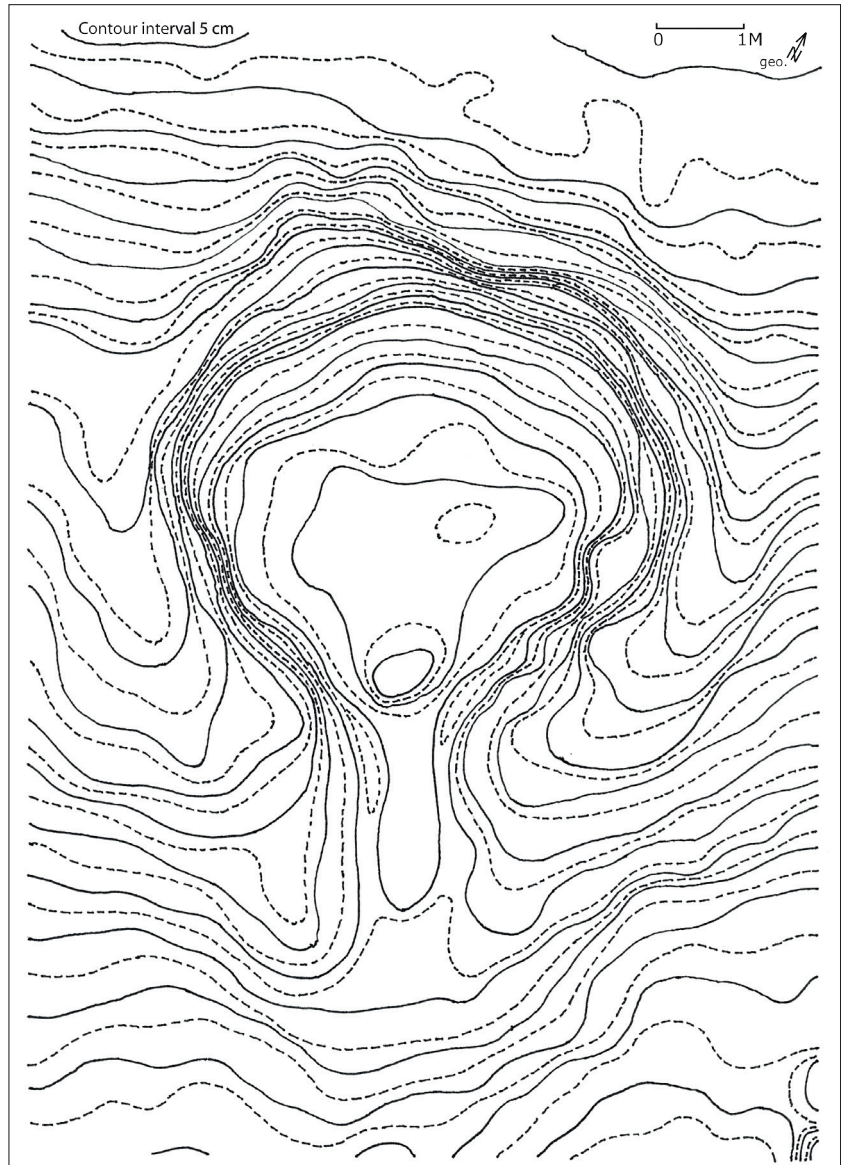
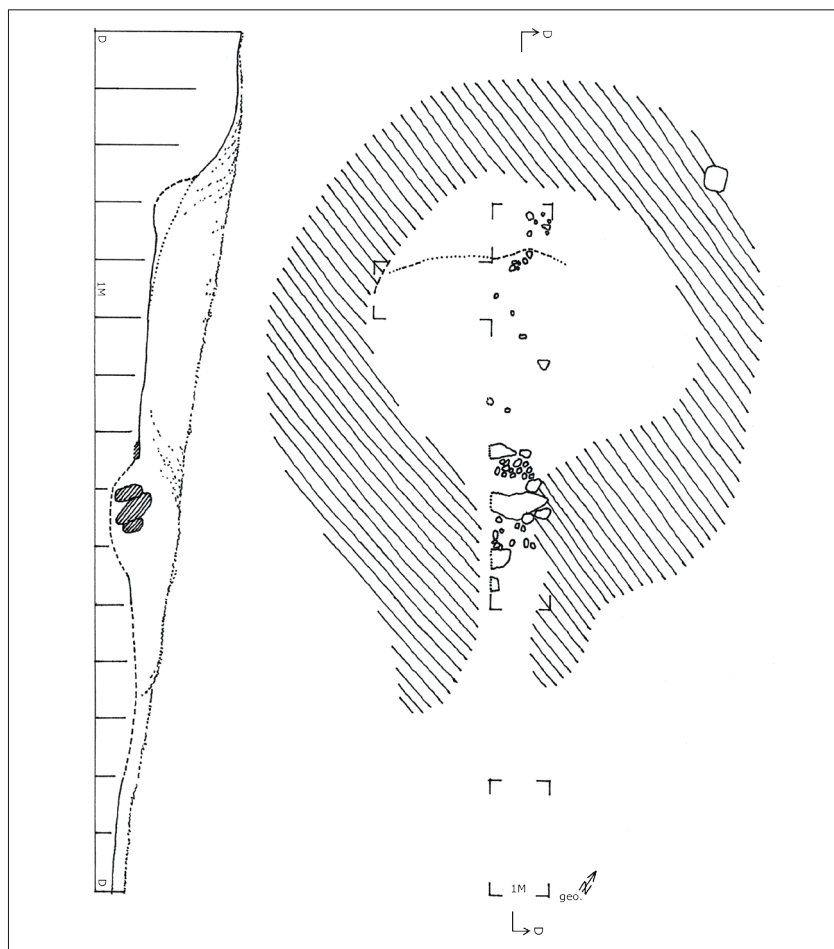


Fig. 18. Contour measurements of the *qassi* shown in Fig. 17. Distance unit is 5 cm.





**Fig. 19.** Ground plan of *qassi* shown in Figs. 17 and 18. A large capstone can be seen in the entrance, but there are no further traces of a covering for the inner room or passage. A dashed line marks the limit of a change of filling in the internal surface of the ruin, where a platform can be imagined to have been put up.

the capstone of the corridor, where one is then in the *qassi*, “used of yore by the heathens,” and where the men “did not do anything else except dance, as was the custom in a big house,” as it is expressed in the sources from the 18th century and in the Greenlandic narrative tradition (Gulløv 1988: 182, 192).

But in contrast to the previously mentioned and described *qassi*, the construction in Anorliuitsoq appears to be younger. And there are no contemporary winter houses in the settlement, as there are in Kuummiut – unless they today lie under the nearby, newer communal house, whose location quite near to the banks of the stream, however, makes this unlikely.

On the contrary, a glass bead was found which had been brought to the place from a locality further north, where such things are known to have been much-valued decorations, as “they have one or more hanging in their ears, as well as decorations on their clothes and shoes,” as the earliest source noted in 1722 (Egede 1925: 36). Glass beads of this type are known from communal houses in the same region, where they according to the archaeological chronology become common after 1730 (type IIIB1, Gulløv 1997: 284), and support for this late dating is provided by the dating of a charcoal sample of locally grown dwarf birch.

We therefore find it probable that *qassi* have been independent buildings in settlements in South Greenland after the settlement became permanently established in the 16th century, and that religious activities still took place in them at the same time as the colonisation of West Greenland was intensified, and the communal house here acted both as a dwelling and as a *qassi*.

*Datings of dwellings and qassi from the Thule culture in the Eastern Settlement region*

Locality	Structure	Sample no.	Material	C14 yrs BP	Cal. AD, two sigma range
11. Itilleq	circular depression	KIA-11811 (entrance floor)	Betula nana	338	1469–1642
21. Kuummiut	Double room	KIA-19731	Betula nana (from floor)	317	1490–1602, 1610–43
24. Anorliutsoq	circular depression	KIA-19730	Betula nana (from floor)	111	1679–1739, 1804–1935

KIA: Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel.

Calibrated age is according to “CALIB rev 4.3” (Data set 2), Stuiver et al., Radiocarbon 40 (1998): 1041–83. Itilleq, one sigma: 1486–1530, 1546–1635 (Gulløv 2000a); Kuummiut, one sigma: 1520–89, 1624–38 (Raahauge et al. 2003); Anorliutsoq, one sigma: 1717–27, 1812–86, 1911–20 (Raahauge et al. 2003).

In this way the archaeology appears to confirm the reports from South Greenland in the middle of the 18th century which tell us that “the South Greenlanders barter for baleen to use as fishing lines, because there is no whaling in the southern part of the country” and that “some families take it in turns to travel north to the colonies every other year, in order to trade and procure the things which they need, which is soapstone for cooking pots and lamps, but they usually travel back to the place of their home as autumn approaches” (Gulløv 1997: 402, 404).<sup>11</sup>

It was this situation which met the East Greenlandic travellers who in increasing numbers went to the west coast to barter, and who as time went by also chose to settle in South Greenland, whose population in this way was considerably increased. But these newcomers seem to have brought with them another cultural tradition, which did not include the use of *qassi*, which have not yet been shown to exist as independent buildings in East Greenland (Gulløv 1988). We shall now look more closely at their prehistory, which ended with almost total depopulation of the east coast.

### **Frederik VI's Coast – “there were people to be found everywhere”**

The stretch of coast between Prins Christian Sound and Ammassalik is called Kong Frederik VI's Coast and is 700 km long. From Ammassalik and north to Kangerlussuaq there are a further 400 km, after which the steep Blosseville Coast stretches for yet another 500 km north to Scoresby Sound.

Southeast Greenland, which lies in the Low Arctic region of Greenland, is made up of the 1100 km long coast between Prins Christian Sound and Kangerlussuaq, and here we pass the boundary to the High Arctic part of the country at Blosseville Coast. The East Greenland Current runs along the entire coast, carrying drift ice and icebergs from the north, and south of Ammassalik the warmer Atlantic Irminger Current hits the country. These ocean currents create the conditions of life for the available living resources, which through the ages have formed the basis for the prehistoric societies along the coast. And, just as was the case in South Greenland, fishery seems to have taken place here to a considerable extent, as about 60% of the total hunting and fishing equipment in the archaeological material from Ammassalik and further south can be associated with fishing (Gulløv 2010; Mathiassen 1933, 1936).

There is however a long distance between the larger settlements, as the Inland Ice often lies close to the coast and forms a natural obstacle. However, three areas can be distinguished: To the south, there is the region between Timmiarmiut and Illuluarsuk, some hundreds of kilometres further north is the Ammassalik region, and furthest to the north lies the somewhat smaller concentration of winter settlements at Kangerlussuaq.

The archaeological investigations in Southeast Greenland (*ibid.*) have documented semi-subterranean houses in several localities – although by no means to the same extent as in South Greenland. They often lie on gravel terraces, and almost half of them are arranged in rows. A few

are equipped with the well-known large kitchen extension which was also found in the oldest ruins in South Greenland, and thus tell us that the pioneers have continued their journey round to the east coast. Their journey seems, however, to have stopped in Ammassalik, where the oldest settlement in the region is Portusooq (Mathiassen 1933: 18). In this region we find about a third of the earliest Neo-Eskimo houses in Southeast Greenland, while the rest lie further south, and judging from the archaeological investigations this settlement seems to have reached its maximum extent in the 16th century (Gulløv 1995: 26–27).

*Semi-subterranean houses have in Southeast Greenland been registered in the following localities*

	Single room	Double room	Triple room	Total
1. Avaqqat South Fjord	2	1	-	3
2. Sermitsiarmit <sup>a)</sup>	7	-	-	7
3. Timmiarmiut	1	-	-	1
4. Itsarnisarmiut	2	-	-	2
With kitchen niche <sup>b)</sup>	-	2	1	3
5. Gammel Skjoldungen	1	-	-	1
6. Imertiit	2	-	-	2
7. Qeqertaq	2	1	-	3
With kitchen niche	1	-	-	1
8. Itsiit	1	-	-	1
9. Portusooq <sup>c)</sup>	2	2	-	4
10. Suukkersit	2	-	-	2
11. Savanganeg	3	-	-	3
12. Sitsingaleq	1	-	-	1
	27	6	1	34

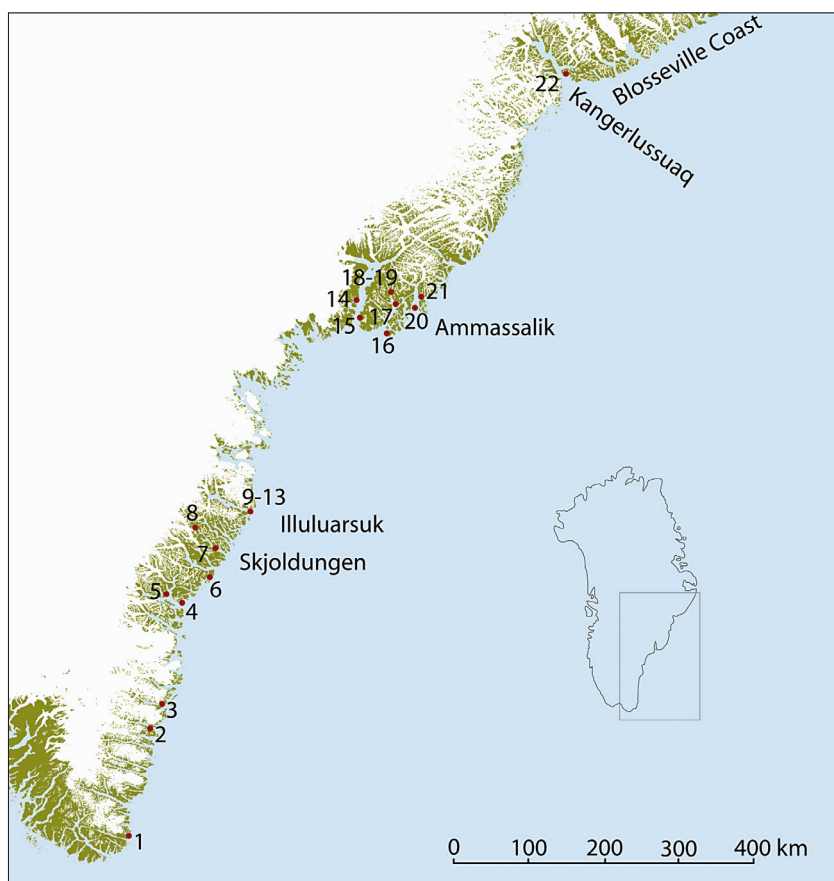
<sup>a)</sup> Six ruins lie in a row. <sup>b)</sup> The three ruins with kitchen niches lie in a row together with one of the others. <sup>c)</sup> All lie in a row. (Mathiassen 1933, 1936; Gulløv & Jensen 1991; Felbo et al. 1993).

By far the largest proportion of the registered ruins in Southeast Greenland consists, however, of small four-sided dwellings, presumably for a single family, but often so collapsed that they are counted among the earliest dwellings, so their form, extent and pertinence can first be determined by excavation (Mathiassen 1933: 11) (Fig. 20).

It has, however, been recognised for a long time that this form of dwelling has been dominant on the southeast coast over a long period, and that the small fireplaces in niches, which excavation has revealed in several of these sites, are an architectural feature introduced later, and

which like the dwellings appears more frequently the further north on the coast one goes; the prototype for this is to be found in Thule, from where its use has spread round the north of the country and down into Northeast Greenland (Holtved 1944, II: 105–106, 109).

Thus they are dominant in Kangerlussuaq (Gulløv 1995: 26); while the fireplaces have been demonstrated in four ruins on Suukkersit in Ammassalik (Mathiassen 1933: 33ff.), in a ruin in Qimisaa and Ikaarsaarfik in Illuluarsuk by Bernstorffs Isfjord (Felbo et al. 1993), together with a ruin in Itsarnisarmiut near Timmiarmiut and in two ruins in a settlement at Avaqqat South Fjord (Mathiassen 1936: 19ff., 30ff.).



**Fig. 20.** Localities in Southeast Greenland with the oldest winter settlements from the Thule culture, i.e. 1450–1650. 1. Aluk; 2. Avaqqat; 3. Sermitsiarmiut; 4. Timmiarmiut; 5. Itsarnisarmiut; 6. Uummannaq; 7. Skjoldungen (Saqqisikuik); 8. Dronning Maries Dal (Eqalummiut); 9. Ikaarsaarfik; 10. Qimisaa; 11. Imertiit; 12. Itsiit; 13. Qeqertaq; 14. Suukkersit; 15. Savanganeq; 16. Sitsingaleq; 17. Kangaartik; 18. Portusooq; 19. Misittoq; 20. Isissit; 21. Utoqqarmiut; 22. Skærgårdshalvø.





**Fig. 21.** Timmiarmiut (locality no. 4) seen towards the south with an 18th-century house site. Photo: H. C. Gulløv 1999, The National Museum of Denmark.

It is however the objects which have been found in these ruins which attract most of our attention, as these include objects both of Norse and later European origins, together with items whose origin must be sought in Northeast Greenland. These are not only related to ruins with fireplaces, but appear also to indicate trading relations or travel activities which have covered the whole of Southeast Greenland, before the communal house was taken into use and the activities were primarily directed towards South Greenland and the west coast (Figs. 21 and 22).

The main part of the ruins investigated contained no or very few objects in the thin and often gravelly culture layers, which tells us more about the settlements' periodical use in the current settlement pattern than about their age (cf. Mathiassen 1933: 63ff.). The increased quantity of baleen and whale bones in the ruins, however, indicates the 17th century, when whaling increased in importance on the east coast; but this observation does not mention any of the European finds (*ibid.*) which are given in the following list.

*Examples of objects of foreign origin from Southeast Greenland*

Locality	Structure	Norse origin	Post-Norse origin	NE-Greenlandic origin
South of Ammassalik				
Timmiarmiut	Stray find	Bell metal	-	-
Uummannaq	Stray find	Bell metal	-	-
Dronning Maries Dal	Stray find	Bell metal	-	Tube shaped pendant
Gammel Skjoldungen	Ruin in West Greenlandic building style without fireplace	Spindle whorl -	-	
Qimisaa	Ruin of NE-Greenlandic type with fireplace	-	Pendant of red tile	-
Ammassalik				
Suukkersit	Ruin of NE-Greenlandic type with fireplace	-	-	Block for winged harpoon
Suukkersit	Ruin of NE-Greenlandic type with fireplace	-	Knife with blade in side groove	-
Suukkersit	Communal house	Bell metal	2 brass pendants and 7 glass beads	-
Misittoq	Midden in front of small, rebuilt communal house	Bell metal	-	-
Misittoq	Oval, badly collapsed house without fireplace	-	Glass bead	-
Kangaartik	Midden in front of ruin of NE-Greenlandic type without fireplace	Bell metal	-	-
Utoqqarmiut	Midden in front of ruin of NE-Greenlandic type without fireplace	Bell metal	Glass bead	-
Isissit	Midden in front of small ruin without fireplace	Bell metal	-	-
Kangerlussuaq	Woman's grave	Bell metal	-	-

(Mathiassen 1933, 1934, 1936; Gulløv & Jensen 1991; Felbo et al. 1993; Gulløv 1995; Gulløv & Lange 1987).



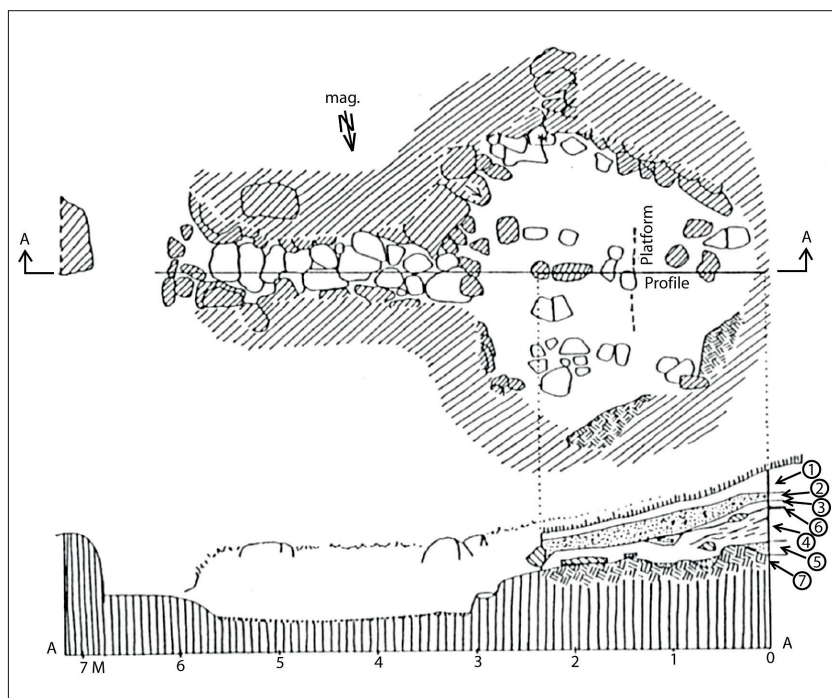


**Fig. 22.** Landscape behind Illuluaarsuk (localities 9–13) seen towards the west. Photo: H. Kapel 1992, The National Museum of Denmark.

The pieces of bell metal which have been found are all furnished with a hole for hanging them up and have served as pendants, while the piece from Kangerlussuaq has the form of a flat circular bead. In this way they differ from the bell metal found on the west coast, which is found as unworked raw items, and tell us about the trade with this Norse metal, which in the various winter dwellings on the east coast only appears in worked form, and which must be assumed to have gone through several phases of processing or middlemen on the way (Gulløv 2004: 321).

It is the immigrants from the south who bring their knowledge of the exotic material with them, whereas the actual trading takes place at a later time. The spindle whorl from Gammel Skjoldungen was found in an older ruin of Southwest Greenlandic origin, where a toy lamp in soapstone with carved wick ledge – a characteristic which does not appear on the west coast until the 17th century – was also found. Lamps with corresponding characteristics were also found in the ruin on Qimisaa, together with baleen and a pendant in red tile – a material which is not known from the Norse settlements, but first turns up in the tryworks on board the European whaling ships off the east coast in the same century (Gulløv & Jensen 1991; Felbo et al. 1993; Gulløv 1995) (Figs. 23, 24, 25 and 26).

It is presumably in this period that contact must have been established between the populations of Southeast and Northeast Greenland and which on the south coast manifests itself by a new architecture and new types of artifact (Gulløv 1995: 27, 1997: 448f., 462f., 466). At Ammassalik, this type of dwelling is still in use in the 18th century, when West Greenlandic goods in the form of glass beads achieve their most northerly distribution.

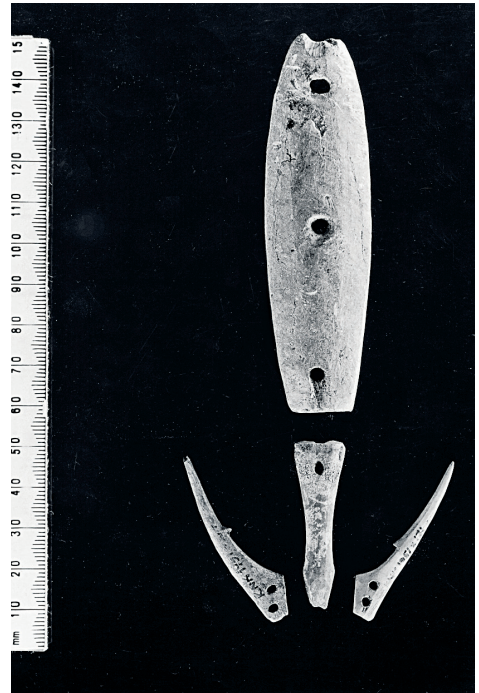


**Fig. 23.** Ground plan of 16th-century ruin on Skjoldungen (locality no. 7). The edge of the platform is marked with a dashed line. On the floor lay a Norse soapstone spindle whorl (marked with \*). The profile is built up as follows: 1. Vegetative cover; 2. Layer of waste from the 1940s, dated from American goods, mixed up with numerous bones and stove ash. 3. Peat level with roots and a few bones; 4. Culture layer of the original dwelling. Along the rear wall, lenses of peat (from collapsed wall peat) can be seen; 5. Crumbled rock; 6. Lenses of charcoal between layers 3 and 4 (probably from a later fire during the settlement period 1938–50); 7. Bedrock.

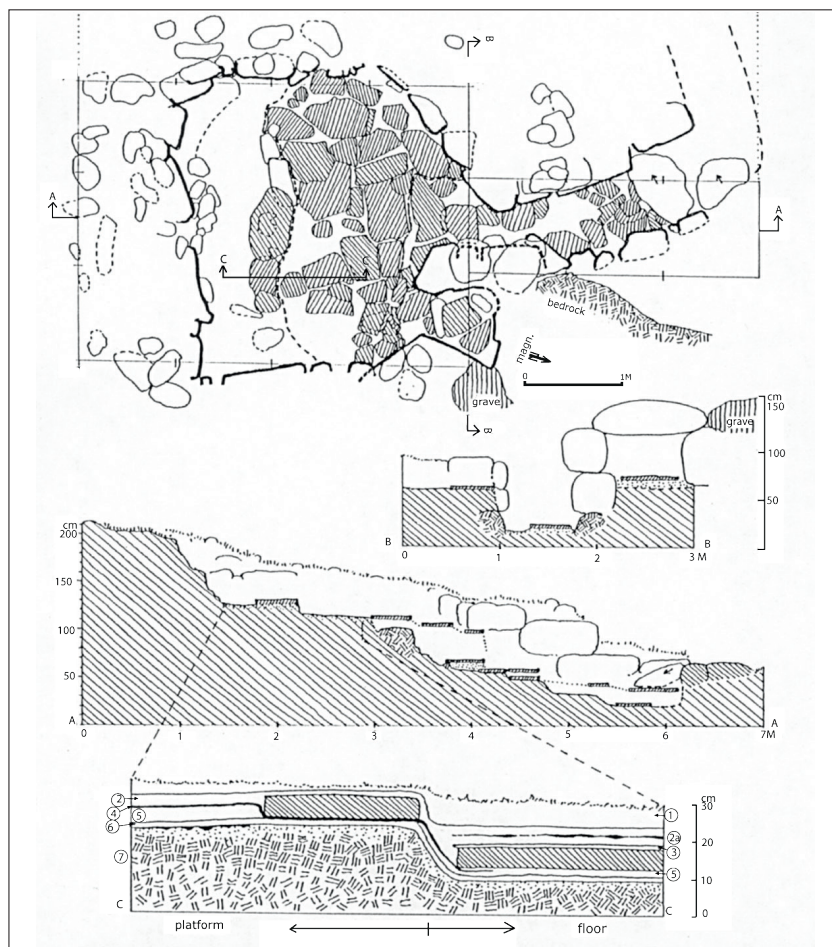




**Fig. 24.** From Skjoldungen, where the sound is 700 metres wide between the up to 2 km high mountains. The strong tidal flow created open water during the winter and gave good possibilities for fishing. Photo: H. C. Gulløv 1991, The National Museum of Denmark.



**Fig. 25.** Fishing played an important role in the southern part of Greenland on both the east and west coasts, but baleen for fishing lines had to be got from the north. Fishing equipment composed of a soapstone sinker onto which a middle piece of tarsal bone with two barbs mounted on it was lashed. From Skjoldungen in Southeast Greenland. Length of sinker 9.2 cm. Photo: The National Museum of Denmark.



**Fig. 26.** Ground plan of 17th-century ruin on Qimisaa (locality no. 10). The edge of the platform is marked with a dashed line. The small kitchen niche on the right of the entrance (section B-B) is a Northeast Greenland characteristic. Among the objects found was a little slice of red tile (from a European whaling ship) with a hole drilled in it, subsequently used as a pendant. The profile is built up as follows: 1. Vegetative cover and material which has slipped down from the walls. 2. Heterogeneous peat mass with a few bones and culture remains (toy soapstone lamps and sharpened slate tools, together with charcoal); 2a. Lenses of peat impregnated with blubber (most recent floor surface); 3. Layer of bits of plants with roots, dissolved and smeared out bones and peat impregnated with blubber (older floor layer); 4. Layer consisting mainly of remains of skins (the platform's cover of skins, which continues out under the older floor layer); 5. Dark brown peat layer without roots (oldest platform and floor layer) with culture remains (worked soapstone objects); 6. Pale brown peat layer with partly decomposed bits of plants which could be followed throughout the internal part of the ruin (first building phase), with culture remains (worked soapstone objects); 7. Coarse gravel from the vitrified rock, with pockets of black, heavily decomposed peat, which has once been the remains of the vegetation on the original surface.

*Datings of houses with fireplaces in niches from Southeast Greenland*

Locality	Structure	Sample no.	Material	C14 yrs BP	Cal. AD, two sigma range
Qimisaa, Illuluarsuk, Bernstorffs Isfjord	Winter dwelling	K-6162	Vaccinium Uliginosum (from fireplace in niche)	275	1400–2000
Suukkersit, Ammassalik Sermilik Fjord	Winter dwelling	KIA-16940	Antler (from niche)	344	1460–1530 (37.0%), 1540–1640 (58.4%)

K: Radiocarbon Dating Laboratorium, National Museum of Denmark; KIA: Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel. Calibrated age is according to OxCal v3.10 Bronk Ramsey, 2005.

Qimisaa, house 1, K-6162 one sigma: 1470–1680 (57.5%), 1760–1800 (7.9%), 1930–60 (2.7%) (Felbo et al. 1993); Suukkersit, house 7, KIA-16940 one sigma: 1490–1530 (26.6%), 1550–1630 (41.6%) (Mathiassen 1933: 38).

At the start of the 18th century, there was a system of formalised trade between the populations on each side of Cape Farewell, where European iron goods from the west coast were exchanged for skins from the east coast. An old woman who had continued her journey north along the west coast and in 1733 reached the Danish-Norwegian colony at Nuuk told about these activities and the goods on offer. She also related how she earlier with her companions had been just as far north on the east coast as the colony on the west coast, and that over there there were people to be found everywhere (Egede 1925: 267; Gulløv 1995: 21) (Fig. 27).

The area that her tale refers to lies 300 km south of Ammassalik in the central part of Frederik VI's Coast, and includes the region around the large island of Skjoldungen and further north to Illuluarsuk. This stretch of the coast, which as the crow flies is 80 km long, has settlements from all periods of prehistory and forms – together with the region around Uummanaq and Timmiarmiut fifty kilometres further south – the only ice-free area between Ammassalik and Cape Farewell. The living resources here are represented by many species, and fishing in the sounds around Skjoldungen in particular has been on such a scale that, amongst other things, the fat of Greenland halibut could in the 18th century replace seal blubber as the fuel for lamps, as it is stated in a contemporary source, which also notes that their houses are built in the same way as our Greenlanders', i.e. like the rectangular houses on the west coast (Gulløv 1995: 25).

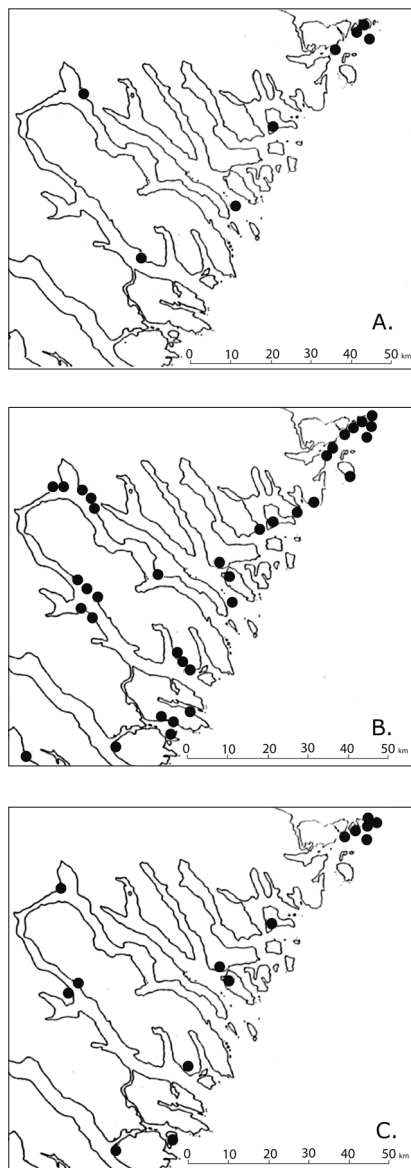


**Fig. 27.** Distribution of winter settlements over three hundred years in the central part of Frederik VI's Coast between Skjoldungen and Illuluarsuk. Source: Felbo et al. 1993.

Map A: The settlement from the 16th and 17th centuries (eight settlements).

Map B: The settlement in the 18th century, where there according to a report from 1733 “were people to be found everywhere” (36 settlements).

Map C: The settlement in the 19th century, when immigration to West Greenland gathered speed, and the remaining population in Ammassalik at the end of the century were living in the area (fifteen settlements).



It is also mentioned that in the middle of the century the ice no longer broke up in the summer, which created a serious obstacle for hunting, and not least for maintaining the previous trade, since the partners on the southernmost part of the coast now moved to South Greenland. To get hold of the necessary iron goods, the South Greenlanders who lived further up the coast themselves started on these dangerous journeys around the country to our Greenlanders, as the contemporary source reports (Gulløv 1995: 25).



Thus we can in historical glimpses see a situation described which can also be documented via archaeology. Here it can be seen that the oldest rectangular communal houses, use of which stopped in the middle of the 18th century according to the datings of the European objects found, are on average five metres long with an internal living room which does not exceed 15 m<sup>2</sup>, while the younger communal houses can have a living area of 35–40 m<sup>2</sup> (Gulløv 1995: 17–18). In other words, in the course of the century the size changed from being a dwelling for a couple of families who settled in changing places within a region to being a dwelling for an entire settlement which was travelling between the regions. On the central part of the southeast coast, however, it is not until the second half of the 19th century that objects from Ammassalik dominate the large communal houses, but by then the coast further south had become almost uninhabited, so the trading expeditions to Cape Farewell now were 800 kilometres (*ibid.*).

A list of the 1142 registered Neo-Eskimo structures from the central southeast coast can amongst other things provide confirmation of the report that in the 18th century there were people to be found everywhere:

Type	17th cent.	18th cent.	19th cent.	20th cent.	Not dated	Total
Winter houses	23 6 places	68 28 places	28 21 places	5 5 places <sup>a)</sup>	- 42 places	124
Tent foundations	?	97	155	55	-	307
Caches	-	-	-	-	211	211
Graves <sup>b)</sup>	-	-	-	-	273	273
Traps	-	-	-	-	50	50
Other <sup>c)</sup>	-	-	-	-	177	177

a) Until 1938, when the settlement of Skjoldungen was established.

b) The large majority of the graves seem to be old, but the sources from the 18th century unanimously report that the dead were lowered into the sea or buried on the bare mountain, which could indicate that this burial custom must be of relatively new date and be based on phenomena which can have taken place in the 18th century and have influenced burial customs in the following centuries. Several of the closed graves were empty and can be imagined to have been made as memorials for people who were never found.

c) Skin drying, playgrounds, shooting blinds, caves, isolated fireplaces, sets of boat supports, cairns and unknown structures. Structures from the Norwegian hunting period in the 1930s and from 1938–65, when Skjoldungen was a registered settlement, are not included (Gulløv & Jensen 1991; Felbo et al. 1992; Felbo et al. 1993).



**Fig. 28.** Greenland's southeastern coast seen from a cairn at Illuluarsuk towards Kap Moltke north of Skjoldungen, where in the 18th century there "were people to be found everywhere." Photo: H. Kapel 1992, The National Museum of Denmark.

The depopulation of Southeast Greenland left Ammassalik as the last inhabited enclave in which each of the large communal houses contained a whole settlement. Here around 1900 people could tell about the time when people came to this region from both north and south, and we now have good reasons to assume that the time of this first meeting was about 400 years ago, i.e. the 17th century. It would be natural to associate the cultural influence from the north in the following period with the gradual depopulation of Northeast Greenland, which therefore also contributed to the increase in population during the 18th century and to giving the Southeast Greenlanders the cultural characteristics which made them so markedly different from the West Greenlandic population (Gulløv 1995) (Fig. 28).

## II. South Greenland in the 18th century – contacts and colonisation

South Greenland was the last region of Greenland to be included in the colonisation of the country during the 18th century. Before this time, ships had made a detour round the southernmost tip of the country and thus also around the East Greenland Drift Ice which every year drifts down along the Greenlandic east coast and around Cape Farewell. From South Greenland, groups of the population had, on the other hand, travelled northward throughout the century in order to trade, and traders and missionaries had likewise made journeys south in order to investigate conditions there. Contemporary accounts of these contacts bear witness to the fact that the traders and missionaries got to know more and more about conditions in South Greenland and its population, as far south as the southernmost part of the country around Cape Farewell, and at the same time obtained information about the population of distant East Greenland.

This new knowledge revealed the fact that there was a relatively large population living on the east coast, and at the end of the 18th century trading and missionary stations were established in South Greenland. As part of this expansion towards south, this area was also incorporated into the Danish colonial system.

### **The colonisation of West Greenland**

The foundations of the Danish colonisation<sup>12</sup> of Greenland were laid when the priest Hans Egede settled in the country in 1721 and started the task of Christianising the population. This initiative was taken with the approval of the Danish king, who at the same time had granted privileges to a private trading company which was to finance the missionary work from the income generated from whaling and trade with the Greenlanders.

In the following years, Danish interests were extended to cover the entire coast of West Greenland. In strategic places, settlements – or colonies, as they were called – were set up, and from these missionary work and trade were conducted. With the expansion of the Danish activities, competitors such as the Dutch whalers were excluded from contact with the Greenlanders, and as time went by the whole of West Greenland came under Danish sovereignty. Through the setting up of the

Danish colonies, the foundations of the majority of the towns in present-day Greenland were established.

In 1737, missionary work in Greenland was placed under the Missionary College and thus became affiliated with the Danish central administration, which thus looked after the appointment and training of missionaries and worked out rules governing their work. Missionaries were sent out from Denmark to work in a varying number of missions. In association with the mission, teaching activities were started. The individual missions covered large geographical areas, and as the population was also sparsely distributed, it was in practice impossible for the missionaries to get around to the entire population within their missionary district. The missionaries therefore engaged assistants, known as catechists, particularly to help with the task of teaching within the district. The missionary himself organised the work in the colony and in addition to this made tours of inspection within his district.

At an early stage of the process of colonisation, the German Moravian mission was allowed in, and in 1733 they established their own mission station Neuherrnhut quite close to the colony of Godthåb, the present-day Nuuk, to which Hans Egede had moved in 1728 with a mission and trading station. During the 18th century the Moravian Brethren set up several mission stations in the southern part of Greenland; these were placed separate from the Danish colonies, and their followers settled around the stations and formed small communities. The Moravians were funded by their own organisation and received no money from the Danish Missionary College or from trading. The Moravians ran their mission in Greenland until 1900, when they withdrew from the country, but until then they worked in parallel with the Danish mission and in competition with it.

Trade in Greenland was supposed to support the mission financially and at the same time be profitable. This latter aim was hard to achieve, and several private trading companies successively took over from one another, until in 1774 the Danish state took over the trading, which from 1776 was run by the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company (KGH), often just called *Handelen*, i.e. the Trade. The Instruction of 1782 introduced fixed principles for trade and administration, and a colonial system with a definite structure was established. Greenland was divided into a number of colonies, each of them with a manager, who had the responsibility for trade and administration. The general political and practical decisions were made in Copenhagen, where the highest administrative authority was the board of KGH. Between these two elements, two inspectorates were set up, one for North Greenland and one for South Greenland, each of them with an inspector whose principal task was to supervise trade and administration in the country. The profitability of trade was dependent on

the products which the Greenlandic hunters brought in to sell, particularly skins and blubber. It was therefore the policy of the trading company that Greenlanders should live spread out and follow their traditional nomadic way of life, so as to be able to exploit the natural resources in the most efficient way. The mission, on the other hand, preferred a more concentrated and sedentary population with a view to ensuring that the Greenlanders could receive education and maintain contact to the church. Trading interests rapidly came to determine the accepted policy, but there was a latent conflict, and the conflicts of interest between trading and missionary activity made themselves felt on several occasions (Gad 1969, 1976; Bro 1993).

## **Early contacts between colonisers and the population in South Greenland**

The late colonisation of South Greenland means that written sources from the 18th century only contain relatively few and sporadic pieces of information about this part of the country, even though information about the area increases after the establishment of the first trading colony in 1775. A picture appears of a region and a population with particular characteristics. Moreover, the impression is given of a more local section of the population in the area of Cape Farewell, with their own characteristics, who had contact to groups of the population on both the East and West coast, and who acted as intermediaries between these groups (Fig. 29).

The 18th-century sources tell us that in the summer the Greenlanders were involved in extensive travel by umiak (women's boat) and kayak, often over long distances and over periods of several years. Part of this travel activity came "from the South," and in some years very large, convoy-like groups came travelling past the early colonies on their way north. In 1723 there is a report of a meeting between people from far in the south and the local population at Nipisat Sound by Nuuk Fjord. In 1730 more than forty women's boats passed Nuuk, and in 1752 "the northwards travelling Southerners, which are usual at this time of year, with 54 women's boats"<sup>13</sup> arrived at Frederikshåb on their way north (Egede 1925: 83, 237; Olsen & Petersen 1990: 5). Expeditions of this type took place even before colonisation, with groups of travellers going to Disko Bay in order to trade for baleen, and then, after passing a winter or two, travelling back south. On the way back they would trade for driftwood and soapstone with the people living around Maniitsoq and Nuuk (Gulløv 1987: 81–82).

In 1733 a smallpox epidemic carried off almost the entire population of Nuuk, after which parts of the area were re-populated by people from



the southernmost part of Greenland, who particularly settled near to and became part of the Moravian congregation of Neuheerhuth (Gulløv 1983). In 1765–66 the Moravian missionary Mathäus Stach was in South Greenland, and from this journey there are tales of several meetings with people who had previously travelled north, and Stach and his companions talked with the families of people who were at that time settled in Neuheerhuth or Lichtenfels – yet another Moravian mission station established in 1758 south of Nuuk. Stach goes on to say that his own party was accompanied on its journey home by people who were also travelling north, and as time went by the travel party turned into rather a large caravan with about forty women's boats (Cranz 1770: 208–235).

Thus there is documentary proof that the South Greenlanders' travel activities in early historical time created contact between the population of South Greenland and groups of the population, colonies and mission



**Fig. 29.** Section of a map of the southern part of Greenland printed in 1741 in Hans Egede's "Det gamle Grønlands Perlestruation." The map is based on the idea that the Norse Eastern Settlement lay on the east coast of Greenland. It should be noted that Kap Farvel (Cape Farewell) is used to denote the southern tip of the country and has replaced the Dutch name Statenhuk (here: Staten Huch), which has been placed on the east coast. North of this is marked Cape Discord, which is mentioned by Mørch, the merchant in Julianehåb, around the year 1800.



stations further up the west coast. Within the same period, both missionaries and traders made journeys to South Greenland, and the Europeans' knowledge of conditions in the South Greenlandic area as a whole was increased.

The South Greenlandic population differed from the people living further up the west coast with respect to language. In 1723 Hans Egede made a journey to South Greenland and reached the island of Sermersooq, which lies slightly north of Nanortalik, and he noticed that "people's pronunciation and language" changed (Egede 1925: 95). During 1751–53 the merchant Peter Olsen Walløe made a journey which took him right around to the east coast. When he had got as far as Uunartoq Fjord, he could observe that "the linguistic dialect or pronunciation here is somewhat different from that further north" (Walløe 1927: 90).<sup>14</sup> Apart from the linguistic differences, the written material does not provide much information about special characteristics or conditions for this section of the population, but we can get a – perhaps slightly curious – impression from the German mineralogist Giesecke, who in 1806 made some investigations in this area. One day he made camp in a place where a large group, all of them heathens, had stopped on the way back from the hooded seal hunt, and he was received with great enthusiasm and festivities. On the basis of this first-hand experience, Giesecke characterised the people of the south as more cultivated, cheerful and pleasant than those in West Greenland, and to him they appeared more altruistic than the Christians (Giesecke 1910: 22).<sup>15</sup>

In the South Greenlandic area, Cape Farewell stands out as a special district. In 1777–79 an expedition was sent out from Julianehåb to investigate the southernmost area. No sooner had the expedition's participants reached the area south of Nanortalik than their guides, who came from Lichtenau slightly south of Julianehåb, had to admit that they did not have sufficient knowledge of the area. For the rest of the journey, the expedition therefore had to get help from the local inhabitants, who in this period were on the Kitsissut Islands, the group of islands northwest of Cape Farewell. The expedition was told that inhabitants of the Cape Farewell district stayed there for extended periods during parts of the year, in order to hunt the large flocks of hooded and other seals which came drifting on the East Greenland Drift Ice (Ostermann 1944: 40).

Even by the end of the century, the traders and administrators had very limited knowledge of the Cape Farewell area. In 1795 the merchant (i.e. the colonial manager) Mørch in Julianehåb wrote to the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company's board that "just a few miles south of Itiblik, the so-called Southerners start to live." The following year he wrote: "the most southerly or most distant existing settlement from here

is 1 or 2 miles on the far side of Cape Discord.”<sup>16</sup> The “Itiblik” referred to here is Itilleq on the island of Sermersooq north of Nanortalik, while Cape Discord lies north of Kangerlussuatsiaq (Lindenow Fjord) on the island of Iluileq. From Mørch’s information we can conclude that at this period of time a group of inhabitants – the most southerly in Greenland – were living around Cape Farewell, in an area from about the present-day Narsarmijit in the west to Kangerlussuatsiaq in the east, with special linguistic characteristics and an economic and social community.

During the 18th century, the Cape Farewell area and its inhabitants formed an important connection between West and East Greenland. When the above-mentioned expedition reached Cape Farewell in 1778, its members were informed that a number of people lived north of Aluk, and that people from the area went to Aluk “to trade fox skins and other skin items, in order to obtain old arrows, knives, sewing needles and other curiosities.”<sup>17</sup> The same source tells us that people from the area around Cape Farewell went to the Danish colonies to trade. Journeys like this, whether they were from East Greenland to Cape Farewell or from Cape Farewell up the west coast, took place in dangerous waters and had their costs: They “are paid for at times with boats or even with lives; this year we have heard evidence of this, with two boats being crushed out in the ice, but the people were all saved” (Ostermann 1944: 43).<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, several examples indicate that it has been common to overwinter at Cape Farewell, before starting on the journey back (Walløe 1927: 78; Olsen & Petersen 1990).

The example above is not a solitary example. During his journey throughout the area, Giesecke met “many southerners” (“viele Südländer”). Among these was Ababelek, who accompanied Giesecke to Aluk, where, however, he had to turn back, as it was too late in the year to go any further. Giesecke writes in his diary that people in the area made journeys to the east coast, and that similarly there are people who came travelling from the east coast. He says about Ababelek that he lived on the island of Keppingajak (Qipingajaaq), i.e. on the east side of Cape Farewell. He traded with people from the east (“den fernsten Ostländer”) and sometimes sold these wares in Nanortalik when ice conditions permitted (Giesecke 1910: 20–22) (Fig. 30).

In the meeting between east and west, Aluk took up a central position. In the early sources it is mentioned that people gathered there in large numbers, and that trading took place (Walløe 1927: 97; Ostermann 1944: 35). In 1843 two Moravian missionaries, Ihrer and Ullner, sailed around Cape Farewell and reached Aluk, where they met both baptised and unbaptised people, of which the latter group belonged to the missionaries’ own congregation on the west coast. The missionary Brodbeck, from



**Fig. 30.** The island of Qipingajaaq lies between Cape Farewell and Aluk and is passed by travellers between East and West Greenland. The ruin has been dated to the 19th century, and lies out towards a small sound between Qipingajaaq and Christian IV's Island. Thus the settlement has been sheltered from storms from the Atlantic Ocean, which lies out to the east on the other side of the island. Ababelek, whom the German geologist Giesecke met in 1806, lived on Qipingajaaq. According to Giesecke's information, Ababelek operated as a middleman between people on the east coast and the Danish Trading Company, as he bought goods from his countrymen and, if ice conditions permitted, sold them on to the trading station. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

whom this information comes, writes in this connection about Aluk that it was known as the annual meeting place for barter between East and West Greenland (Brodbeck 1882: 8, 50). By this time, however, Aluk had lost its significance, and people no longer assembled at Aluk in order to trade. Instead, the East Greenlanders went to the trading station of Pamialluk on the west coast (Brodbeck 1882: 50).<sup>19</sup>

The locality is called and is normally known today as Aluk, but should in the local i-dialect really be called Alik, a name which also appears in most of the early sources. Both Walløe and Mørch, of which the latter was married to a Greenlandic and spoke Greenlandic, use this name exclusively



(Walløe 1927: 92, 97, 102; Mørch 1942: 72), while others use both names (Giesecke 1910: 20–21) or only the West Greenlandic form (Ostermann 1944: 43). The name Aluk can thus very probably be considered as a West Greenlandic adaptation of Alik (Fig. 31).

There are no precise numbers for how many people lived in the Cape Farewell area around the year 1800. In the letters from the merchant Mørch quoted above, he states in 1795 that according to “the numbers given by the Greenlanders” there were nineteen occupied settlements and about fifty hunters. In 1796 he writes, “in winter there have likewise been 60 hunters living in the 19 winter settlements, and for these I could provide a detailed list, but this would only burden the Honourable Gentlemen with a mass of incomprehensible names.”<sup>20</sup> How irritating that Mørch would



**Fig. 31.** The island of Aluk lies northeast of Cape Farewell and is known both from the oral tradition and from written sources as the big summer meeting place, *aasivik*, where people from West and East Greenland met from early times to trade, exchange news, get married etc. The highest point on Aluk is just under 500 metres, and the island with its characteristic shape can be seen from a great distance. Thus Aluk has been a landmark which travellers in both directions have used to set their course. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

not burden the members of the board – if nothing else, we could have had some use for the information today.

While Mørch only gives the number of hunters and thus of potential producers for the trading station, the Moravian missionary Conrad Kleinschmidt, a few years later, perhaps got closer to stating the size of the entire population. In the summer of 1821 he was on an expedition to the region around Cape Farewell, where he met a lot of people, and on one occasion counted about twenty-four tents and 300 people who had assembled at the same place (Kleinschmidt 1822). Starting from an estimate that on average a hunter would support five family members (Mikkelsen 1944: 24), together with the observation that several hunters lived and travelled together, as shown by later information, then Kleinschmidt's statement of the size of the population seems to fit with Mørch's information that there were fifty to sixty hunters.

Kleinschmidt goes on to say: "According to their statements and the observations which I have made since then, the number of heathens living in this region can probably be taken to be 500" (Kleinschmidt 1822: column 1008).<sup>21</sup> This number must, however, be regarded with a good deal of caution. Kleinschmidt himself states that some of these people were travellers from regions further up on the east coast. Moreover, the aim of Kleinschmidt's journey to the area was to investigate the possibilities and thus lay the foundation for setting up a new mission station, and in order to attract greater attention to his case he may have had an interest in overestimating the size of the population.

## **Contact between East Greenlanders and West Greenlanders**

From the early contacts during the early 18th century, we have information about the population who lived in East Greenland. In the previous chapter we have already mentioned the account from 1733 of an elderly woman who arrived with a group of travellers from South Greenland to Nuuk, and who had previously taken part in a journey to the east coast, where they had got as far as an area which they said lay on a level with Nuuk. According to the woman's account, it was common for West Greenlanders to travel to East Greenland and for East Greenlanders to travel to West Greenland in order to trade (Egede 1925: 267).

The story of Niveq is known from several accounts. In 1751 Niveq had come to the area of Cape Farewell from the east coast with a large group of people in two women's boats and had passed the winter with some families there. Niveq and his companions went back to the east coast in

the following year, but his winter housemates passed down information about the inhabitants and the nature of his country (Ostermann 1935; Olsen & Petersen 1990).

Niveq and his companions came from a region far up on the coast, and they had met many people on their journey south. According to Niveq's information, these people stayed together in larger or smaller segregated groups, who were associated with particular areas which were separated by parts of the coast that were hard to pass, such as the much-feared glacier Puisortoq (Ostermann 1935: 420). There appear to have been linguistic divisions between these sections of the population. In legends and songs collected in the middle of the 19th century, there is a satirical song involving two East Greenlanders, Savdlat and Pulangitsissok. It is clear from Savdlat's song that there were differences in dialect among the inhabitants of the East Greenlandic coast: "some talk in a northern way and some in a southern way," while people from the middle part of the coast apparently spoke in a manner lying between these two dialects (Rink 1871: 143).

Thus we see that there were regular contacts between the people in West and East Greenland, but at the same time there seem to be divergent opinions about the relations between these two groups of the population. When Hans Egede got to Sermersooq in 1723, he was warned by the local inhabitants not to continue, because the inhabitants further south were supposed to be "so wild and crazed that they kill other people and eat them up" (Egede 1925: 98),<sup>22</sup> and in 1752 Walløe was told that on the east coast there lived people who were feared as cannibals, which one should keep well away from (Walløe 1927: 78). And it is said about Niveq's journey down the east coast that he and his travelling party at one stage met a great "company of Innuktorrormarsut," i.e. cannibals (Ostermann 1935: 420). In West Greenland this fear seems, however, to have been greater the further away you lived from the people in question. Thus Graah, who in 1828–1831 was the leader of an expedition which travelled along the Greenlandic east coast, says that although the inhabitants of the central part of West Greenland were afraid of the East Greenlanders, this fear was no longer present when he got further south and made contact with the people from Nanortalik and Friedrichsthal, who on the contrary had contact with the inhabitants of East Greenland in connection with trading and hunting (Graah 1932: 46).

The rumours about cannibals and murders are commented on by the previously mentioned merchant J.C. Mørch in Julianehåb, who amongst other things gave the following explanation: "Communication between people separated by large distances was very rare. They feared one another, believed one another to have the worst intentions, considered one another

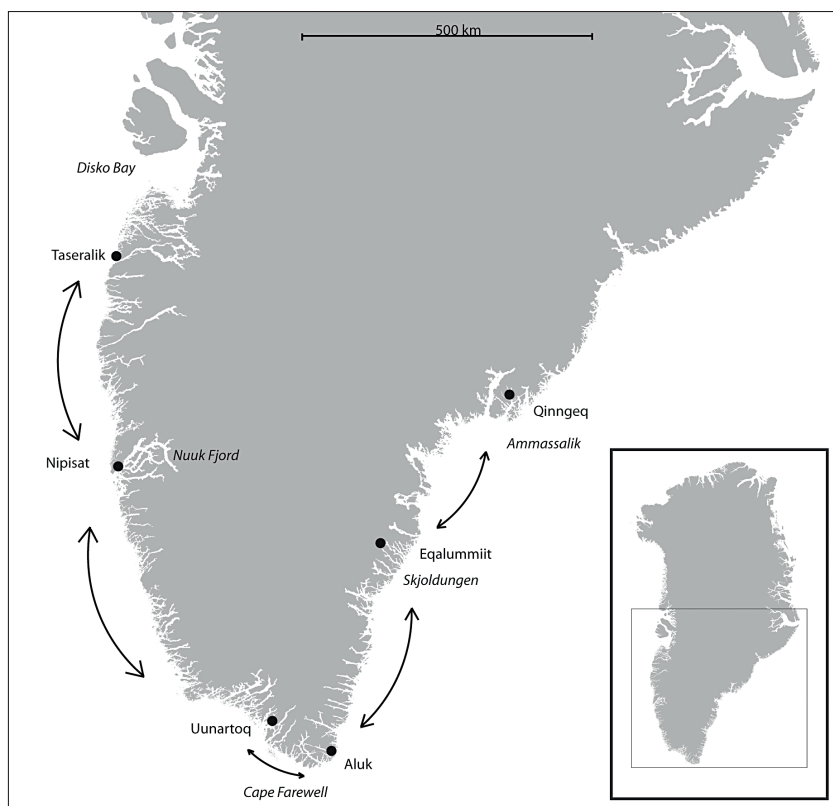


as cannibals. Thousands and thousands of rumours about people of that nature, who might be found here and there, got into circulation. They grew among the credulous people by being spread from place to place.”<sup>23</sup> Lack of knowledge and fear could lead to strangers being killed, after which this deed had to be avenged, which in its turn could lead to more murders of vengeance. This situation was nevertheless, according to Mørch, only something which affected very few people, and “the establishment of the Europeans in the country” had led to greater communication and had thus changed things. He concludes: “For sixteen years I have been here near Julianehåb, in whose southern district the Greenlanders could be considered to be almost uninfluenced by the Europeans; but in all that time I have not heard of a murder, neither among the southerners – i.e. those who live about 20 miles south of the colony and further on down to Cape Discord – nor among the easterners who live on the other side of the country. I have got to know some of this latter group, out as far as the latitude of Holsteinsborg. These people, who were previously considered as cannibals, were the most pious people one could imagine. I have heard tell of people living as far away as the latitude of Jakobshavn, but there is no particular intercourse with them, and thus they are still thought of as people with a bad reputation” (Mørch 1831: 33–34).<sup>24</sup>

Rumours of murder or even cannibalism among strange or distant peoples are a general phenomenon known from other areas of Greenland. For example, around Melville Bay the Polar Eskimos towards north and the inhabitants of Upernavik towards south lived for many years separated by mutual fear of one another and a mutual conviction that the others were cannibals. This fear was not eliminated until contact was made between these two groups shortly after 1900, after which people began to visit one another and bonds of friendship and family ties were established (Petersen 2001: 322; Ostermann 1935: 417; Bjørnum et al. 2002: 90).

The rumours of murders and cannibalism in East Greenland must almost certainly be seen in the context of recurring accounts that the inhabitants often suffered from shortages during the winter periods, and that this could often even lead to direct starvation, resulting in cannibalism (Ostermann 1935: 421; Walløe 1927: 100; Graah 1932: 73; Rosing 1993: 9). That this kind of thing was a part of the extreme conditions of life in East Greenland is also demonstrated by more recent, well-documented accounts from the last part of the 19th century in the Ammassalik district, where the famine year 1880–81 resulted in deaths from starvation throughout the district, and where there are examples of people only surviving by eating their dead housemates (Rosing 1963: 107–161). To the extent that cannibalism has taken place in East Greenland, it has not been due to a desire to kill, but due to extreme hardship.

Whereas people nowadays consider the Cape Farewell area as a remote and isolated region, this was not the case around the year 1800. A population which was relatively large for that period was living there, and was fairly unaffected by the colonisation and contact with Europeans which had taken place in the more northerly parts of the west coast. The population lived exclusively by exploiting existing living resources, but had frequent trade contacts with other groups from further north along both the west and east coasts (Fig. 32).



**Fig. 32.** Central summer meeting places in the southern part of West and East Greenland. The Greenlanders' trading journeys created a loose but connected trading system from East Greenland around Cape Farewell to Disko Bay on the west coast. The journeys could take several years, depending on their destination. Along the coast there were meeting places, *aasiviit* (singular *aasivik*), where people met during the summer and the local wares were exchanged for wares from more distant regions. After the Europeans' trading and missionary stations were set up in the 18th century, the long trading journeys gradually died out and the population became sedentary. From East Greenland, however, the trading journeys continued until right up to the end of the 19th century, although the traditional trading place Aluk was replaced by the Danish trading places in the Cape Farewell area.

Sources from the 18th and the start of the 19th century show that in the 18th century there were frequent meetings between people from East Greenland and West Greenland, and an important point of contact was trading, both with traditional Eskimo products and, as time went by, also with European goods. The Cape Farewell area and its inhabitants played a central role in this, and the summer settlement Aluk operated as the centre for this trade, while individual people in the area acted as intermediaries between sections of the Greenlandic population and the European trading activities which were starting in South Greenland. In spite of these connections, there were rumours of murder and cannibalism among East Greenlanders, although these rumours seem to have been exaggerated in relation to reality. Most of the sources also indicate peaceful connections in this period, and even if there are accounts of East Greenlanders having to pay exorbitant sums for European goods (Graah 1932: 93), they considered one another as “peaceable and good friends” (Ostermann 1935: 420).

### **Trading and missionary activities are established in South Greenland**

Information from the groups which had travelled from the south to some of the first Danish colonies, together with Danish expeditions to the south, indicated a large population in the southern part of Greenland, and thus a basis for profitable trade. Plans were also worked out for establishing a colony in South Greenland, and thus including this area into the trading system, but the authorities in Denmark hung back and took a long time to decide, and the final decision was not made until several years had passed. At first the plans were rejected on the grounds of the difficult sailing conditions, and new initiatives and yet another voyage of reconnaissance had to be made before the colony of Julianehåb could finally be established in 1775 (Gad 1969: 389–390, 551–552).

From the very start, the traders in the new colony were interested in expanding their activities even further towards the south. During the winter of 1778–79, the assistant Caspar Albach stayed on the island of Nanortalik, where he collected skins and blubber from the inhabitants of the region. Alsbach was really supposed to go to Upernavik in North Greenland in order to take up a post as assistant in the trading company, but he had become stranded in Julianehåb and it was assumed that the best way in which he could help was to work at Nanortalik (Ostermann 1944: 37; Gad 1969: 576). In 1783, the founder of Julianehåb, the previous merchant, Anders Olsen, travelled on his own account to Cape Farewell

and a short way up the east coast, but without doing very much trade, as the local population had gone the opposite way and traded with the merchant Thomsen in the area around Nanortalik.<sup>25</sup>

Even if these initiatives were a bit at random and certainly not part of a larger planned strategy for expansion of trade, they demonstrated that at least the local traders could see good possibilities for an increase in trading in the southern district, and a proposal was made to establish a trading station in the area. But once again the plans were delayed. A contributing factor in this case can have been an epidemic which struck the area in 1783–85, and which appears to have carried off a large proportion of the population.<sup>26</sup>

In the meantime, the Trading Company's people obtained greater and greater knowledge of the district and a better idea of the size of the population. As time went by, more concrete plans for extending the trading activities towards south appeared, and the correspondence with the board of directors shows that discussions took place concerning the best possible site for a new trading station, the need for buildings, the qualifications which should be required of the trader who was to manage the trading station and so on.<sup>27</sup> With respect to the site, the assistant Heiberg made the proposal: "I should most respectfully like to remind you that the further south this Station, or whatever I should call it, is situated, the more advantageous it will be to those Greenlanders who live on the eastern side of the country, as these people – who until now have been quite wild or frightening to the hunters – can through this possibility become more accustomed to people; our trade will surely profit if these people too could be attracted to deliver their wares, which are surely of greater significance than many of us imagine."<sup>28</sup> Thus even at a very early stage there have been expectations of a southerly trading station being able to create greater contact, not only with the population down to Cape Farewell, but also with the population of the east coast, and expectations that the latter group of inhabitants would be able to increase trade further.

In 1797 the lodge of Nanortalik near Sissarissøq was finally established, and from here the station's trading buildings were moved in 1830 to their present position in nearby Ilivileq, where they today make up the old district of the town of Nanortalik. In the following year, the merchant Mørch reported that the first year had gone well, gave the purchasing figures, and concluded that this had contributed to making it one of the best years for the colony of Julianehåb (Bak 1981: 129) (Fig. 33).<sup>29</sup>

The trading system in Greenland was as previously mentioned built up around colonies, which were managed by a merchant, also known as the colonial manager. Smaller trading places were associated with the

individual colonies; these were known as outposts, and the responsibility for trade in these lay with a manager who was subordinated to the colonial manager. A few trading stations, including Nanortalik, had the status of being a lodge, often also called an establishment, which was something between a colony and an outpost. The lodge was managed by an assistant who was subordinated to the colonial manager, in this case the merchant in Julianehåb, but at the same time the lodge was associated with outposts whose managers were subordinated to the lodge's manager. With the establishment of the trading lodge of Nanortalik on the threshold of the 19th century, the trading and missionary activities were ready to cover the southernmost part of the country. This turned out at the same time to lead to massive emigration of people from Southeast Greenland. In



*Anlægget Nanortalik i Grønland.*

**Fig. 33.** Nanortalik painted by Jacob Arøe, dated 1846. This is the old Nanortalik, established in the vicinity of Sissarissoq in 1797. From there it was moved in 1830 to the nearby Ilivileq where there were better harbour conditions. The two large buildings close to the beach are storehouses for blubber, while the house at the back is the manager's house. Around the trading station's buildings, Greenlandic winter houses and tents can be seen. Jacob Arøe was employed by the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company and was amongst other things the manager in Nanortalik, where he replaced his father Emmanuel Arøe. Jacob Arøe produced drawings and watercolours from several colonies in Greenland, some of them after his return to Denmark in 1839. Ethnographic Collections, The National Museum of Denmark, L18.285.7.



the following century, the history of Cape Farewell is dominated by the cultural meeting between Europeans and Greenlanders, trading and mission, and last but not least the immigrating Southeast Greenlanders. For both the part of the population who already lived there, and the East Greenlanders who came to the area, the events which we shall now give an account of led to considerable changes in their way of life and conditions in society.

### III. Cultural encounters at Cape Farewell in the 19th century

During the 19th century, the Cape Farewell area was affected by many influences and great changes. More and more travellers came from East Greenland to the new trading stations, groups of people, particularly from the southernmost part of the East Greenlandic coast, decided not to go back, and by the end of the century the majority of the inhabitants of the east coast had settled in the Cape Farewell area (Jensen 2003). These activities and movements, and the cultural encounters which followed them, led to considerable changes in the demographic composition and settlement patterns of the local area and strongly influenced the hunter society's material and ideological culture.

Immigration from East Greenland took place against the background of tension between the interests of trading and missionary work, and of the competition between the Danish and German missions. From West Greenland, the established Danish trading company and mission extended their interests to include South Greenland as well, and in the case of the mission this took place in marked competition with the German Moravian mission, which achieved a dominant role in the Cape Farewell area.

In the following sections, we present the European actors and their interests – and the corresponding clashes of interest – and in this way provide a reconstruction of the background of colonial history against which emigration from East Greenland took place. In addition, we describe the East Greenlandic immigration, its development and dynamics, together with an evaluation of the circumstances which can have played a part in motivating the population of Southeast Greenland to move.

#### **The European actors – the traders**

Nanortalik was founded “to purchase products from the nearby Greenlanders in Tersermiut, which previously had only seldom been visited due to the distances involved, and from the Greenlanders living east of the settlement, who had never been visited. There are grounds for believing that this latter group of Greenlanders is sizeable, and that their settlements are comfortable. Thus we have a reasonable hope that the costs of establishing Nanortalik will be amply repaid.” This report

was given by inspector Bull in 1802 in a description of conditions in the southern inspectorate (Ostermann 1918: 8).

Expectations for trade at Nanortalik were therefore considerable from the very start, which is emphasised by the fact that consideration was given to the possibility of sailing into Nanortalik with larger ships in order to transport the purchased products directly to Copenhagen. The previous assistant and colonial manager in Julianehåb, Jens Mathiesen, who had also taken part in an expedition to the east coast as an interpreter, had the following comment to make on this issue: "The question is not unimportant, as production from the establishment at Nanortalik and its subsidiary outposts is already larger than that of many of the colonies, and can be expected to increase as Greenlanders from the east coast move to the west coast or Greenlanders in this region become accustomed to luxury goods" (Mathiesen 1852: 31–32).<sup>30</sup> However, due to sailing conditions which were difficult for ships of that period, transport by ship continued to take place from Julianehåb for a long time after this.

From Nanortalik, the Trading Company worked its way further and further south towards Cape Farewell in the course of the century. This was done in order to establish outposts from which trade with the local population and – not least – the immigrating East Greenlanders was to take place. In 1834, the outpost Ikigaat (Østprøven) was established, in 1848 Pamialluk and in 1893 Itilleq, a few kilometres north of Cape Farewell itself. Each outpost was managed by an outlier (later: an outpost manager) who as a rule had been trained as an artisan, typically a cooper. Some of them were so-called mixtures (Danish: "blandinge"), i.e. people with a Danish father, who was often employed by the Trading Company, and a Greenlandic mother. The outlier in Ikigaat, and later in Pamialluk, moved their activities during the summer period to the islands of Kitsissut northwest of Cape Farewell, where more or less the whole population of the area moved out to catch hooded seals as part of the traditional hunting cycle, and where trading therefore had to take place (Rink 1857: 358). The outliers at the three outposts mentioned above came under the manager at Nanortalik, to which the purchased products were sent on (Fig. 34).

Ikigaat was established directly opposite the Moravian mission station of Friedrichsthal, which after its establishment in 1824 attracted a continually growing group of inhabitants. But also people from East Greenland travelled here in order to trade. On 3 August 1846, the assistant Kauffeldt at Nanortalik writes in his diary that "a postman arrived from Østprøven [Ikigaat] to collect a number of necessary goods which had been sought after by a large number of heathens who had travelled to Østprøven."<sup>31</sup> By this time the entire population of the area between Nanortalik and Cape Farewell had been converted to Christianity, so the heathens which he



Fig. 34. Map of South Greenland printed in 1857 in H.J. Rink's geographical and statistical description of Greenland (Rink 1857). The map is based on an 1844 map from Oldskriftselskabet (the Royal Society for Northern Antiquities), so the Norse name Østerbygden (the Eastern Settlement) is used in addition to the contemporary name of Julianehaab Distrikt. Rink has added features to the map, but knowledge of the Cape Farewell area seems to have been limited, and the topography is only given in the form of a rough sketch. The Royal Danish Library, Rinks samling nr. 43.

refers to must have been travellers from East Greenland. As time went by, however, Ikigaat was outstripped by the more southerly Pamialluk, and ceased to be a trading station as early as 1877, although a small number of inhabitants continued to live there until 1909 (Kapel 2003: 9).

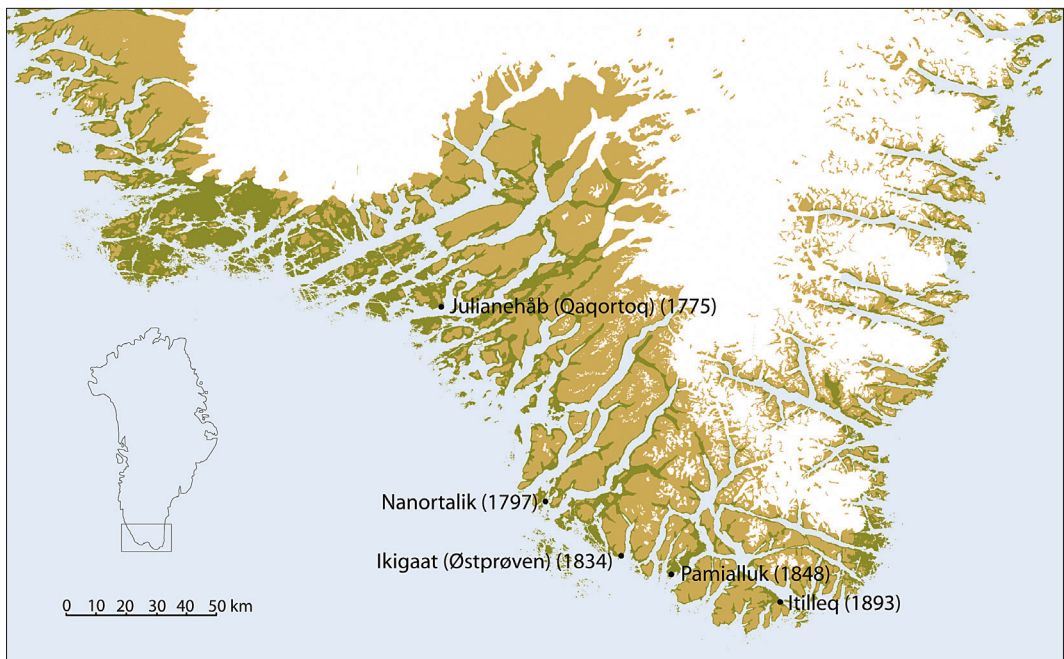
Trade with the inhabitants coming from East Greenland has evidently been promising, and the Trading Company made attempts during this period to expand the trade connections to the east. In 1840, the Danish assistant Kielsen made a journey to the traditional Greenlandic summer settlement and bartering place Aluk just to the east of Cape Farewell with the aim of visiting the East Greenlandic hunters and increasing the level of purchases. When he reached the area, however, the people had left, and the journey was of no avail.<sup>32</sup> Travelling conditions were once again found to be extremely difficult, and as it was not possible to be certain of meeting people there, it was found to be preferable to expand the trading network in the area down around Cape Farewell, and thus to get the East Greenlanders to come there.





particularly blubber and oil. About 100 skins purchased” (Fig. 35).<sup>34</sup> Right from the time of its establishment, the outpost became the central place for contact and exchange of goods with people from East Greenland, and sources from the subsequent period bear witness to regular visits. To give a few examples: In 1857, the temporary outlier reported that: “Today two women’s boats with heathens arrived from the east coast and put up their tents at the trading station.”<sup>35</sup> In 1877 the colonial manager in Julianehåb reported: “Two heathen women’s boats from the east coast had visited the outpost of Ilua at the end of August and delivered five bearskins and ca. 300 sealskins there.”<sup>36</sup> And in 1881, Carl Lytzen finished his report dated 8 August as follows: “According to private messages, four heathen boats from the east coast are said to have arrived at Pamiagdhluk in the final days of the previous month.”<sup>37</sup>

In 1893, a trading post was established near Itilleq on Eggers Island on the border of East Greenland. The direct reason for this was a considerable increase in emigration from East Greenland in the previous years, and the consequent pressure laid on the trading situation in the area. The plan was to place the new trading post a little way into East Greenland near



**Fig. 36.** Trading stations in the Cape Farewell area. From the end of the 18th century, the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company expanded its interests to include the southernmost part of Greenland. The years give the dates for the establishment of the individual trading stations. The outposts in the Cape Farewell area were subsidiary to the station in Nanortalik, which in its turn was a part of the colony of Julianehåb’s district.

Qernertoq, where East Greenlanders often overwintered on their journeys to or from the west coast before continuing their journey to their homeland further up the east coast. An expedition led by the colonial manager started off from Julianehåb, but sailing was made difficult by the ice, and they did not get any further than the settlement of Itilleq. As a similar attempt to get to Qernertoq had been made the year before, and had also been stopped by the ice, and as they did not want to put off establishing the new trading post any further, the colonial manager chose to put up the buildings where they had got to. In this way the most southerly trading post in the country came to be placed in Itilleq (Fig. 36).

The authorities in Copenhagen were most unsatisfied with the position of the new outpost, as they thought it lay too close to Pamialluk to achieve its main aim, which was to stop the East Greenlanders before they reached the west coast. They therefore demanded an investigation of whether it would be possible to move the newly established trading post further east, and preferably even further than Qernertoq, that is to say to Narsaq in Kangerlussuatsiaq or to Aluk (Jensen 2002b: 40). A trading post on the border of or a little way into East Greenland would shorten the traders' journey from the east, and possibly have the effect that they would continue living in their original areas, or at least – if they chose to move – that they would settle near the new trading station.

In the following year, however, the question of moving the new trading station was shelved, as the colonial manager had informed the directorate that the establishment in 1894 of the trading and mission station at Ammassalik, where the East Greenlanders who lived in the north were found, would surely have the effect that the remaining inhabitants on the east coast would give up trying to reach the west coast, and that the need to set up an outpost in the southern part of the east coast would therefore disappear. Until further notice, however, the directorate wanted the new outpost to be occupied, and the trading post remained provisionally at Itilleq.<sup>38</sup>

When the trading post at Itilleq was established, the central authorities had introduced limitations both on the goods which could be sold there and on the goods which the post was allowed to purchase (Raahauge & Appelt 2002: 115). The goods for sale were limited to cloth, gunpowder, lead, tobacco and various items of hardware, whereas it was not possible, for example, to buy bread or coffee. In addition, the station was not allowed to buy blubber. This was an attempt to prevent the East Greenlanders from using such a large proportion of their blubber and money for purchases in the shop that they would get into difficulties later. However, the limitations did not work, as people just went to Pamialluk to trade (Meldorf 1902: 40). Thus the outpost at Itilleq did not live up to the intention of acting as a brake on the travelling East Greenlanders.

The outpost of Pamialluk was from 1848 the target for the travelling East Greenlanders who wanted to exchange skins and blubber for European goods. As time went by, the name “Pamialluk” became almost synonymous with the term “trading post” for the people of East Greenland. Thus people nowadays will tell you that the phrases “*Pamialluk avannarleq*” (northern Pamialluk), “*Pamialluk qiterleq*” (central Pamialluk) and “*Pamialluk kujalleq*” (southern Pamialluk) were used to denote the trading posts in the Cape Farewell area at that time, i.e. Nanortalik, Pamialluk and Itilleq respectively (Figs. 37 and 38).<sup>39</sup>



Fig. 37. Pamialluk painted in 1853 by the colonial manager in Julianehåb, later the inspector for South Greenland, H.J. Rink, who in that year made a journey of inspection to the southernmost part of the Julianehåb district. Pamialluk was founded in 1848, and was at this time the most southerly trading station in Greenland. In the foreground and on the right of the picture, the trading station's buildings and a few individual Greenlandic houses can be seen. The two large white stone houses are the blubber store (at the front) and the outlier's house, whose loft acted as the shop. The Greenlanders' houses lie up a slope on the other side of a little valley. The houses are fitted with European windows and stoves, one of them apparently with two stoves. Some families have at that time still followed the custom of living in a tent in the summer, and have removed the roof from their winter house, so wind and weather could clean the exposed house. (Rink 1857).





the goods which they had bought in the shop at some stage ran out, and they again wanted to travel to the west coast to trade, then they would have to bring skins and blubber with them for the purpose.

The East Greenlandic traders were principally interested in iron items such as knives and needles, while at the end of the century dagger blades, iron arrow tips and ulus are also mentioned.<sup>41</sup> In addition to this, they bartered for goods such as textiles, beads, coffee (to a small extent) and – not least – tobacco. Food items such as bread, milled corn, peas, figs, prunes etc. appear to have been very popular among the permanent population, but were considered by some of the Trading Company's people as directly harmful. "Luxury goods" appear however not to have been of great interest to the East Greenlanders who came to trade (Olsen & Petersen 1990).<sup>42</sup> Towards the end of the century, the East Greenlanders also began to buy rifles and ammunition, and Nansen, from his stay on the east coast in 1888, mentions just exactly these weapons as examples of goods which were purchased on trading journeys to West Greenland (Rink 1877: 320–321; Nansen 1890: 294–295). The goods purchased consisted principally of blubber and skins, and a special aspect of the trade in skins was that in Pamialluk a good deal of the valuable polar bear skin was purchased.

*Produktionsliste for Kolenien Julianeabod, 10. J. 1882-83.*

Producent ved	Tid fra den 10.	Lol.		Høj.	Spine	Rørskind		Lol. kind		Nandkind		Sæl	Sæl	Sæl
		spæk	hvid	hvid	hvid	hvid	hvid	hvid	hvid	hvid	hvid			
Kolenien Julianeabod	Sept. 29	106	2	3	2	2	.	.	3	10	22			
Udøver Kogummiut	Sept. 26	105	1	.	4	7	5	191	.	.	102			
— Nordproven	31	54	9	.	14	10	3	66	1	.	39			
— Gardlak	Sept. 23	140	.	.	1	1	40	212	4	4	10			
— Sydproven	23	115	1	1	11	3	7	105	.	5	45			
— Godthåb	23	385	1	1	6	.	65	480	12	19	.			
— Nordtalik	23	393	1	3	9	1	350	.	.	.	.			
— Ilua	7 <sup>de</sup>	488	1	7	2	2	36	505	.	.	.			
		1726	16	15	49	26	156	1769	20	38	218			

*Julianeabod, den 29 September 1882.  
Carl Lytzen.*

**Fig. 39.** The colonial manager in Julianehåb Carl Lytzen's report on the trading year 1882–1883 contained an appendix with a complete summary of the production of the colony of Julianehåb. The list shows the type of products bought and their distribution over the trading places in the district. Purchases for the Cape Farewell area can be seen from the numbers for the outpost of Ilua, i.e. Pamialluk: Up to a quarter of the blubber purchased, a third of the sealskins and half of the valuable polar bear skins came from this part of the colonial district. The Danish National Archives.



Rink mentions on several occasions that purchasing in Pamialluk was on a level with or better than several of the colonies in the country (Rink 1877: 320).<sup>43</sup> A single example can demonstrate this. In the autumn of 1882, the colonial manager Carl Lytzen produced a “Production list for the Colony of Julianehaab,” covering the purchase of products during the first half of the trading year 1882/83 in the district of Julianehåb. The list shows that in this half year Nanortalik and Pamialluk together delivered almost half of all the seal blubber and all the sealskin in the district, and that of the two trading posts Pamialluk was the most productive, with about a quarter of all the blubber and between a quarter and a third of all the sealskin in the district. In the district of Julianehåb, fifteen polar bear skins had also been purchased, three of these in Nanortalik and seven in Pamialluk (Fig. 39).<sup>44</sup>

The data for these southerly trading posts should be looked at in relation to the fact that Julianehåb was the most highly populated and profitable of the colonies in Greenland (Mathiesen 1852: 19–20; Mørch 1942). Thus,



**Fig. 40.** Nanortalik in 1899 seen towards north. In accordance with the usual custom, the trading station has been established in close proximity to a natural harbour. In the harbour there is a boat which has been used for sailing in the district, supplying the trading station's shops with goods and collecting purchased wares. The majority of the buildings, of which several are built of stone, today belong to Nanortallip Katersugaasivia/Nanortalik Museum. Photo: Bohlmann/Danish Arctic Institute 48228.

in comparison with the other trading posts in that period, Pamialluk had a relatively high level of trade, and the Trading Company's results as a whole lived fully up to the expectations which had been formulated at the start of the century.

The good results led to a considerable expansion of the trading network towards south, and to the establishment of trading posts in the Cape Farewell area, so that unbroken trade with the population of East Greenland was ensured. The establishment of trading posts among the population of Greenlandic hunters was also in accordance with the general policy of the Trading Company, which was that the population should live spread out, and that the Trading Company to a great extent should go out to meet the population in order to purchase their products. Thus the Trading Company was clearly not interested in the East Greenlanders on their trading journeys getting further than Pamialluk, and the establishment of the last outpost, Itilleq, shows that they were not interested in the population who still lived in East Greenland moving to West Greenland either, as long as they could maintain the trading connections.

Here there was a conflict of interests and a source of conflict with the mission, who simultaneously with the Trading Company established themselves in the area in order to attract East Greenlandic immigrants and bind them closely to the mission, also from a geographical point of view (Fig. 40).

## **The European actors – the mission**

With the expansion of the Trading Company in South Greenland followed the mission. In the second half of the 18th century and in parts of the 19th century, the Danish mission suffered heavily from lack of money, and in 1792 the Mission College had to call some of the missionaries in Greenland back to Denmark, after which the whole of West Greenland was covered by only five missionaries. During the war with England in 1807–14, conditions got even worse, as the remainder of the missionaries but one returned to Denmark. In the years after the war, economic conditions in Denmark were poor for a long period, which also affected the mission in Greenland, with the consequence that positions were only slowly refilled. The Julianehåb mission district had no missionaries from 1811 to 1817, and in the subsequent period was obliged for several years to share a missionary with the more northerly Frederikshåb mission district (Gad 1984: 168, 191, 205f.; Madsen 1975: 96). Thus the Danish mission was from the very start poorly situated in the well-populated district of Julianehåb. This created advantageous conditions for the competing

Moravian mission.

The Moravian Brethren's mission, after the establishment of their first mission station at Neuhermhut near Godthåb in 1733, extended their activities in Greenland with a number of mission stations, although only towards the south. The Moravians also knew about the large group of inhabitants in South Greenland, and they were also aware of the Trading Company's considerations about setting up a trading station in the area. This would give them the opportunity for operating in the area, and they have apparently not been slow to come to a decision. In 1774 they established the mission station Lichtenau near Alluitsoq south of the coming colony of Julianehåb, and thus moved down into South Greenland a year before the Danish Trading Company and mission (Christensen 1983; Kleivan 1983).

From Lichtenau, the Moravian missionaries could at close range follow the Trading Company's attempts at extending their interests even further south, and they have themselves obtained knowledge of and even direct contact to groups in the large population which lived near Cape Farewell and in particular on the east coast. There they saw a possibility of cultivating a new missionary field and of expanding their congregation in Greenland considerably. But they first had to investigate conditions for themselves.

One day in July 1821, the manager in Nanortalik, Emmanuel Arøe, wrote in his diary "In the evening, Herr Kleinschmidt from Lichtenau came here to make a journey of investigation to Statenhuk with regard to the business of their mission," and twelve days later he notes: "In the afternoon the evangelical teacher Herr Kleinschmidt returned from his journey to Statenhuk and reported that the country was beautiful down there."<sup>45</sup> Behind these laconic notes lie the introductory practical steps towards establishment of a mission station near Cape Farewell, which consisted in the Moravian missionary in Lichtenau, Conrad Kleinschmidt, making a journey of investigation to the area.

The day after returning to Lichtenau, Kleinschmidt wrote a report which came to form the basis of a petition to the king. The petition was put forward by the Moravian Brethren's agent in Copenhagen, Johannes Reufs, who requested permission to establish a mission station near Statenhuk. He repeated Kleinschmidt's evaluation that up to 500 people were living in the area, and that a good site had been found on which to establish a mission. He also emphasised the point that a consequence would be improved contact with the people of East Greenland, of which some had previously overwintered in Lichtenau and were interested in becoming Christians, but had gone back home.<sup>46</sup> The petition was dealt with in the Mission College, and in considering the case they laid emphasis on the fact

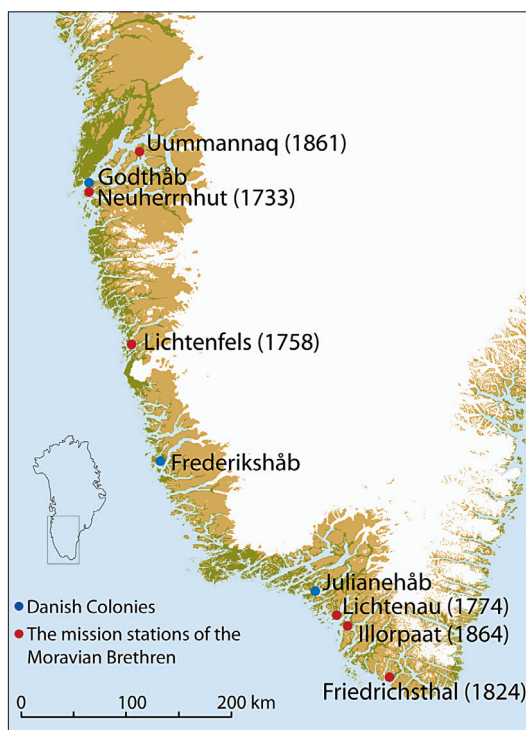
that it was doubtful whether the Danish Trading Company – and thus the Danish mission – would extend their interests further east at all, and that the Moravians' initiative would therefore not harm the Danish mission.<sup>47</sup> In a subsequent royal resolution of 26 February 1822, the Moravian Brethren received permission to establish “a mission post among the Greenlandic heathens at Statenhuk,” but with the explicit condition that they were not to move in to the Danish missionary district.<sup>48</sup>

A few years went by, however, before the mission station was established. Amongst other things, Kleinschmidt was in Europe in 1823–24, during which period he both in Denmark and among the Moravian Brethren and its leaders in Germany was active in drawing attention to himself and his plans (Wilhjelm 2001: 46). In the spring of 1824, Reufs could nevertheless inform the Mission College that Kleinschmidt would return to Greenland and set up a new mission station near Statenhuk, which would be called Friedrichsthal after the Danish king Frederik VI. The following year he could report that Friedrichsthal was now established, and could attach a full report about this from Kleinschmidt and two other missionaries.<sup>49</sup> The mission station was established in the locality of Narsaq, which locally is also called Narsarmijit, corresponding to West Greenlandic Narsarmiut, and all these names appear in the sources.<sup>50</sup> In a report to the Mission College in 1826, Reufs could inform them from Friedrichsthal that the settlement was now inhabited by more than 300 inhabitants, and that materials would be sent up to Friedrichsthal for building a church (Fig. 41).<sup>51</sup>

The population in the Cape Farewell area and the East Greenlanders who immigrated to the west coast during the 19th century, and who for the most part settled in exactly this area, were baptised by the Moravian Brethren and thus became members of the congregation in Friedrichsthal.

The exact term for the German congregation in Greenlandic is *Qatanngutigiiinniat*, which is derived from the Danish “Brødremenigheden” (English: the Moravian congregation), while the Greenlandic term *noorliit* (those at the tip of the headland), which in daily speech was used for the mission station of Neuherrnhut near Nuuk, came as time went by into common use as a general term for the members of the Moravian congregations in other parts of the country. In 1901, the Greenlandic priest Jens Chemnitz described the origins and use of *noorliit* and the parallel term *avannarliit* (the most northerly dwellers), which was used about the Danish congregation and its members. This took place a short time after the Moravian Brethren ceased to work in Greenland, and Chemnitz concluded that this division between the congregations was out of date.<sup>52</sup> *Noorliit* is, however, still used to some extent, not only as a term for the Moravians, but also in the general sense of Germans (Berthelsen et al. 1990; Wilhjelm 2001: 117).

**Fig. 41.** Moravian mission stations in Greenland. The Moravian congregation's first mission station, Neuhermhut, was established in 1733 in close proximity to the colony of Godthåb. In the following years, their activities were extended towards the south, so that as time went by there were six Moravian mission stations in Greenland. The two last ones, Uummannaq and Illorpaat, acted as subsidiaries under Neuhermhut and Lichtenau respectively.



## The Moravian Brethren and the mission in Friedrichsthal

The Moravian congregation originated when a group of Protestants fled from Moravia in 1722 and received permission to found the village of Herrnhut on an estate in the southeastern corner of Saxony. There the congregation was founded, and as early as 1732 the Moravian missionary activity was sent out from there to the Danish colonies in the West Indies. The Moravian congregation takes a pietistic evangelical view of Christianity, and for a short period at the start of the 18th century had the attention of the pietistic Danish king Christian VI, and attracted members from circles in Copenhagen and other areas. Due to its radical views, the congregation came under attack from ecclesiastical circles even before it sent its first missionaries to Greenland in 1733, and it was therefore only just tolerated in Denmark, whereas its missionary work in the Danish colonies was accepted by the central authorities. In Greenland it was originally the idea that the Moravian Brethren's missionaries would support the already established Danish mission, but from the start the Moravian missionaries established themselves on their own. In spite of this and in spite of the existing differences and the following years'



conflicts, not only with the Danish mission, but also with the Trading Company, the autocratic Danish king – and subsequently the Mission College – supported the Moravians' presence throughout the 167 years during which they operated in Greenland.

The Moravian congregation was not based on any particular theology, but was principally practically organised. In their missionary work they did not go in for a long period of teaching and meticulous learning of texts and basic concepts before baptism, but stressed that each individual should follow his or her feelings, and that entry into the congregation should be felt as a personal experience. Thus the central idea was conversion, after which one should work on living a Christian life in accordance with the congregation's rules and moral principles. The missionary work was therefore originally oriented towards individual spiritual enlightenment rather than mass conversions. It was however the latter which actually took place in Greenland (Wilhjelm 2001: 30–31), for example by collective baptism of families or large groups who had settled together near the mission station, which in particular the material from Friedrichsthal demonstrates, and the Moravian missionaries baptised much faster than the Danish mission. The missionaries were as a rule not theologians but laymen, such as artisans, and as they often stayed in the country for many years, quite commonly for the rest of their lives, many of them achieved a good command of the Greenlandic language, a factor which gave them an advantage in their work with the Greenlandic population (Bredsdorff 2003; Thuesen 2007).

In both the Danish and German missions in Greenland, missionary work and teaching were from the very start closely connected, and thus the Moravian missionaries also looked after running the schools for their congregations. In the mission stations, the missionaries did the teaching themselves, but they also used Greenlandic assistants. Particularly in the settlements, which were only very occasionally visited by the missionaries, it was absolutely necessary to use assistants and teachers, who were often one and the same person, and the reports regularly give us information about working with them: recruitment and training, meetings in Friedrichsthal, journeys of inspection, their social conditions etc.<sup>53</sup> At one time, instructions were sent out in Greenlandic to the assistants and teachers, pointing out that the assistants should act the part of the missionaries and for example read the text every Sunday, deal with funerals, register births and admonish those who did not live according to the rules. The main task of the teachers was to teach the children about Christianity, and to teach them to read so that they could read God's word for themselves. Arithmetic and writing could possibly be taught to the most able pupils, whereas for the others it was unimportant.<sup>54</sup>

While the Danish mission after the establishment of teachers' training colleges in 1845 strengthened the training of catechists, the Moravians in Greenland were never successful in doing so, despite several attempts. The professional abilities of the teachers were often very poor, and teaching in the Moravian congregations was also regularly criticised by the Danes.

The Moravian society in Europe was to a considerable extent organised in a peculiar manner according to its own rules, and members of the congregation were exposed to strict sanctions from the church if they broke the rules. The missionaries in Greenland tried to introduce the distinctive Moravian character to their congregations, but without much success. During the first years of the mission, for example, they tried to follow the custom of the European congregations and allow questions of marriages and the giving of names to be decided by Our Lord, which in practice meant by drawing lots, but this practice was abandoned. They also attempted to introduce the choir system, according to which the members were supposed to live in separate houses or choirs for widows, unmarried men, unmarried women, boys, girls etc., which would completely have changed Greenlandic forms of housing and the social organisation of society, but this scheme also failed and was abandoned in 1783. They did however preserve the idea of special assemblies, and in the correspondence from the missionaries in Friedrichsthal there are regular reports of the common evening meal (German: "Abendmahl") and of assemblies with the boys, the girls, the women and so on.

In the Moravian congregations there were strict moral rules which were difficult to live up to, such as a ban on dancing and on sexual activity before marriage, and there are many examples of sanctions imposed by the church. In some ways the Moravian congregations had their special features which affected the whole of Greenlandic society. Many traditions continued after the Moravians' time in Greenland, for example the four-part singing and the use of wind instruments in the assemblies, the singing of hymns outside the houses at Christmas time, *silatangiaaneq*, and the coloured bands around the women's topknots to indicate which group they belonged to, a reminiscence of the attempt to divide people up into choirs.<sup>55</sup>

The Moravian congregation's missionaries were in principle supposed to be self-supporting and to produce funds for the mission and for subsistence by their own commercial activities within the local society in which the individual missionaries were established. In Labrador, where a number of mission stations were set up among the Eskimo population from 1771 onwards, the colonial authorities gave each individual mission station rights over a particular area, where others were not allowed to trade or settle without permission from the missionaries (Nowak 1999:

175; Brice-Bennett 2003). The Moravian Brethren did not have this type of economic security in Greenland, and the missionaries did not refrain from making comparisons with the better conditions enjoyed by their colleagues in Labrador.<sup>56</sup> But in Greenland all trade was reserved for the Danish trading monopoly. The alternative, which was to live from hunting and fishing alone, was excluded, so the only real possibility was to obtain funding from outside.

Thus when the Moravians were able to take up the competition with the Danish mission to the extent which they could, and in the district of Julianehåb in many cases outstrip the Danish mission, this was not only a result of the Danish mission's weakness, but at least as much due to the commitment shown by the congregations in Europe and even from mission stations in other parts of the world, and there are examples of help being received from congregations in the West Indies and Surinam. This help could be in the form of money, but also in the form of teaching materials, clothes, wind instruments and other items which could be used in the missionary activities, could help the missionaries and their families or could be used to pay members of the congregation for services.<sup>57</sup> The spiritual and financial support which the Moravian missionaries in Greenland received in the form of supplies and gifts appears to have put them in general in a financially stronger position than the Danish mission. Thus both the Lichtenau and Friedrichsthal mission stations were throughout the period 1824–1900 normally occupied by three missionaries, whilst there was only a single Danish missionary in Julianehåb to cover the whole of the rest of South Greenland (Christensen 1983: 243; Kleivan 1983: 225–226; Gad 1984: 208) (Figs. 42 and 43).

Letters and reports from Friedrichsthal, especially from the latter part of the 19th century, are nevertheless characterised by the fact that it had become steadily more difficult to find means for running the mission, and the missionaries had to face financial restrictions. At one time the financial situation had been so tight that a decision was made to encourage the congregation's members in Friedrichsthal to make a contribution in cash towards the running of the mission, but this was a failure, and later a proposal that the members of the congregation should pay for the food at the assemblies was discussed instead. The explanation given by the missionaries for the lack of commitment from the members of the congregation was that people were poor, and they stated that some of them would like to offer support in the form of goods, such as blubber, but not in the form of money.<sup>58</sup> In spite of these financial problems, they nevertheless decided in the first instance to continue their presence in the country, and they successfully collected funding for building chapels in the Friedrichsthal district to use for assemblies and for teaching in connection



**Fig. 42.** Watercolour of Friedrichsthal painted in 1846 by Jakob Arøe. This picture is based on several sources, including one from 1834. In the middle of the picture can be seen the Moravian congregation's mission buildings with the church, the missionaries' house, goat stall and depot, and the fenced-in garden. The mission station lay on a small flatland, which is the reason for the local Greenlandic names, Narsaq and Narsarmijit (the flatland and the inhabitants of the flatland). On the right is the stream of Narsap Kuua, known by the Moravians as Königsbach. The Greenlanders' dwellings can be seen behind the mountain on the left and on the right side of the picture close to the bay. Down by the bay, we can also see some women's boats and a number of tents, which may have been occupied by people from the settlement who have moved out of their winter quarters, or by travellers, for example from East Greenland. Ethnographic Collections, The National Museum of Denmark, L18.285.8.

with missionary work out in the district. The first of these was ready for use in 1859 in Pamialluk, where the Danish missionaries had also expressed a wish to build a house for use in the work of the mission, but had never had the idea accepted.<sup>59</sup> The Moravians erected the second chapel in the settlement of Illukasik, where the work was started as late as 1899.<sup>60</sup>

It was however not only financial problems which made the situation insecure for the missionaries and their families. It had from the start been difficult for them to accustom themselves to life in such unaccustomed surroundings, and in a diary entry from 1830 the missionary de Fries describes the isolation and loneliness in the cold country with the biting north wind, and where there were a hundred times as many ravens as there were





**Fig. 43.** Picture of Friedrichsthal by an unknown artist, but printed in Niesky in Saxony. It is clear that the artist has not himself been in Greenland and seen conditions with his own eyes, as the shapes of the Greenlanders' houses, tents and women's boats, which lie on the beach with their bottoms in the air, are incorrect. The source for this picture may be Arøe's picture, cf. Fig. 42, which is painted from the same angle, but in this picture we can also see a bell outside the church. Between the garden and the bay there are also a flock of goats and a goatherd. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, TS Mp 122 04.

people.<sup>61</sup> Letters and reports throughout the period also contain information combined with a sense of powerlessness over the social conditions and the poverty of the congregation, the population's excessive sale of skins and blubber and purchases of luxury goods such as coffee and tobacco, and the frequent epidemics and consequent mortality. The missionaries could not do much about the situation, except that they in the worst cases could give support in the form of food and clothes, and there are also examples of their giving help towards the purchase of materials for a kayak.<sup>62</sup>

Most of the frustrations and the greatest despondency appear however when they speak about the results of the actual missionary work. The task of actual baptism went excellently, and the congregation continued to grow. But the missionaries had no understanding of the Greenlanders' basic philosophy of life, with their entire existence – both material and spiritual – seen as a whole and the transition to Christianity as one out of



many ways to survive. They saw the lack of interest for Christianity and the failure to follow the requirements for living their lives, which were a part of the message, as an expression of a purely materialistic attitude and of indifference to spiritual matters (Wilhjelm 2001: 31–32). The members of the congregation were according to the missionaries stuck in what they called heathenism, superstition and magic, and all attempts to lead them onto the right path seemed fruitless. Now and then there are expressions of some degree of satisfaction on the state of the mission station itself, while conditions in the settlements, they felt, were so unchristian, that the missionaries even had to call on God's help: "Herr Hilf uns!" ("The Lord help us!").<sup>63</sup> That the missionaries reflected over possible differences in the Greenlandic and German view of life can be seen in an article in a Moravian mission periodical, where the missionary Zucher is quoted as having provided in a report the following thoughts on the lack of understanding of another people: "The Lord will probably measure the Greenlanders with another measure than the one we Europeans tend so readily to use, after which we often have to recognise that we were mistaken."<sup>64</sup> The Moravian missionaries' situation in Greenland was also influenced by their relationship to the Danes. At the level of the central administration, they were dependent on the understanding and good relations to the Mission College and KGH (the Royal Danish Trading Company), and as we shall see later there were, during the period when the Moravians were in Greenland, some differences of principle, in particular with the Trading Company, which at intervals came to the surface in the Cape Farewell area and created conflicts. On the local level, it was often a question of how well the local people in the Trading Company and the two missions got on with one another, and here relations in general seem to have been good.

The Danish authorities gave priority to a policy that favoured the Trading Company and its interests. This led to repeated conflicts between the Trading Company and the Moravian missionaries, who had to organise themselves in relation to the requirement that the Greenlandic population should live spread out in order to exploit the natural resources, and that in those places where there was already a concentration of people steps should be taken to get people to move out into the district. At one time the Trading Company forbade the missionaries to trade with the local population and to give it help, as they were afraid that this would get people to persist in staying where they were. It is clear from the missionaries' letters to Herrnhut that they felt themselves harassed by the Trading Company's demands, and when finally it became prohibited for further immigrants to settle near the mission station, and there were even plans to set up a trading station nearer to the east coast to absorb the last immigrants, they feared that there would be no more people to preach the gospel to.<sup>65</sup>

Finally it must not be forgotten that contemporary Danish-German relations can hardly have avoided having a not insignificant influence on relations between Danes and Germans in Greenland. During this period, Denmark on the one side and Prussia and Austria on the other – both the latter being members of the German League – were in a state of open warfare in connection with the wars in Schleswig in 1848–50 and 1864, and Denmark after its defeat in the last of these wars had to give up Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia and Austria. This created a tense relationship between the population of Denmark and its German neighbours, and in Greenland this feeling infected the relationship with the Moravians and amplified the Danish criticism of the Moravians and their presence. It is therefore easy to understand that the German missionaries at times felt that their presence in the country was only just tolerated and in some cases even expressed the thought that the Danes showed definite animosity towards them.<sup>66</sup>

The Moravian mission's difficult situation in periods in relation to the Danes and Danish authorities did not however mean that the Moravian missionaries and their congregations were isolated from the rest of society, or that conflicts sprang up between the local groups of the population. On the contrary, both the Moravian missionaries and representatives for the Moravian congregations became members of the managements which were introduced from the middle of the 19th century with the aim of creating an overall understanding of society and drawing the Greenlanders into the process of participating in the development of Greenland. Thus the Greenlanders formed a single society, while within this society there were two missions (Fig. 44).

In 1900 the Moravian missionaries left Greenland after an internal discussion within the Moravian congregations' organs and among the missionaries in Greenland lasting a number of years, a discussion which set its mark on the letters from, for example, Friedrichsthal. The reason appeared to be that the real aim of the mission, to work in the field among the heathen, had been brought to an end, as all Greenlanders had by then become Christians or came under a Christian congregation. There has undoubtedly also been a financial motivation, as it had become more and more difficult to find funding for the mission in Greenland. The Moravian congregations and their assistants and readers were transferred to the Danish mission, which also took over the Moravians' buildings (Kleivan 1983: 232; Wilhjelm 2001: 29–39; Kjærgaard & Kjærgaard 2003: 39–56).

With the withdrawal of the Moravian Brethren, a chapter in Greenlandic history which has left its definite mark drew to a close. This is particularly true in the Cape Farewell area. The mission station of Friedrichsthal was established in the middle of the trade route between East and West Greenland, and the aim of the Moravian missionaries



**Fig. 44.** Friedrichsthal drawn in 1868 by Carl Julius Spindler, who was the missionary there from 1864 to 1868. The mission station can be seen in the middle of the picture, and the Greenlanders' dwellings on the right. Between these we can see a small wooden building, which can be the servant women's house. Behind the mission station can be seen a valley, from which strong foehn winds from time to time blow down towards the sea. Below this the missionaries built the first house, an earth house, but this was damaged by a storm as early as the second winter, and so they decided to build the subsequent wood buildings so they were sheltered from the strong winds. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, TS BD 21 007a.

was to convert the immigrating East Greenlanders to Christianity, get them to settle round the mission station and thus to create their own congregation. In this they succeeded.

## Immigration from East Greenland

The history of the Cape Farewell area in the 19th century is dominated by the contact to East Greenland and the East Greenlandic immigrants who settled in the area. The written sources from the early years are sparse and

the information correspondingly sporadic, but as time went by the reports and letters from the Trading Company and the German and Danish missions give a clearer and clearer picture of events and developments in the 19th century. Thus it is possible to create for oneself an estimate of the extent of the immigration, of which phases and periods it particularly took place in, and some explanations of why people chose to move from East Greenland and settle in the Cape Farewell area.

Nanortalik's first outlier, David Kleist, does not seem to have kept a diary, or else it has not been preserved, and in the diaries of the previously mentioned merchant at Julianehåb, Johan Christian Mørch, there is only general information about purchases, catches, health conditions etc. for the southern establishment. As we have seen previously, trade in Nanortalik gave good results in its first years, and expectations for the establishment were high. The wars with England in 1807–14 led, however, to considerable supply problems for the Danish colonies in Greenland, and this also had a notably adverse effect on trade with the Greenlanders. In 1810, Mørch wrote that "the southern Greenlanders come very rarely to the establishment, as no tobacco is to be had."<sup>67</sup> That the basis for profitable trade in the southern area otherwise appears to have been present can be seen from Mørch's information that there were thirty-three hunters in the northern part of the Julianehåb district, while there were more than twice as many in the southern district.<sup>68</sup>

In 1817, David Kleist was replaced by Immanuel Arøe,<sup>69</sup> and there exist a series of diaries from his pen from Nanortalik in the period up to the end of the 1820s. In his diaries, Arøe noted down concisely and without many details a long series of events and the execution of practical tasks connected with the trade at Nanortalik. He notes, amongst other things, when he has traded with the inhabitants, e.g. "traded with some heathens" and "trade took place with Christians and heathens." On 29 March 1819 there arrived "some heathens from the south with a women's boat with blubber, which was purchased and paid for," and on 15 September 1820 there was "trade with heathens and easterners." On 3 May 1822 there was "trade with some easterners, who immediately put up tents." The following day Arøe sent two Greenlanders to Julianehåb to fetch tobacco, which had got into short supply, and "the easterner Kutuk followed them to see the colony." For 29–31 July we can read: "traded with Greenlanders and easterners, who delivered blubber and good skins." On 3 June 1824, Arøe sent a messenger to Julianehåb "with the baptised Theophilus and two easterners, namely the household head Kakalak and the very tall Enernek." On 26 April 1827 trading took place all day with "southerners, northerners and people from Cape Farewell," while on 19 July the same year there was "good trade with easterners" (Fig. 45).<sup>70</sup>



Arøe's diaries are filled with these short pieces of information about the trading activities at Nanortalik, and everything therefore seems to indicate that trade had picked up again after the meagre years during the war with England. These selected passages also show that Nanortalik covered a large area at an early stage, as trading did not only take place with the local population. People came all the way from the Cape Farewell area in the south and there was also "trade with German Greenlanders,"<sup>71</sup> i.e. people from the Moravian congregation in Lichtenau north of the establishment. This could indicate some travel in the area. Some extraordinary travelling activity must however lie behind the almost yearly information about trade with the "easterners" (Danish: "Østbøggder"), i.e. people from East Greenland. Most of these East Greenlanders appear to have arrived at Nanortalik in the course of the summer, where conditions for travelling along the east coast and around Cape Farewell are best, and they have as a rule probably come travelling directly from the east coast, while



Fig. 45. View from Aluk towards the northeast along the East Greenland coast on a day in August. The drift ice is dense and makes all sailing extremely difficult, or maybe even impossible. For journeys to and from East Greenland, such conditions could mean long delays, and in some cases it became necessary to overwinter on the spot. If one tried to go on, there was a risk that the skin of the women's boat would be torn to pieces by the ice. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.



the early date in 1822 (3 May) indicates that that travelling party must have overwintered in the Cape Farewell area before it reached the trading station.

The earliest sources are more sparing with information about actual immigration from East Greenland. The merchant Mørch speaks of fourteen hunters who were said to have settled south of Nanortalik as early as the summer of 1798 (Mørch 1942: 130), and in 1803 the inspector Myhlenport reported that after the setting up of Nanortalik as a trading establishment “the easterners collected together more and more in that area” (Ostermann 1918: 8, note 3). It can however be noted that immigration and settlement have taken place just after Nanortalik was established and in the following years, although no general picture can be drawn of this early period.

In 1824, however, the Moravian Brethren established the mission station of Friedrichsthal south of Nanortalik, and as a direct consequence of this the remainder of the century was characterised both by a continual, at times heavy, level of immigration by East Greenlanders, who settled in and around the mission station, and by considerably more copious written sources which illuminate this immigration and the cultural encounters in the Cape Farewell area as a whole.

A central source is the church register for the Moravian congregation in Friedrichsthal, which covers the entire period of the mission station’s existence, that is to say 1824–1900. The register contains entries for all persons who were baptised in Friedrichsthal and its associated settlements by the Moravian missionaries and their assistants, and who therefore belonged to the Moravian congregation. Where it was a matter of baptising heathens, the newly baptised person’s original name (“voriger Name”) was noted down beside their Christian baptismal name, and so the persons concerned are ones who moved to the mission station. By simply counting these heathen names it is possible amongst other things to get a picture of the magnitude and speed of immigration (NKA 1824-1900).

The church register includes 688 persons whose original Greenlandic name is given, that is to say persons who have emigrated from East Greenland and have settled near the mission station (Figs. 46a and b). To this number we must add thirty-eight persons who settled as the very last ones at Friedrichsthal, but who were not baptised until the year after and were therefore registered in the church register in Julianehåb by the Danish missionaries who had replaced the Moravian missionaries when these latter left Greenland in 1900 (Palaseqarfik Nanortalik 1900–1913). This makes a total of 726<sup>72</sup> persons, who according to the historical material had come travelling from East Greenland, had joined the Moravian congregation in Friedrichsthal and in this way had settled in the southernmost part of West Greenland. Of these the first thirty-eight were baptised in Lichtenau and entered into the church register for Friedrichsthal



in a special section for immigrating persons who were already baptised. The numbering of these persons corresponds to the start of the register's consecutive numbering of those baptised in Friedrichsthal (they have numbers 1–38), and all of them are registered with their previous names. In 1822, the merchant Monrad in Julianehåb informed the board by letter about J. C. Kleinschmidt's "Journey to Hukken" the year before, and it is clear that a number of families had followed him to Lichtenau and had overwintered there.<sup>73</sup> In a later letter from the German missionaries it can be seen that these thirty-eight persons indeed were people who in 1821 had followed Conrad Kleinschmidt from his journey of investigation near Statenhuk to Lichtenau and had afterwards returned in connection with the establishment of the mission station of Friedrichsthal in 1824.<sup>74</sup>

A few immigrant East Greenlanders settled in Nanortalik or in the surrounding settlements and thus became associated with the Danish congregation and were baptised by the Danish missionary, and these were entered in the church register for the Julianehåb mission. From the Danish church registers we know of fifty-seven persons about whom it is directly stated that they had moved from the east coast, and their previous names and in most cases also their family relationships are registered. Among these are Ernineq and Sillit, who accompanied Graah on his expedition up the east coast in 1828–29 (NKA 1827-1861; Bak 1981: 155).

As stated above, both the merchant Mørch and the inspector Myhlenport reported before 1824 that immigrating groups came from the east and settled in the area near Nanortalik. No precise numbers were given, although Mørch speaks of fourteen hunters, and with the previously mentioned estimate of a burden of maintenance of around five persons per hunter, this leads to an increase in the population of barely a hundred people.

Finally it is probable that there are also people who have settled in the area without being baptised and who are therefore not registered by either of the congregations, either because they did not wish to be baptised or because they died first. In a report to the Mission Department in Herrnhut, the missionaries give the information from one of the first years in Friedrichsthal that among the people who died that year there were two who had not been baptised.<sup>75</sup> They have therefore not been registered in the church register or elsewhere, but should be counted when we work out the magnitude of the overall immigration.

It is not possible to give an exact number of the number of East Greenlanders who in the period from around 1800 to 1900 immigrated to South Greenland and settled permanently there. The available material does however make it possible to make a cautious estimate that a number rather smaller than a thousand people moved in the course of the century from their original regions and settled in or in the neighbourhood of the

trading posts and mission stations in the southernmost part of West Greenland. A number of these people appear to have been persons who already lived in or close to the Cape Farewell area, and who just moved slightly more to the north or west, but the real East Greenlandic immigration makes up by far the largest part and can cautiously be estimated to consist of between 700 and 800 people. This number should be seen in relation both to the total population of Greenland (6.165 in 1800 and 11.935 in 1900), and to the registered population for the entire Julianehåb district in the same period (respectively 1.797 and 2.855 persons) (Amdrup et al. 1921; Gulløv 2000). The East Greenlandic immigration gave rise to a marked increase in the population in West Greenland's already most populated area, the district of Julianehåb, and these immigrants and their descendants have formed a large and dominating element in the southern part of the district.

**Table 1**

*Immigrants from East Greenland baptised in Friedrichsthal 1824–1900*

		<b>1841</b>	2	<b>1861</b>	10	<b>1881</b>	2
<b>1822</b>	8	<b>1842</b>	0	<b>1862</b>	10	<b>1882</b>	12
<b>1823</b>	9	<b>1843</b>	1	<b>1863</b>	4	<b>1883</b>	0
<b>1824</b>	68	<b>1844</b>	0	<b>1864</b>	1	<b>1884</b>	0
<b>1825</b>	75	<b>1845</b>	2	<b>1865</b>	4	<b>1885</b>	0
<b>1826</b>	48	<b>1846</b>	4	<b>1866</b>	3	<b>1886</b>	0
<b>1827</b>	22	<b>1847</b>	4	<b>1867</b>	2	<b>1887</b>	8
<b>1828</b>	19	<b>1848</b>	19	<b>1868</b>	2	<b>1888</b>	48
<b>1829</b>	19	<b>1849</b>	12	<b>1869</b>	0	<b>1889</b>	1
<b>1830</b>	38	<b>1850</b>	4	<b>1870</b>	9	<b>1890</b>	0
<b>1831</b>	29	<b>1851</b>	3	<b>1871</b>	1	<b>1891</b>	0
<b>1832</b>	23	<b>1852</b>	16	<b>1872</b>	10	<b>1892</b>	3
<b>1833</b>	20	<b>1853</b>	3	<b>1873</b>	0	<b>1893</b>	6
<b>1834</b>	16	<b>1854</b>	0	<b>1874</b>	2	<b>1894</b>	8
<b>1835</b>	15	<b>1855</b>	1	<b>1875</b>	0	<b>1895</b>	1
<b>1836</b>	8	<b>1856</b>	1	<b>1876</b>	0	<b>1896</b>	0
<b>1837</b>	2	<b>1857</b>	2	<b>1877</b>	0	<b>1897</b>	0
<b>1838</b>	5	<b>1858</b>	10	<b>1878</b>	1	<b>1898</b>	0
<b>1839</b>	0	<b>1859</b>	17	<b>1879</b>	0	<b>1899</b>	2
<b>1840</b>	3	<b>1860</b>	10	<b>1880</b>	0	<b>1900</b>	0

Source: 1824–1900 Church register for the congregation of Friedrichsthal from the very beginning in 1824 (Kirchen-Buch der Gemeinde in Friedrichsthal vom ersten Anfangen 1824).

## The different phases of immigration

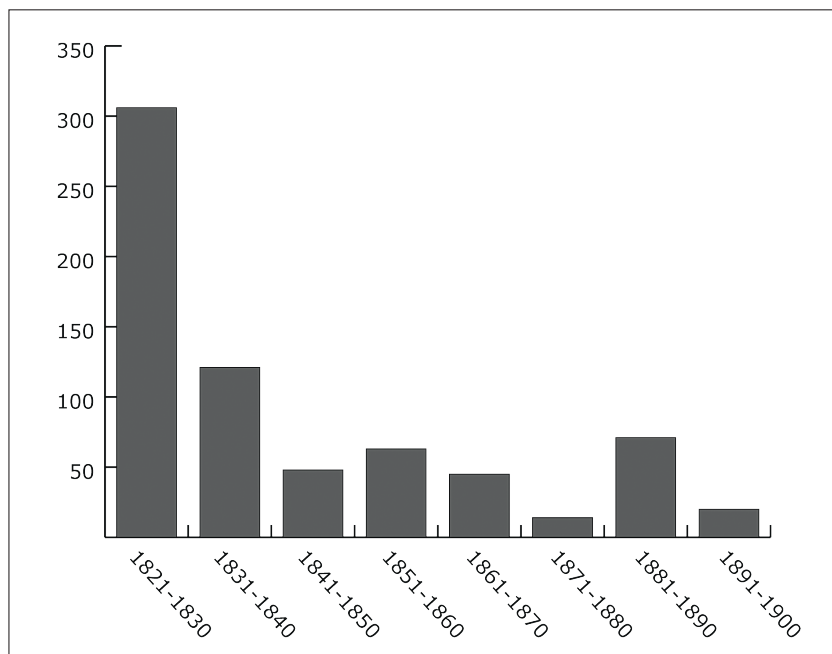
The history of East Greenlandic immigration to Southwest Greenland in the 19th century shows that immigration at the start of the century was modest, and that the extant sources from that period are very sparse. The establishment of the Moravian mission station Friedrichsthal in 1824 was of decisive significance for what happened later, and for this period there are also many more written sources.

On the basis of the existing numerical data presented above, we can divide immigration from East Greenland in the period 1824–1900 into three phases, which differ in terms of the volume and intensity of immigration in the individual phases. Such a division can furthermore contribute to an evaluation of why large parts of the East Greenlandic population chose to settle in Southwest Greenland. The conditions of life for the East Greenlandic population appear to have changed in the course of the 19th century, and in the different phases there have been different motives for moving.

Table 1 does not show how many people settled in Friedrichsthal in the individual years, but how many newly arrived people were baptised in these years. Most of the East Greenlanders in fact arrived in the area at least the year before they were baptised and registered in the church register. For example it can be seen from the church register that immigrant East Greenlanders were baptised in the years 1832–35, whereas the Moravian missionary Müller states in a report from 1835 that nobody had arrived there from East Greenland for four years.<sup>76</sup> Those persons who were baptised in the years 1832 to 1835 must therefore have arrived in the area in 1831 at the latest. This means that the first short phase of immigration can be dated to the years 1824–31. This first phase is characterised by a very rapid and numerically large immigration, which led to great changes in the pattern of settlement around Cape Farewell and establishment in and around the Moravian mission station of Friedrichsthal. After the short pause in immigration, there followed a new and longer phase lasting about fifty years, with a more even immigration whose consequence was a continual and gradual increase in the number of immigrated persons. Finally, there was a short concluding phase from 1887–1900 with a strong but uneven period of immigration, after which Southeast Greenland south of Ammassalik was depopulated (Fig. 47).

During the first short phase about 450 people settled in Southwest Greenland, during the second phase there were about 250 people and in the final phase the number can be fixed more precisely as being 115 persons. The numbers given for the three phases include 95 persons who were baptised by the Danish missionaries – fifty-seven persons roughly





**Fig. 47.** The figure shows the distribution in the number of immigrants from East Greenland who were baptised in Friedrichsthal 1824–1900, together with the last thirty-eight immigrants, who came to the mission station in 1900 but were first baptised by the Danish missionary in the following year. The numbers of immigrants are divided up according to decades. In the course of just a few years, many people immigrated and joined the Moravian congregation, after which the rate of immigration fell rapidly and lay at a steady low rate for about half a century. In the final decades, a rise in immigration can be seen, after which immigration ceased. Sources: NKA 1824-1900; NKA 1900-1913.

equally divided between the first two phases of immigration, and the final thirty-eight immigrants who in 1900 actually settled near the Moravian congregation in Friedrichsthal, but who were baptised the following year by the Danish missionary there after the Danish mission had taken over the Moravian mission stations in 1900.

In the first years after the establishment of the Moravian Brethren's new mission station in Friedrichsthal there was a considerable influx of people. In 1824, the assistant J. Mathiesen reported from an autumn expedition to Nanortalik that "A large number of people have already settled in Friedrichsthal, having presumably come there from the region around Statenhuk, and as time goes by, in the expectation of the Moravian Brethren, even more will no doubt move there. That there among the Greenlanders who reside there are many good hunters is demonstrated by the fact that they are, by Greenlandic standards, in very good condi-

tion. Moreover I counted no fewer than 21 women's boats drawn up on land."<sup>77</sup> Mathiesen was right in his prediction. Information from the following years shows that there in October 1825 were 144 baptised and 112 unbaptised persons living at Friedrichsthal, and just five years later the population of Friedrichsthal had risen to 394 people, of whom 283 were baptised and 111 unbaptised.<sup>78</sup> This shows an extreme concentration around the new mission station. And it shows that, even if the Moravian Brethren – at least by some people – were considered as fast baptisers, the Moravian missionaries in the years immediately after the establishment of the mission station had used some time for teaching and preparing the new members of their congregation for baptism. In 1835 they were close to having baptised everyone, and the previously mentioned missionary Müller was able to state that the congregation now consisted of 367 baptised and twenty-four unbaptised, a total of 391 persons.<sup>79</sup>

In the report from 1824 mentioned above, Mathiesen also states that the immigrating people came from the area round Statenhuk. Thus a part of the group of inhabitants whom the Moravian missionaries first got contact to, and who must be assumed to have been the first to be accepted into the congregation and to have collected together at Friedrichsthal, came from the area round Cape Farewell, which geographically forms the boundary between East and West Greenland, and whose population had contact to both east and west. This is confirmed by Graah, who was in the area in 1828–30 and who overwintered south of Ammassalik in 1829–30. On his arrival at Kikkertak [Qeqertaq] at the mouth of Prins Christian Sound he writes: "Here we found some Greenlandic house walls, tent sites and graves, a proof that the island has been populated, but since the establishment of Friedrichsthal this island, like many others in the region, has been abandoned by the natives, who have all gone off to that place to receive teaching from the evangelical Brethren who live there" (Graah 1932: 77).<sup>80</sup>

He also reports that about 120 persons from the settlement near Narsaq in Kangerlussuatsiaq [Lindenow Fjord] and other more southerly places have already moved to Friedrichsthal and Nanortalik (*ibid.*: 126). Thus the entire population of the Cape Farewell area was received into the Moravian congregation in the course of a few years and settled round the mission station. The eastern part of the area appears to have been totally depopulated.

Apart from this large group the first phase of immigration consisted of people from regions further up the east coast, and in the report to the Mission College for 1830 concerning the Moravian congregations in Greenland it is stated that "from the east coast, eighty heathens came to the place from around 100 Miles away."<sup>81</sup> This was not least a direct

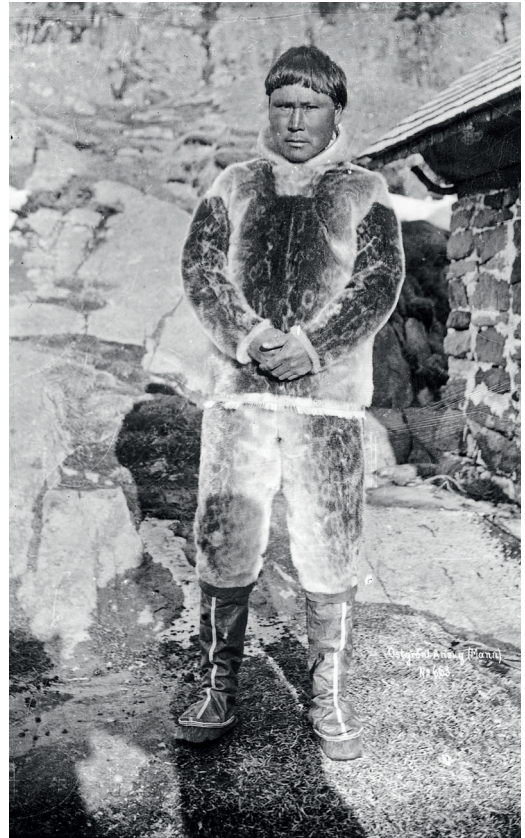
effect of Graah's trip to East Greenland, as he – or rather, his Greenlandic oarswomen and kayakers – had been a contributing factor to the decision by at least some parts of the population to move to Southwest Greenland. Thus he states that the oarswomen had related “wonderful things about the land of the Kablunaks,”<sup>82</sup> and for the journey back to the west coast he engaged people who apparently wanted to go to Nanortalik and settle there, such as a person named Kamik and his five children, whose names he also notes (Graah 1932: 142–143). On the return journey he was told by people in various localities that parts of the population from these areas had already gone off to Friedrichsthal and Nanortalik, and at “Asiouit,” i.e. Aasiviit, he met 80 persons, most of whom said that they intended to go to the west coast the following year. Graah judged on the basis of this information that the entire population of the east coast would, as time went by, settle in the region round Friedrichsthal (Graah 1932: 151, 154) (Figs. 48a and b).

Whereas the first inhabitants in Friedrichsthal came from both the Cape Farewell area and the area north of Kangerlussuatsiaq, it is possible to say with certainty that a heathen name in the church register from the time after 1830 comes from a person who emigrated from East Greenland.

On his Greenland expedition, Graah had to turn back in 1830 before he reached all the way up to the Ammassalik area, and he reckoned up the overall population of that part of the Southeast Greenlandic coast which he had covered to be a little less than 600 persons (Graah 1932: 126). That same year, the Moravian Brethren's agent in Copenhagen, Reufs, wrote: “According to what heathens who visited Friedrichsthal in the summer of 1829 say, they have many countrymen, but far up on the east coast, where, they assert, the people are very numerous.”<sup>83</sup> It was therefore natural that there were expectations of further considerable immigration from the east coast.

The second phase of immigration, which runs from 1836 to 1882, was however not nearly so intensive. The table shows an even and moderate immigration during the entire period, though with slightly more noticeable immigration in the years round 1850, 1860 and 1870, and with a falling tendency towards the end of the period. In a number of years, no immigration took place at all, and the total number of immigrants in the second phase was clearly smaller than the corresponding number for the previous short phase.

This is not the same as saying that there was reduced or weak contact to the East Greenlandic population. On the contrary the sources from this period contain regular statements about people from East Greenland who came sailing to the Danish establishments on the west coast to trade blubber and skins for European goods. But at the same time the sources



**Figs. 48a and b.** According to current oral tradition, it was the custom for people who came from East Greenland and had decided to stay in Southwest Greenland to throw their old clothes away on the day before they arrived at the trading station or mission station and put on new clothes. Their dress and the bare area on the woman's thighs show that this couple are East Greenlanders and they may just have arrived at Friedrichsthal to settle there. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 662 & LBS 663.

tell us that the travellers normally returned to the east coast after having traded, often after only staying a few days, due to the risk that the journey back might be disturbed or perhaps even halted by the East Greenland Drift Ice or poor weather. This is made clear in a letter from 1852, in which the Danish missionary Janssen states: "The heathens usually arrive rather early in the summer, lack a place to stay for a longer period, and have to hurry back, in order if possible to find winter quarters somewhere."<sup>84</sup> And in 1877, inspector Stephensen writes about the year's visitors to Pamialluk: "after a short stay, they all started on their journey back to the east coast, from where they informed us that a large number would visit us in the coming years."<sup>85</sup>

P. Nissen, who had replaced Janssen as the missionary at Julianehåb, sent a long report to the Mission College in 1854, in which he touches on the topic of the travelling East Greenlanders. This report is one of the few sources in the collected material which does not just note the existence of travelling East Greenlanders, but gives a more complete report on the issue. Nissen writes: "At Pamiædluk I met two women's boats with heathens from the east coast, who have visited us this year to trade. When I heard at Østprøven [Ikigaat] that they were nearby, I sent a kayak to them with a request to [give notice of] my arrival. It has happened that people from the northern part of the east coast – that is to say from very far away – perhaps on the same latitude as Jakobshavn in North Greenland – have visited us in the south and have spent around three years on the journey. – However, this is not common. The usual thing is that the nearest, those who live around nine days' journey from Pamiædluk, come there once a year, usually at the end of July or in August – they stay there for one or two or three days – but are always in a great hurry, as they are clearly afraid to be cut off by the ice or the autumn storms – and perhaps they also hurry to get back with their bartered goods, which they then all [illegible] to their countrymen, who come down from the north to them or to their dwelling place. They do not seem to have any desire to receive [illegible] enlightenment, but have a great desire to have goods, especially tobacco – and when I asked them when they would come again, they appeared amazed by the question. They replied: When the tobacco starts to run out, and with an expression as if [illegible] it was a natural thing that they would come [illegible] when they started to run short of tobacco and not before."<sup>86</sup>

It is worth noticing that those people on the east coast who lived closest to the West Greenland settlements were, according to Nissen's information, nine days' journey from Pamiædluk. The nearest East Greenlandic groups of the population now lived further from Cape Farewell than earlier in the century, and this is a clear sign of the ongoing thinning out of the population in Southeast Greenland. Thus the lines of connection between east and west had become weaker, contact between the various groups of the population had become more difficult, and the preconditions for the original trading system had broken down.

Thus the people from East Greenland came to Southwest Greenland to trade and with the intention of returning to East Greenland. But reports from this period show that things did not always go as planned. In 1872 the new outlier in Pamiædluk reported: "On my arrival in the southern district the disease had not yet ceased, although it was decreasing, and has now come to an end. The crew on the heathen boat from the east coast who had come to Pamiædluk to trade had been infected by the disease



and were almost all dead when the junior assistant Holm (who was to hand the outpost over to me) and I came to the place. The dead lay round about on the field, and two of them on the plank bed among those who were still living, as there was nobody to bury them before we arrived. Eleven persons were dead and there were only two adult women and four children left.”<sup>87</sup>

The following year the colonial manager reported from Julianehåb: “This summer the outpost of Ilua has been visited by a group of six women’s boats with East Greenlanders who have sold nine bearskins and about 600 mixed sealskins. Unfortunately these Greenlanders became [illegible] from disease during their stay here, and before they could start on their journey home eight of them died, while the crews of two women’s boats only managed one day’s journey from the east coast, where they were found dead lying in the fields by some of Ilua’s Greenlanders who had gone there to hunt.”<sup>88</sup> Epidemic diseases were a big problem in Greenland



**Fig. 49.** A women’s boat from East Greenland has arrived in the Cape Farewell area to trade. The picture was taken in 1897 by the Moravian missionary at Friedrichsthal, Ernst Bohlmann. It shows a group of the small flock of people who at that time were still living on the coast of Southeast Greenland, the majority of whom immigrated in 1900 to Southwest Greenland as the last ones. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 579.

at that time, and at the same time the medical system in Julianehåb district – at least in certain periods – apparently worked badly and was criticised, even by its own people (Rønsager 2002).<sup>89</sup> The diseases came from outside and the population's lack of resistance to them cost many deaths and, as the above examples amongst others demonstrate, they struck some of the travelling East Greenlanders, who therefore never managed to get back to their home region.

At the end of the 19th century, the population situation in the southern-most part of the east coast was radically changed compared to the beginning of the century. During Holm's women's boat expedition to Ammassalik in 1884–1885, they counted up the population in the area between Cape Farewell and Ammassalik and found it to be 135 persons (Hansen 1888). During the period 1887–1900, the situation changed further, as the main part of the remaining population on the previously so well-populated coast moved to Friedrichsthal. And eyewitness accounts tell us that at least one family during the same period had moved northwards and had settled in the area of Ammassalik (Rasmussen 1906: 114, 121–133).

A characteristic of this last short phase is that relatively large groups moved to Southwest Greenland in certain years, for example fifty people in 1887 and the last group of thirty-eight people in 1900. For these groups there exist written sources which make it possible to a much greater extent than in the case of the older material to approach individual persons, their way of life and the structure of society. At the same time there are reports of dramatic events, which tell us about the difficult conditions which people lived under, and which can help to explain why they actually chose to break away from Southeast Greenland (Lund 1887; Meldorf 1902; Rasmussen 1906; Gulløv 2000; Jensen 2002b) (Figs. 49 and 50).

To summarise: the establishment of the mission station of Friedrichsthal in 1824 led to an immediate and massive immigration of the population from the entire Cape Farewell area, together with groups of people from regions further up the east coast. These were large groups, presumably whole families or settlements, who now settled near the new mission station. In the following period, the Danish Trading Company expanded slowly southwards and set up new trading stations, and there were regular visits from East Greenlanders who made long journeys to trade with the Danes, but the travellers quickly returned home, that is to say during the same summer when they arrived. We do not know much about the individual travellers, but enough to be able to say that several of them made numerous journeys to Southwest Greenland. Although they initially mainly wanted to trade and then quickly go back to their own region, there was during this period a continual immigration, often in quite small groups or even of individual persons who became attached to the



**Fig. 50.** Some of the arrivals from East Greenland in 1897 outside their tent, which was the traditional dwelling during summer journeys. Bohlmann, Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 578.

Moravian mission. At the very end of the century the final immigrants left Southeast Greenland at a speed which indicates a collective decision to leave the area, and the great majority of these settled in Friedrichsthal. From this point on the coast of Southeast Greenland south of Ammassalik was unpopulated.

Back on the east coast only the Ammassalikers, i.e. the population from the area round the fjord at Ammassalik, were left. They too were engaged in trade and affected by the changes in contact with West Greenland and for a short while were about to follow the example of the more southerly East Greenlanders and move, but due to special circumstances they remained living in the area and form the basis of the current population of East Greenland.

### **The Ammassalikers**

The population from round Ammassalik, the Ammassalikers, formed the most northerly group of the population in East Greenland throughout most of the 19th century. The Ammassalikers had contact to people on

the more southerly part of the coast, but in the previously mentioned description by the Danish missionary Nissen from 1854, the author states that this group of East Greenlanders living furthest to the north did not usually get as far as the Danish trading stations. They therefore most often got hold of European goods which had been sold on by people who had been in Southwest Greenland, i.e. following the same pattern as was known from the time before the establishment of trading stations in southern Greenland. Localities such as Aluk, Anoritooq and Timmiarmiut were the centres for this trade (Gessain & Robert-Lamblin 1974).

It can, however, also be seen from Nissen's report that on rare occasions they had visits from people who came all the way from the region of Ammassalik, and he states that these people had to make a journey lasting at least three years before they reached home again. The other sources also contain individual accounts of such visits. In August 1849, a man who took the name Simeon was baptised in Friedrichsthal. The entry in the church register states that at the time of baptism he was ill, and in fact he died in September of the same year. In the same place it is stated that his Greenlandic name was Angmagsalingmio, i.e. the man from Ammassalik, a name which must refer to his place of origin and his identity, and which he has probably got from the local population. It must be assumed that he arrived in a women's boat on a trading trip from the Ammassalik area, but due to his state of health was left behind at the mission station by his travelling companions when these went home (NKA 1824-1900).

In the following decades there is sporadic information about visits from the Ammassalik area, for example round 1860, where the missionary Nissen speaks of a visit by people from Ammassalik.<sup>90</sup> But as both Nissen and the Moravian missionary Brodbeck stress, these visits from the northernmost inhabitants of East Greenland were rare (Brodbeck 1882: 24). From the middle of the 19th century, however, the visits became more frequent, and there were even some relatively large groups. In 1887 two boatloads from Ammassalik appeared in Pamialluk (Jensen 2003), and in 1892 there are reports of visits from no less than seven boatloads, which came from Sermilik and had overwintered in Kangerlussuatsiaq (Lindenow Fjord), before going on to Pamialluk in the following summer.<sup>91</sup>

These more frequent visits from Ammassalik as time went by indicate that the population there have wanted to get hold of European goods, but they also confirm the assumption that the population of Southeast Greenland had been so thinned out that the original system of re-trading up along the coast no longer worked. The inhabitants of the region round Ammassalik have therefore at the end of the 19th century felt themselves forced to travel all the way south and round Cape Farewell in order to trade.



These now more frequent journeys to Southwest Greenland later became part of the Ammassalikers' oral tradition, and some of them have been written down. Thus in the story of the dreaded murderer Ísímardik the story goes that he, together with his family, including his brother Sanimuinnaq, went on a trading trip to West Greenland. Sanimuinnaq is further known from a contemporary written report on a visit to Pamialluk in 1887 (Jensen 2002b), where Ísímardik can very probably also have accompanied him. Ísímardik committed a series of unmotivated murders on the east coast, and caused so much fear in the little society that a group of men decided to use the ultimate form of social self-defence, namely to kill him. Among the conspirators was a man called Kunnak, who had also been on the west coast several times and had bought a rifle there. Ísímardik was killed with this rifle. All this took place in 1892 (Rosing 1960, 1993).

For the travelling Ammassalikers, we see the well-known pattern that they after a short stay at the western trading station normally returned to East Greenland, but that individual groups decided to settle in Southwest Greenland. This worried some groups of people in Denmark, as they knew about the population and the situation in East Greenland from expeditionary journeys or by other means. From the middle of the 19th century and the following decade, this led to a series of articles in *Geografisk Tidsskrift* with running information on developments and a subsequent discussion on what could and should be done in this situation. It was stated that parts of the East Greenlandic population apparently had settled further to the south in order to be closer to the west coast, and people predicted (and issued warnings against) that, even if they now returned to the east coast after their trading journeys, their "resistance" would be broken down, and they would settle near the over-populated mission establishments in Southwest Greenland, where "the catch is already poor, so they only face a future of poverty and sickness."<sup>92</sup> Thus the aim should be to "prevent the Easterners from too rapidly entering civilisation and free trade" (Holm 1885/86; Garde 1887/88, 1889/90, 1891/92; Ryberg 1893/94).<sup>93</sup>

Among the proposals for initiatives to avoid a too powerful European influence was the setting up of a trading and mission station among the Ammassalikers. This was established in 1894. That a certain external European influence had already affected the population of the area can be seen from the diaries of the missionary Rüttel. On arriving at the place where the new colony was to be set up, he notes with evident disappointment that the population did not "present themselves as the untouched people we had hoped to find" (Rüttel 1917: 6).<sup>94</sup> The strategy of setting up a colony in East Greenland worked. Within recent years



several boatloads had left the area to go south. After 1894 this emigration stopped, and in the following years at least some of these groups returned to their original area (Gessain & Robert-Lamblin 1974). There can therefore be no doubt that depopulation of the Ammassalik area was in progress towards the end of the 19th century, and that only the establishment of the new trading and mission station prevented the Ammassalikers from also moving to Southwest Greenland. If this had happened, the entire coast of East Greenland would have been depopulated in the course of the 19th century.

### **Reasons for the East Greenlanders' immigration to Southwest Greenland**

Immigration from Southeast Greenland to Southwest Greenland in the period 1824 to 1900 did not take place in an even flow, but with varying strength in different periods, and the investigations indicate that in the three phases of immigration there were different factors which lay behind people's choosing to settle in West Greenland.

The sources give no direct explanations of the reasons for this from the immigrating people themselves, but the secondary sources and other information provide a sufficient foundation on which to formulate some external factors and personal motivations which may have been the reasons which caused the Southeast Greenlandic population to move. These explanations include the European presence in Southwest Greenland, changes in the climate and resources in Southeast Greenland and shifts in the immigrants' social relations in both Southeast and Southwest Greenland. The East Greenlandic population had in their original society continual contact to the population of West Greenland through trade, either via middlemen or via their own trading journeys. Furthermore, the sources leave no doubt that the East Greenlandic population was also interested in trading in European goods, as these turned up in West Greenland from the 17th and 18th centuries, and the establishment of trading stations in South Greenland in the 19th century has certainly increased the number of trading journeys from the east. The travelling traders would normally return to the east coast after a rather short stay at or near the trading station, but in the course of the 19th century this pattern changed. More and more stayed in Southwest Greenland and settled in the Cape Farewell area, and at the end of the century the entire coast of Southeast Greenland south of Ammassalik was depopulated.

In the first phase after the establishment of the Moravian mission station Friedrichsthal in 1824, immigration which involved about half

of the entire century's immigration took place in the course of just a few years. During this short period, Graah, whom we have mentioned above, made an expedition to East Greenland and already on reaching the island of Qeqertaq at the mouth of Ikerasassuaq (Prins Christian Sound) found newly depopulated settlements, whose inhabitants had moved to Friedrichsthal, while on his arrival at the more northerly settlement of Narsaq in Kangerlussuaq (Lindenow Fjord), the population there told him that they also had plans to move westward (Graah 1932: 77, 81). In connection with the total count of the population on the southeast coast, which he performed at the end of the expedition, he concluded that about 120 people from Narsaq and other more southerly places had already moved west (*ibid.*: 126). Thus the pattern of settlement in Cape Farewell was totally altered, in as much as the area's own inhabitants already concentrated round the new mission station in this first phase, while the rest of the Cape Farewell area for a period lay more or less unpopulated.

Among those who now settled at Friedrichsthal there were also people from area further up the east coast. From his journey back to West Greenland, Graah reports repeatedly on meetings with people who said that they were on their way or planned to move west, and it was his impression that the whole population of the east coast would as time went by settle near Friedrichsthal (*ibid.*: 142–155).

Graah's report also contains information which can reveal why these people chose to move and settle in West Greenland. When he before starting was hiring oarswomen for the women's boats, he wondered why these women had chosen to take part in the expedition, and he came to the conclusion, amongst other things, that they allowed themselves to be tempted by the expectations "of the envy their splendid hair bands, costly beads and magnificent necklaces would arouse among their poor fellow countrywomen on the east coast" (*ibid.*: 71–72).<sup>95</sup> On the expedition he also meets the *angakkoq* Kamik, who was very interested in seeing "The land of the Kablanukkers, of which he had heard wonderful things from my oarswomen" (*ibid.*: 142–143).<sup>96</sup> "The land of the Kablanukkers" is here to be understood as the Danish colonies on the west coast, and this statement shows that at least part of the population in the Cape Farewell area and in East Greenland had found it attractive to get into contact with Europeans and their goods. Thus it is tempting to conclude that the massive immigration in the years immediately after 1824 was directly caused by the establishment of the mission station at Friedrichsthal and is due to the attraction of the European presence and the consequent possibilities of achieving closer trading relations, in particular.

After the almost explosive immigration, there was a short pause before people again started to settle near Friedrichsthal, but now following a

different pattern. In this second phase, immigration took place very slowly. This does not mean that no East Greenlanders came to Southwest Greenland – on the contrary. Almost every year there are reports of boatloads that came to the trading station. But normally they only stayed in the area for a very few days, sold the blubber and skins which they had brought with them, bought the goods which they wanted, and then went back to the east coast so as not to be caught by the ice. In most years, there has either been no immigration at all, or else it was a matter of just a few persons, while in some individual years there were larger groups. There can have been many reasons for this.

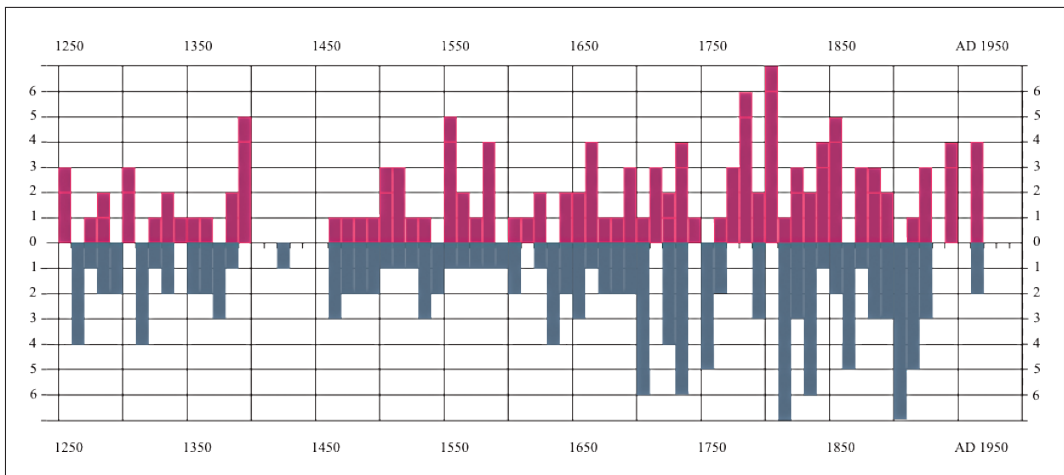
From contact with the East Greenlanders as early as the 18th century, there are reports of exceptionally harsh conditions for survival. There are reports of many animals to hunt, but the climatic conditions with large amounts of ice and snow and storms made it so difficult to exploit the resources that the East Greenlanders have apparently regarded the west coast as a “land of Canaan” (Olsen & Petersen 1990: 5). There are reports of periods with definite famine, and of situations where the survivors had to eat human flesh in order to survive (Olsen & Petersen 1990; Ostermann 1935; Robert-Lamblin 2006). From the mission station of Friedrichsthal, which had been established a few years previously, the Moravian missionary Müller writes about the situation there that nobody had suffered hardship during the previous winter, but that “those who lived closest by had all, according to the Greenlanders, died of starvation!”<sup>97</sup> Other reports from the 19th century speak of periods of famine among the population of East Greenland. Around 1860, the Danish missionary Nissen wrote about the East Greenlanders and their conditions of life: “[They] also appear to be more hardy and better at hunting than the Greenlanders on the west coast – however, the east coast is probably not very rich in Greenlandic products, as in the past winter the lack of food was so severe that in one place they ate [...] corpses of people who had already died of hunger.”<sup>98</sup> And exactly in these years there was relatively large immigration, cf. Table 1. In 1887, a group of no less than fifty people chose to settle in West Greenland, and a contemporary report shows that they had suffered severe hardship and that the reason for their move was famine (Jensen 2002b).<sup>99</sup>

Changes in the climate may have made the already difficult conditions of life even more difficult in East Greenland. During the 19th century the climate became not only colder but also more unstable, with many winters which were either warmer or colder than average. There are even reports of two winters which ran into one another with no intervening summer, so it was impossible to collect winter supplies and large parts of the population died of hunger (Rosing 1963). The problem was not the cold, but for the hunters and their families the regular changes in climate

meant that hunting conditions were unpredictable from year to year, and this must have had a negative influence on the individual's possibilities of survival (Appelt 2003: 58–62) (Fig. 51).

In this period we also see an influence from a completely different direction. During the second half of the 19th century, European, i.e. Norwegian, seal hunters engaged in intensive hunting of seals in the Denmark Strait, often in the drift ice off the east coast of Greenland, where they shot hundreds of thousands of hooded seals and harp seals. They only used the blubber and skins and left the meat behind. We know of reports from the population of Ammassalik that quantities of seal bodies were found on the ice floes near land, and that just these two species of seal were greatly reduced in numbers by the end of the 19th century. These huge catches have naturally had a catastrophic effect on the level of resources on which the Inuit in East Greenland and in the Cape Farewell area should have maintained their existence. The result of this was more and longer periods with reduced catches, and as a whole the population must have seen the whole basis of their existence disappear (Petersen 1957: 61–62, 111).

During periods with poor catches and consequent times of hardship for the population in the colonised part of Greenland, it was common for both the mission's and the Trading Company's people to give out food to people who were particularly hard hit, even though this was not well regarded by the board.



**Fig. 51.** The predictability of climate. The length of the bars illustrates the number of winters deviating more than one degree Celsius from the average of the decade. The histogram is based on the information from seven ice-cores published in Vinther et al. 2003 (modified after Appelt 2003, fig. 18).

The same was true of the Moravian mission stations, and there are several accounts of the missionaries at Friedrichsthal having helped the hardest hit at the mission station.<sup>100</sup>

From the middle of the 19th century, the so-called boards of guardians (Danish: “forstanderskaber”) were introduced in Greenland. These were a kind of local council which included representatives for the local hunters. The boards of guardians can also be thought of as the first small steps towards an actual system of social support, where people in need during periods of famine could receive help, although they temporarily lost other rights. After the establishment of the boards of guardians, there were therefore more fixed rules for helping the poor (Forchhammer 2004). The reports from the Board of Guardians in the southernmost part of Greenland tell us, amongst other things, that support was given to newly immigrated East Greenlanders (Jensen 2003). This has naturally not been unknown for the population of Southeast Greenland, for whom, in periods with failing catches and the threat of famine hanging over their heads, it could have been an obvious reason for looking towards the west. The possibility in times of hardship of getting help to avoid death by starvation could thus be a contributing factor in their decision to move.

There were, however, more acute situations of hardship which could be reasons for individual persons or small groups not going back to East Greenland. When a group chose to settle by Friedrichsthal, it was often a question of a group of travellers, that is to say the entire crew of a women’s boat. But in the church register for Friedrichsthal there are nevertheless regular entries for individuals or small groups of people from East Greenland who had been baptised.<sup>101</sup> Most commonly it was women and children. Thus in 1845, the widow Kaursalik was baptised as (699) Elisabeth. She was ill, and died the following day from consumption (“*Auszehrung*”). In 1849 the previously mentioned widower (808) Angmagssalingmio was baptised, but he was also ill and died a month later “*nach langen Siechtum*” (English: “after long sickness”), i.e., apparently after having been ill not only during his time at Friedrichsthal, but also before that time. The persons mentioned were buried in August and September respectively and must have arrived at Friedrichsthal the same summer as they were baptised. They have probably been dying and have been left there by the homebound women’s boat. Both people were accompanied by children, but these have first had to go through the normal process of being taught and were therefore baptised later. Kaursalik’s three children (nos. 770, 778 and 885), who on their mother’s death were between eight and nineteen years old, were baptised in 1848 and 1852, and Angmagssalingmio’s son Tullimaq in 1851. The bereaved children were taken into care by families in the congregation.



From the church register we can also identify children or young people who appear to have been left alone. Here are a few examples: In 1864, the 15-year-old girl Uunarojuk (1132 Margretha) was baptised; she was apparently an orphan, as she is registered as the foster-child of her relative (1066) Salome, who was baptised as early as 1861. In 1868, the 16-year-old boy Aitsiko (1204 Jako) was baptised, and his closest relative is noted as being an uncle, (1021) Josias, who with his wife and child had been baptised in 1859.

Another type of example is families who have lost their breadwinner. In 1882, a group of twelve people from East Greenland were baptised in Friedrichsthal (NKA 1824-1900: nr. 1408-1419). The baptism took place in April, and the group must therefore have arrived in Friedrichsthal the year before. The group was centred round two women, Tinupassalik and Amautilik, of about 31 and 26 years of age, who according to the church register were widows. In addition to them there were ten children and young people, of which the eldest was 22 years old. The two widows were themselves the mothers of five of the children, and the rest were denoted as being respectively a brother, a cousin, a niece and a step-brother, while one of them is not registered as having any family relationship to the rest of the group. From the information in the church register it appears that the two women had been co-wives, that is to say married to the same man, who however had now died. The widows and the large flock of children and young people had therefore been without a breadwinner and had chosen to settle by the mission station, or they can have been pressed by their travelling companions, who had not been willing to take over the duty of supporting so large a group (Fig. 52).

These and a number of other examples show that mortally ill persons, orphans or families without breadwinners – i.e. normally exposed groups – in many cases were left behind in Friedrichsthal when the women's boat went back to East Greenland after the summer's trading voyage. In their original society, others would have taken over the support of these persons, and if there were no resources for this then they would have been left to themselves – and thus to death – in order not to burden society as a whole. After the establishment of trading and mission stations in the southernmost part of Greenland, the population of Southeast Greenland now had close contact to a society which could draw on more resources for distressed or exposed groups. If they could be left in Friedrichsthal, for example, there was a chance that somebody would look after them.

By the end of the century only a small residual group lived in Southeast Greenland, and these had contact in 1884 to the Women's Boat Expedition led by Gustav Holm, who was on his way to Ammassalik. The expedition counted the people whom they met on their way, and the population of the

southern part of Southeast Greenland was found to be 135 persons (Hansen 1888).

This group forms the majority of those who moved to West Greenland in the third and final phase. In other contexts it has been estimated that for groups of less than 500 individuals it would be difficult to find spouses, which in the long run would threaten the group's existence (Anderson & Gilliam 2001). This could be a reason for moving to more populous regions. On the other hand the people concerned still had contact both to the population in the Ammassalik area and in area of Cape Farewell and would be able to find their spouses there. And this leads to another possible explanation.

With the continual depopulation of the southeast coast, families and other social networks disappeared as time went by to the areas which we have mentioned, and the remaining population formed a smaller and smaller and thus more exposed minority in relation to that portion of the previous Southeast Greenlanders who now lived in Southwest Greenland. An example can illustrate this: In a letter from 1898, one of the German missionaries in Friedrichsthal reports that two boatloads had come to



**Fig. 52.** “Ostländer Heidin mit Sohn (im juli 1898 angekommen)” (English: “Eastern heathen woman with son (arrived July 1898)”) is the text on the back of this picture. It was taken by the missionary Bohlmann, and letters and other information sent to Herrnhut show that it is the widow Pangaqarfik and her son Pitanâ, who settled at the mission station in 1898 and in the following year were baptised Hedvig and Tobias. They later moved from Friedrichsthal to live with her brother Noa in Qernertoq (UA R.15.J.b. VI.12b; NKA 1824-1900). Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 928.

Pamialluk to trade. With them they had a woman, a widow, and her 8-year-old son, and these two had settled by the mission station in order to receive instruction prior to baptism. After being baptised, the two of them were, it was understood, to live with her brother Noa, who since being baptised in 1888 was now a part of the Moravian congregation and lived in Qernertoq.<sup>102</sup> The social frame of reference had now moved, and the final inhabitants moved with it.

For the very last group in Southeast Greenland, a special factor which may have given them a particular reason to move has to be mentioned. From the final years, reports have been passed down of murder, suicide and exposure of children, dramatic events which were focused on the same man, Aaddaaridaad, and which created insecurity and instability in the little society. Aaddaaridaad's companions in the settlement, who for the most part consisted of his brothers and their families, pressed for them to move to West Greenland, but he did not want to (Rasmussen 1906). We can in this situation see parallels to the previously related story from Ammassalik of the contemporary and also historically known murderer Ísimardik. He too committed a series of murders and finally became such a threat for the rest of society that a group of hunters decided to end his days (Rosing 1960, 1993).

Ísimardik and the story of his murders were also known by the population in Southeast Greenland, as they passed on the story a short time after having settled in Southwest (Rasmussen 1906). His end may have reminded Aaddaaridaad what the consequences of his deeds could be for himself. It has naturally also not been unknown that the missionaries and the Danish controlled segments of society forbade murder and vengeance killings. The desire of getting to safety can thus have been at least one of the reasons why Aaddaaridaad changed his mind, after which he and his fellows in 1900 moved to West Greenland.

Other studies of population movements in the arctic regions show that one can subsume the reasons and circumstances which may have lain behind these movements under a common point of view, which is: To what extent was the population pressed out of its old area, and to what extent was it tempted to settle in the new area (Rowley 1985), the so-called push-and-pull factors. In the previous sections we have presented a number of factors which in different periods and under various circumstances must be supposed to have contributed to the decision by the majority of the population of Southeast Greenland to move to Southwest Greenland in the course of the 19th century. If we now relate these factors to the common point of view, then factors in Southwest Greenland which could be attractive and thus contribute to pulling people to the area would be: increased possibilities of trade, social security in

periods of hardship, social security for particularly exposed groups, the presence of families and other networks, and security against enemies, while factors in Southeast Greenland which could contribute to pushing people out of the region would be: changes in the climate, reduction in the level of resources, a dwindling level of population and finally social instability and many murders.

Certain of the written sources directly mention a circumstance which has not previously been dealt with here, namely that the population of Southeast Greenland moved to West Greenland with the aim of being baptised (Graah 1932: 50).<sup>103</sup> But one must ask whether it is credible that the population would move on religious grounds, and what they knew at all about Christianity at the time when they made the decision to move.

In letters and reports from the Moravian missionaries they speak of considerable moral problems with numerous members of the congregation, and the missionaries were often quite worked up about what in their opinion was a lack of interest in and enthusiasm for their beliefs. Other reports also tell us that a transition to Christianity was not so attractive for everybody. In 1865, two missionaries from Friedrichsthal managed on a journey to the east to get 18 miles up the coast. There they discovered two tents whose inhabitants were East Greenlanders, or in other words heathens. The missionaries then began to tell about Christianity and encouraged their hearers to move to Friedrichsthal. The women in one of the tents, one of whom had previously been to the mission station, were willing to “live among the Christians,” but the man would not move. The woman in the other tent would apparently also become a Christian, but the man threatened her with a knife. Thus while it appeared to be possible to persuade the women, this was not the case for the men, one of whom answered the missionary: “When I have tobacco, I am satisfied. I don’t need any conversion.”<sup>104</sup>

The missionaries presumably themselves realised that it was not Christianity which attracted the East Greenlandic immigrants to the mission station, but more material considerations, or the prospect of “external advantages” (“aussere Vortheile”), as the missionary Riegel in 1888 expresses it in disillusionment in a letter to Herrnhut.<sup>105</sup> And this evaluation built on several years’ experience and contact with the newly arrived members of the congregation.

That the immigrants probably had other motives than just a desire to be baptised can also be seen from a contemporary report from the West Greenlandic catechist Pavia Lynge, who in connection with the Danish mission’s taking over of the Moravian mission stations in 1900 had been transferred to Lichtenau. During the first year, however, he overwintered in Frederiksdal, as the place was now called in Danish, and participated



here in the task of teaching the final group of Southeast Greenlanders who had just immigrated. Lynge writes about their motives that they had only come to the west coast for reasons of trade (Fig. 53).<sup>106</sup>

Thus one can ask why more or less all Southeast Greenlanders who moved to West Greenland settled at Friedrichsthal anyway, and allowed themselves to be baptised. An explanation for this can be deduced from the previously mentioned report from the summer of 1824, when the mission station was established. Some time after the Moravian missionaries' arrival at Narsaq (Narsarmijit), hundreds of Greenlanders had as time went by turned up at the place and put up their tents. The missionaries held daily so-called evening meetings, where they talked about the Christian message. At one of these meetings, the leader, Conrad Kleinschmidt, spoke to the meeting and encouraged the people who were present to settle by the coming mission station, but at the same time he stressed that it was a requirement that they should be baptised, otherwise they



**Fig. 53.** Parts of the original 19th-century trading buildings in Nanortalik. In the background the previous harbour can be made out towards the south. The buildings are currently part of Nanortalik Museum. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.



would have to leave the place.<sup>107</sup> And so they agreed to be baptised. And the pattern for the rest of the century was that the East Greenlanders who travelled there, when they had decided to settle in the area, moved towards and in the first instance settled at the Moravian mission station, where they during the first winter as a rule received instruction and were baptised, after which they could consider moving out of the district again. But by then they had been accepted into the congregation.

Exactly the need to be part of a larger society can thus be an important explanation for the fact that the immigrating East Greenlanders did not just, independently of the mission station, settle in the new area, perform their occupation and trade at the nearest trading station, but also got baptised. This idea is supported by Arøe, who as previously mentioned was colonial manager in Nanortalik at the same time as Kleinschmidt was engaged in establishing a mission station in the Cape Farewell area: “most of the heathens have now asked to be accepted into the Moravian congregation or into the Danish Mission’s society.”<sup>108</sup> Thus it can be shown to be likely that the population of Southeast Greenland in the course of the 19th century did not move to West Greenland for religious reasons, but that they settled at the Moravian mission station of Friedrichsthal and became part of their congregation in order in this way to become an integrated part of the surrounding society.

The reasons for the immigration as a whole are to be found in everyday conditions, of which the climatic, resource-related and social factors in both east and west were the decisive ones. In this context we can define the European trading and mission stations and the activities derived from them as a resource (Thuesen 2007: 61), and through the establishment of such stations in the southernmost part of Greenland, the population of East Greenland extended the existing resource possibilities.

If we look at the explanations for why the Southeast Greenlanders settled in great numbers in Southwest Greenland during the 19th century, then – independently of which factors may have been the decisive ones in the individual phases of immigration – it is a consistent feature that there in each individual case must have been a choice. Not in the way that the choice could be made by each individual person, but presumably by the dominant hunter or hunters on behalf of the group or individual. This was a choice which decided whether one should stay in one’s original area, whether one should move west, or (for a small part of the population) move northwards and settle among the population in the Ammassalik area. The choice of whether to settle at the new stations or stay in one’s own area and through middlemen or by personal journeys to Southwest Greenland get access to European goods, must have been part of the overall strategic considerations for survival.

During most of the 19th century, people from Southeast Greenland chose to settle near Friedrichsthal. They had not only to adapt their existence to new geographical surroundings and conditions with respect to resources, but they were also inhabitants of an area which came under the Danish colonial authorities. So they became in many ways pieces in a game between the European actors who were in the area. This was a question of the competition between the Danish and the German mission for new members in their respective congregations. And it was also a question of the Danish colonial authorities' desire, particularly out of consideration for trade, to enforce its authority and – against the interests of the mission – to impose the general policy which had been settled on.

## IV. The struggle for the East Greenlandic immigrants

From the end of the 18th century the Danish colonisation of Greenland expanded towards south and with the setting up of the establishments Julianehåb and Nanortalik, the whole of South Greenland right down to Cape Farewell in principle came under Danish rule. The population of South Greenland constituted an obvious market for trade, and an equally obvious target for the mission in South Greenland. This was also true of the groups of the population who came travelling to the area from East Greenland, and not least the East Greenlanders who during the 19th century chose to settle in the Cape Farewell area.

From the start of colonisation in Greenland, the Trading Company and the mission had different and conflicting interests and mutual disagreements, which the East Greenlanders now became involved in, not as the main actors, but often as the object of the disagreement and at any rate with consequences for their situation. With the Moravian Brethren's dominating presence in the Cape Farewell area, the classical conflict took place here between the Danish Trading Company and the German mission. With the presence of two missions in the area, the Danish and the German, the situation led furthermore to competition between these two to gain new potential members for their congregations.

### **The conflict between the Trading Company and the Moravian Brethren**

The Moravian Brethren had worked in Greenland since 1733, but this was not without its problems, and conflicts arose from time to time with the Trading Company or the Danish mission. The Danish civil servants were generally very critical of the Moravian Brethren, and this dissatisfaction went back to the 18th century, when the Moravians established mission stations in Neuherrenhut (1733), Lichtenfels (1758) and Lichtenau (1774). After the establishment of Lichtenau, the Mission College complained that the Moravian Brethren had extended their interests of their own accord, and as a result of this the Danish state in 1777 issued via the Danish Chancellery a decree that the Moravian Brethren in future must not set up more establishments without first having received permission for this, and that the Trading Company's

people should keep an eye on the Moravians' activities and have some insight into them (Bobé 1936: 352).

The main conflict of interest between the Trading Company and both the Danish and German missions was principally related to the settlement of the Greenlandic population. The missions wanted the population to settle at or close to the colonies, mission stations and trading stations, which would make teaching and baptismal preparation easier for those who were to be baptised, and would ease contact to and continued work among those who had already gone over to the Christian belief. For the Trading Company it was however almost a prerequisite that the population should live spread out. This would improve the exploitation of resources, i.e. of the animals being hunted, and would thus lead to larger purchases of skins, blubber etc. and in the end to a better financial return from trading.

It rapidly became the Trading Company's interests which prevailed, and the Danish mission submitted to a settlement policy which was determined by the Trading Company's economic interests. In contrast to this the Moravians demonstrated a more long-term tendency to concentrate many people at their mission stations. The resources in the areas concerned could not support this concentration of population, the population's economic capacity waned as time went by, and there was often hardship. The Danish authorities demanded at intervals that people should move out from the mission station to the surrounding district, and tried in various ways to get the hunter families to move out and live more spread out and in smaller settlements around the mission stations. This only succeeded to a certain extent, and the Moravian congregations were considered as poorer than the Danish ones, and their hunters as poorer breadwinners (Gad 1969: 440–470; Sveistrup & Dalgaard 1945: 135–145; Sveistrup & Ibsen 1942: 135–141; Mørch 1942: 116–118; Ostermann 1918: 8).

On the establishment of Friedrichsthal in 1824, the Danish authorities were from the very start on the lookout in relation to this problem, and as the mission station immediately attracted a large number of new arrivals, this gave rise to a long correspondence between Holbøll, the inspector in South Greenland, and the leading missionary Conrad Kleinschmidt, with mutual accusations.

In the same summer as Friedrichsthal was established, and perhaps due to this, Holbøll made a journey of inspection to the district of Julianehåb and in his report to the board described conditions at Lichtenau and Friedrichsthal. He finished this part of the report as follows: "Powerful initiatives are especially necessary in relation to Friedrichsthal, where the concentration of people is too large and solely due to the missionaries, especially Hr. Kleinschmidt." The missionaries seem to have shown under-

standing for the inspector's wishes with respect to moving out, "except Hr. Kleinschmidt, who has replied to the inspector's letter with rudeness."<sup>109</sup>

The population at Friedrichsthal increased heavily in the following years, despite the inspector's warnings and requests, and in 1830 Holbøll sent an unusually strongly worded appeal to Kleinschmidt. He charged him with going against the government's policy, despite being aware of it, and accused him of having lied about his intentions in connection with the application for setting up the mission station. He pointed out to him that his duty was to travel out among the heathens to missionise and not to collect them up around the mission station. He therefore demanded that Kleinschmidt should use his influence to get the Moravian congregation's members to move out from the mission station to settlements with good hunting possibilities.<sup>110</sup> This did not however get Kleinschmidt to change his mind – on the contrary he quickly sent a reply which only sharpened the lines of conflict even more. He assured Holbøll "that we who are missionaries, sent out with royal permission, are happy to leave commercial affairs to the honourable gentlemen of the Trading Company, as we should, and we know that we may preach God's word for the Greenlanders who as free people will hear us, so as to lead them into the Christian way of life; that is what we *can* and *will* do" (quoted from Wilhjelm 2001: 48–49).<sup>111</sup> The conflict now appears to have become insoluble, and in the same year Holbøll recommended to the board that stronger methods should be applied, and he wanted Kleinschmidt to be sent out of Greenland (ibid.: 49–50).

The following year, Holbøll again reported on his efforts to motivate people to move out in various parts of his inspectorate. Results had in fact been achieved, but "At Friedrichsthal the quantity of people has increased and none have moved out." He therefore proposed to the board that when it was not possible to force people to move out, then the inspector should be given the possibility of introducing sanctions in relation to those who would not follow his requests. They could be forbidden to purchase coffee or supplies, or the most obstinate could even be excluded from trading in the shops. This, however, was more than what the board would agree to. Their reply is noted down in the margin of Holbøll's letter, and their attitude was that it was not possible to do more, as long as the people of the mission and the servants of the Trading Company otherwise followed the rules in the board's letter of 28 March 1831, in which the board had approved Holbøll's proposal for support to people moving out in cases of hardship, for example by loans of blubber and by donating clothes to widows and children. "The board could never allow coercive methods, and can therefore not approve of the German Greenlanders being denied things for trade with their products which have been permitted



for Greenlanders under the Danish mission" (Sveistrup & Ibsen 1942: 139).<sup>112</sup>

In 1832, however, Kleinschmidt died and resistance to the pressure from the colonial authorities to move parts of the population away from the mission station waned somewhat among the missionaries at Friedrichsthal. At the same time there was a pause lasting some years in the immigration from East Greenland, and in the years after that there was a more moderate level of immigration so that the pressure of population dropped. The Trading Company still kept an eye on what was going on, and as the following two examples show there are continual reports of the Trading Company constantly following the situation in detail and pressing to get people to move out from Friedrichsthal. Thus in 1845 the hunter Josephus got a house sent from Denmark, which he had bought for seven rigsdaler. He started to build the house at Friedrichsthal, but when the colonial manager in Julianehåb got to hear of this he not only required that the house should be moved to the settlement of Pamilluk, where Josephus had previously lived, but in order to ensure that this actually happened the manager in Nanortalik was ordered to make sure that help was provided for building the house and collecting peat for the peat wall.<sup>113</sup> The outlier Jacob Lund wrote from Pamialluk in 1848, the same year that it was established as a trading station: "I shall to the best of my ability seek to satisfy the Trading Company's interest in getting as many of the Fridrichsthalian Greenlanders as possible to move out to me and other better hunting areas; since it is my true conviction that the fact that they are currently packed together at Friedrichsthal is to the detriment of both the Trading Company and the nation" (Figs. 54, 55 and 56).<sup>114</sup>

Inspector Holbøll was nevertheless still not satisfied with the situation and sent several letters to the board with proposals that there should be changes in the rights of the Moravians. The board appeared as time went by to be willing to follow Holbøll's proposals and sent them on to the Ministry of the Interior, who however did not make a final decision but would consider the matter. In 1850 Holbøll wrote again: "I have written to the Royal Board of Trade concerning what I believed ought to be done in order to promote the moving out, but I must here just add that I think it would be right completely to forbid the missionaries at Friedrichsthal to accept newly arriving heathens into their congregation, a ban which would not be contrary to their concession, according to which they must not place impediments in the way of the Danish mission; this will however occur if Friedrichsthal accepts travelling heathens, as there is a catechist employed south of that place who in ability and enlightenment is on a par with the Brethren's missionaries, and who has a full knowledge of the language, as he is a native who is educated in Denmark."<sup>115</sup> Now the matter



Fig. 54. Kuuaqqat lies east of Friedrichsthal, but on the same peninsula, and was inhabited during the first years after the establishment of the mission station. The ruin can be seen at the front as a grass-covered spot just above coast level. Nearby, the inhabitants and visitors had good areas where they could sail in with kayaks and women's boats. To the east we can just make out Pamialluk Island covered in fog. Photo: B. Grønnow 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.



was instead sent to a commission, after which the recommendation was made to enjoin the missionaries to comply with the desire to have the people moved out, and that the government would otherwise intervene (Sveistrup & Ibsen 1942: 144–145).

It can be seen from what has just been said that the civil servants who were placed in Greenland, and thus experienced conditions at close hand, were constantly disturbed and wanted tough sanctions and wide-ranging possibilities for taking steps to stop the concentrated settlement at the Moravian mission stations, but that the authorities in Denmark hesitated or wanted to solve the problem through requests and a dialogue with the Moravian Brethren. As time went by, there indeed seemed to be some progress with respect to moving people out from Friedrichsthal. In 1853, H.J. Rink, who at this time was the colonial manager at Julianehåb, made a journey of inspection through the southern part of the district and also



**Fig. 55.** Uukkat lies just a few kilometres east of the previous trading area of Pamialluk and was inhabited for most of the first part of the 19th century. In the area we see a characteristic 19th-century ruin with obvious wall structures up to a height of 50 cm, and grown over with strong green lyme grass. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.





Fig. 56. Illussat is a previous settlement on the sound of Torsukattak with the characteristic high and jagged mountains, which in some places rise straight out of the sea to a height of more than a kilometre. The original dwelling is placed in the shelter of the rocks and at a natural landing place for kayaks and women's boats. Photo: B. Grønnow 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

reached Friedrichsthal, where he has “tried to explain to the missionaries the necessity of the Greenlanders’ moving out, which they by their influence could contribute considerably to, just as they on the other hand were able to work against it. The moving-out has in fact increased in recent years and, as far as I am aware, in the current year a couple of families will move from Friedrichsthal.”<sup>116</sup> This is confirmed by the statistical material. In 1834, the Moravian congregation at Friedrichsthal consisted of 391 persons, who lived spread over six settlements, of which Friedrichsthal with 255 inhabitants was by far the largest. In 1855 the congregation consisted of 470 members divided among fourteen settlements and with 173 inhabitants in Friedrichsthal. In 1833, the six settlements lay in the northern part of the Cape Farewell district, while the populated places in 1855 lay spread out over the entire area down to Cape Farewell itself (RA: *Folketællinger i Grønland*).

A certain spread of the population over several settlements had now been achieved in the Cape Farewell district, and as immigration from East Greenland in the following decades was limited, the situation appears to have been satisfactory for the authorities. But in 1887 things went wrong again. In that year, no less than fifty East Greenlanders settled at Friedrichsthal, and at the spring meeting on 1 May 1888 in the Julianehåb Board of Guardians the high level of immigration and its consequences were discussed. This discussion was occasioned by the fact that in the course of the winter poor help had been dealt out to “two heathens, hunters at Frederiksdal,” and the Board of Guardians found it most unfortunate that “the many heathens ... had been collected together in a place like Frederiksdal, which in winter is a poor hunting area, the consequence of which was much hardship, also among the people who lived there.”<sup>117</sup>

To avoid any repetition of this, they decided that from then on, when people arrived in the district, the Greenlandic members of the board of guardians, after consulting the inhabitants who lived in the place, should make a recommendation as to where the new arrivals should be able to settle, after which the Board of Guardians would make the final decision. They then asked the inspectorate in Nuuk to approve this procedure.<sup>118</sup> The proposal in fact has its origins in the traditional customs related to the right to use an area, where the user of a locality or a given area has the first claim to it, as long as the area is exploited (Petersen 1965).

The following year, the Julianehåb Board of Guardians received the inspectorate’s approval, and thus the Board of Guardians now had formal authority to regulate settlements and moves within the district. At the same time, the inspectorate sent letters to the Moravian missionaries in the district of Julianehåb, informing them of this decision, and in the letters they explicitly pointed out that the aim of this was to “prevent a



repetition of the unfortunate circumstances which occurred in 1887, that the heathens who arrived from the east coast that year were collected up at Frederiksdal.”<sup>119</sup>

A few years later, the Trading Company established a new trading station in the southernmost part of the Cape Farewell area, in order to meet the East Greenlanders who were travelling for trading purposes as early as possible, and thus to avoid their coming to the already populated area and settling there. The plan was originally that the new establishment should lie at Qernertoq, a short way into East Greenland, but – as previously mentioned – chance decided that in the end it was set up at Itilleq. Already at the stage when the new trading station was being considered, the management of Julianehåb saw it as a further possibility for ensuring a spread of the population, and they therefore suggested that future immigrants should be obliged to live at the new trading station or in its neighbourhood. To the Boards of Guardians’ suggestion to do this, the inspector replied: “It is approved that, as proposed by the Board of Guardians, the Greenlanders who arrive at Frederiksdal from the east coast should be told that they can only stay there in the interim, and that they, when Qernertoq is established should preferably move to settle there. It is likewise approved that a guardian will be chosen when Qernertoq is occupied.”<sup>120</sup> Thus the intentions of the Board of Guardians were approved, but through the use of the phrase “should preferably move to settle there” the element of compulsion was removed. So future new arrivals should be persuaded to settle at the new trading station. With the final remark about choosing a guardian, it was ensured that the coming settlement and its inhabitants would become a part of the colony of Julianehåb and its area of jurisdiction (Fig. 57).

It can be seen from what we have just said that immigration from East Greenland to the Cape Farewell area enhanced the conflict which was latent as a consequence of the Trading Company’s and the mission’s basically different wishes with respect to the Greenlandic population’s settlement structure; especially in the period around and just after the establishment of the mission station Friedrichsthal and the first heavy immigration, relations between the Danish Trading Company and the local German mission were extremely full of conflicts. The Trading Company’s desire to spread out the population was in the end taken into consideration, but at the same time it is clear that the central authorities in Denmark to a considerable extent protected the Moravian Brethren, and amongst other things would not accept tougher sanctions on the German missionaries when this was proposed by inspector Holbøll in Nuuk. Towards the end of the 19th century, immigration increased once again, with the result that the size of the population in Friedrichsthal itself



**Fig. 57.** Qernertoq was the last place which the travelling East Greenlanders passed before they got to Southwest Greenland, and in some cases the travellers overwintered there. In the last part of the 19th century there was a settlement here whose inhabitants were part of the Moravian congregation. The settlement lay on the even slope in the middle of the picture, where the contours of houses from several periods can be made out. In the foreground to the right, supports for women's boats can be seen. To the north on the other side of the sound, Christian IV's Island can be seen. Photo: B. Grønnow 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

increased, and the consequent problem of the lack of resources in the nearby area became apparent again. Once more the secular authorities stepped in with regulation of the conditions on settlements in the district. As something new the local population was now drawn into the process via membership of the local council, the boards of guardians, and via discussions of the problems and their solution. But it continued to be the central authorities who had the final word.

### **The competition between the Danish mission and the Moravian Brethren**

The establishment of the trading station of Nanortalik in 1797 also meant that the tasks for the Danish mission in the Julianehåb missionary area were extended southward towards Cape Farewell. In addition to the

district's own population, East Greenlanders came travelling to the west coast, and some of them stayed in the area and were baptised. There was even a proposal to set up an independent missionary area in Nanortalik (Bak 1981: 131–139), but the establishment in 1824 of the Moravian Brethren's mission station in Friedrichsthal made this proposal no longer relevant. In a letter to the Mission College regarding the royal resolution by which the king gave the Moravian Brethren permission to set up the mission station, it says that this is to take place "in such a manner that the Danish missionary district is unaffected."<sup>121</sup> Thus there was supposed to be a clear geographical separation between the two congregations. This line of demarcation ran in practice between the Danish Trading Company's outpost Ikigaat and the Moravian Brethren's mission station at Friedrichsthal.

During the first years, relations between the Danish missionary and the missionaries at Friedrichsthal were strained, and probably also affected by the conflict between inspector Holbøll and the missionary Kleinschmidt concerning settlement around the mission station. The Danish missionary Esmann appears in his capacity as the Danish missionary sent out to the Julianehåb missionary area to have had or taken on the role of an authority or supervisor in relation to the mission at Friedrichsthal. He was very critical about the Moravians' activities and demanded, sometimes in a coarse manner, that Kleinschmidt should answer questions about conditions at Friedrichsthal, accused him of breaching the terms of the royal resolution by trying to get persons who went to prepare for baptism in the Danish congregation to join the Moravian congregation, and threatened to report this to the Mission College. Kleinschmidt defended himself and denied Esmann's accusations. The two missionaries mutually accused one another of having spoilt the good relationship which there had been between the Danish and German mission for almost a hundred years.<sup>122</sup>

The negative attitude during this period can also be ascribed to Esmann's expectations that the Danish congregation itself should win over some of the immigrating East Greenlanders, who were the Moravians' target group. In 1829 he had enthusiastically reported to the Mission College: "To the establishment of Nennortelik I can expect about forty more heathens from among the Easterners. The honourable gentlemen Mathiesen and Vahl<sup>123</sup> have returned and have brought me the information that about 80 persons desired baptism, but about half will probably go to the German congregation. I am pleased that I have teachers out at Tuapeit, since the group will probably find a dwelling place there. – When my journeys north are finished this autumn, I will immediately go to Nennortelik, where my presence will surely be needed."<sup>124</sup>

It was difficult to get around to all parts of the large missionary area and in practice impossible for the changing missionaries at Julianehåb to visit the whole congregation in the course of a year. In Nanortalik, Esmann had had to pass on the continual tasks to the catechist, and to strengthen the missionary work in this area he suggested that a house be built at Nanortalik, but he could get no support from the Mission College for this or other wishes.<sup>125</sup> Nor was there any support for introducing limitations in the activities of the Moravian Brethren by means of prohibitions, and in a comment on Esmann's official diary the Mission College's consultant writes: "As permission has most graciously been granted to the Society of Brethren to set up a mission station at Friedrichsthal, it is hardly possible to forbid them from introducing heathens by the [illegible] of baptism into their congregation, even if it both for the sake of the Trading Company and for the sake of true enlightenment is desirable that this could be achieved."<sup>126</sup>

The quotations given here are very typical for the lack of support which the Danish missionaries in Julianehåb received from the authorities in Denmark during the rest of the century, when they tried to get help or support to take up the competition with the Moravian missionaries in the area. Letters and reports nevertheless show that the Danish missionaries at intervals through most of the 19th century continued to try to attract people who came from the east and who had not yet settled in one or the other congregation.

In the summer of 1848, the trading station of Pamialluk was established south of Friedrichsthal and placed on the traditional route from the east coast to the European establishments. Pamialluk's first outlier was Jacob Lund, who in addition to his work for the Trading Company also had to perform the function of catechist for the few people there who belonged to the Danish congregation (Fig. 58). He was – which was most unusual for a Greenlander at the time – educated in Denmark at Skårup Teachers Training College, and it was hoped that he, with his particular qualifications and as a speaker of Greenlandic, would be able to attract some of the arriving East Greenlanders to the Danish congregation. Already during the first autumn a group of forty-six persons arrived who "had promised through baptism to go over to Christianity and who wish to be accepted into the Danish congregation."<sup>127</sup> When the missionary Vesterboe in Julianehåb heard about this, he hurried to Pamialluk, but when he arrived he could only see that the "heathens" were a day's journey south of the outpost, and as the weather was bad and the ice began to pack around Pamialluk, he had to return after a few days without accomplishing anything.<sup>128</sup>

In the autumn of 1849, Vesterboe was again in Pamialluk, but could once more just find out that the people whom he was interested in were

**Fig. 58.** Jacob Lund photographed around 1890 by John Møller from Nuuk. Jacob Lund was originally trained in a teachers' training college, but after the establishment of the trading station of Pamialluk was employed as the outlier there. According to the plan, however, he also intended to attract some of the immigrating East Greenlanders to the Danish congregation, but the plan never succeeded. Photo: John Møller/The Royal Danish Library 6529.



further to the south, and a storm prevented him from going to meet them. He therefore instructed Jacob Lund “to travel down to the heathens, baptise the heathen children at home and pray for and read with the adults, so that when I arrive in the spring I can confirm the home baptism of the children and baptise the adults.”<sup>129</sup> As a reason for this he gave “firstly, that the parents will be more willing to accept Christianity when their children are baptised, which can take place without instruction when they are minors, and secondly that the Moravian Brethren from their mission at Friedrichsthal, which lies just half a day’s journey north of the catechist Lund, cannot – as they would like to do – persuade the heathens, who have promised Lund, after his efforts of persuasion and after he, in accordance with my urgent instructions, has prayed for them many times while they stayed at the place where he lives, that they would abandon heathenism and enter the Danish-Greenlandic Christian congregation” (Fig. 59).<sup>130</sup>

In 1850, Vesterboe was again in Pamialluk and still occupied with ensuring that the immigrating East Greenlanders joined the Danish congregation. He wrote detailed notes in his diary on the sometimes hectic process:





**Fig. 59.** The trading station of Pamialluk was placed at the end of a narrow bay, on the left outside the picture, which has provided good shelter from bad weather. In the foreground, some of the graves which lie immediately west of the previous settlement can be seen. In the background towards southeast, the southernmost part of the island of Toornaarsuk with the promontory of Kangeq can be seen. Photo: B. Grønnow 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

- 5 Oct. As I have received news that some of the heathens who have lived at Pamialluk and there been taught by the catechist Lund this summer and last winter during his absence at Nennortalik had been persuaded to move to Friedrichsthal, I immediately got Lund to go in my women's boat to Friedrichsthal to find these heathens, and he returned at 12.30, bringing the information that the heathens this morning had gone south again. I immediately got my clothes taken to the boat and travelled with Lund and family from Ikigeit at 1 o'clock, and arrived, partly sailing and partly rowing, at Pamiaðluk at 6 in the evening through a good deal of ice lumps.
- 6 Oct. Held service in Greenlandic for all Greenlanders here, both from the Danish and German congregations.

- 7 and 8 Oct. Northerly gale which prevents the heathens from coming here... The post<sup>131</sup> whom I had sent south to the heathens returned, but they could not row against the north wind.
- 9 Oct. Rowed south with the catechist Lund to reach the heathens at Komiut [Kuummiut] and we met them halfway, so we turned around and got to Pamiædluk at half past one in the afternoon, but half an hour later the heathens' boat went straight past, and I at once got the catechist to go out to them in the mission boat, in order to get them to come here, as they had promised in the morning when we met them, but one of the oarswomen, who [illegible] their boat, would not and forced the others by persuasion to go to Friedrichsthal where she has her home.
- 10–11 Oct. Entered the names of the heathens in the register, following the catechist Lund's list.
- 12 Oct. [Went to Friedrichsthal] ... where I finally met the heathens and with the principal Ihrer's<sup>132</sup> permission, which I kindly requested, confirmed the home baptisms, which the catechist Lund had performed, on these two children in Friedrichsthal's church in the presence of a number of Greenlanders from both the Danish and German congregations.<sup>133</sup>

This portion of the diary shows something about the missionary's difficult conditions of work: travelling in the extensive missionary area, dependence on the weather, and competition with the Moravian Brethren. Even if the German missionaries have certainly also encouraged the immigrant East Greenlanders to settle at Friedrichsthal and thus to enter the German congregation, it can clearly be seen from Vesterboe's diary notes that part of the problem in attracting the new arrivals to the Danish mission largely originated in the immigrants' desire to settle among their families and friends, and these had settled at the German mission station.

Vesterboe did not get anything out of his efforts in relation to the immigrant East Greenlanders, but his successor, the missionary Janssen, continued in his footsteps. In 1852, he too sent a motivated proposal to the Mission College, with the aim of strengthening the position of the Danish mission in the centrally placed Pamiædluk: "At Nenortalik I met the previous catechist and trading agent Jakob Lund, who had been employed by both the College and the Trading Company. He had in the year

which had gone by had no intercourse with the heathens, and had thus not performed any duties in that respect. The heathens arrive at indeterminate times, often in several boats together, from the east coast of the country, in order to trade. When Jakob Lund had a congregation with whom he could hold a service in the presence of the heathens, they could certainly be influenced much faster and more easily. But he has no congregation at all. The heathens usually arrive rather early in the summer, lack somewhere to stay for a long time, and have to hurry back, in order to find winter quarters somewhere or other if possible. I therefore allow myself, after having consulted the doctor and trading agent who is employed at Nennortalik, Hr. Lytzen, to humbly propose to the noble College that one or two Greenlander houses should be erected, and stand ready to receive the heathens under Jakob Lund's supervision. It can then be hoped that one or more families could have a desire to dwell there. This would create a congregation, and there would be people living there from whom subsequent immigrants could seek shelter while they put up winter dwellings and collected wood for this purpose. The costs of putting up such a house would be around 59 rigsdaler and 15 skilling, as can be seen from the attached estimate." But Janssen did not get the Mission College's backing in this matter either.<sup>134</sup>

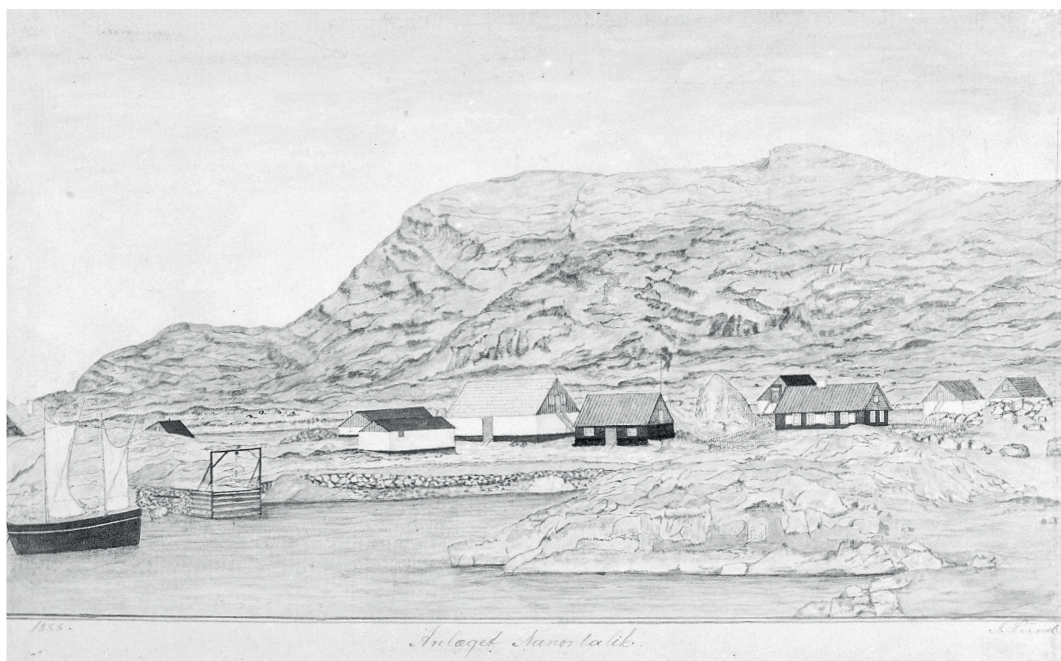
The following year, Janssen made yet another attempt to travel to the east coast, but had to turn back because of the drift ice. He then proposed that a catechist should be sent to East Greenland to missionise, after which the converted could go to Nanortalik and be baptised there.<sup>135</sup> Some years later, yet another new missionary in Julianehåb, Nissen, repeated the proposal of setting up an independent missionary district in Nanortalik, where the missionary should "have his attention particularly focused on the Easterners," after which one could expect a considerable increase of the existing district.<sup>136</sup> None of these proposals were realised, however.<sup>137</sup>

Thus the Danish missionaries tried to take up the competition for getting some of the immigrants from East Greenland to join the Danish congregation – and the Moravian missionaries were quite aware of this. In 1887, five women's boats arrived in Pamialluk. Of these, the people in three of the boats, a total of fifty persons, had decided that they would not return to East Greenland, but would settle on the west coast. From Nanortalik the principal catechist Isak Lund, one of Jacob Lund's sons, was sent to Pamialluk, where he was supposed to contact these people. On the basis of conversations with them, Isak Lund produced a report which amongst other things contained information about current conditions in East Greenland, and which also contained a complete list of the fifty persons and their mutual relationships (Jensen 2003). It was the Moravian missionary Zucher's impression that the Danes were trying to take over



the fifty immigrants for the Danish congregation, and that Isak Lund had been sent south under the pretence of asking about conditions on the east coast. Lund did not succeed in getting to Pamialluk on his first attempt, and Zucher notes, not without malicious pleasure: “We were however very happy when we heard on the following day that these two men had been unable to get through the ice to Pamiagdhluk, but had to turn around halfway – although it is fundamentally a modest problem, as if the Lord wants it, then it will happen” (Fig. 60).<sup>138</sup>

The fifty new arrivals from East Greenland settled at Friedrichsthal and in general the Moravians won the bloodless battle for the East Greenlanders’ souls. There can be many explanations for this. As mentioned previously, at the beginning of the 19th century the Danish mission had considerable resource problems, especially in the southern part of Greenland, and in practice these excluded any possibility of actively trying to get the immigrant East Greenlanders into the Danish congregation. In contrast to this, the Moravian Brethren had resources



**Fig. 60.** The establishment of Nanortalik painted by Isak Lund in 1888. By “establishment” we here clearly mean the Trading Company’s buildings and not the settlement of the local population. Isak Lund was the son of Jacob Lund and the head catechist in Nanortalik. It was the same Isak Lund who the previous year had been in Pamialluk to talk to a large group of recently immigrated East Greenlanders, and had produced a report which amongst other things contained information on current conditions in East Greenland together with a list of all fifty people. Danish Arctic Institute AI 50546.

for an expansive policy, illustrated by the establishment in 1824 of Friedrichsthal, whose missionaries continually tried to persuade the arriving East Greenlanders to stay and enter the Moravian congregation. In addition, it has certainly had some significance that the Moravian missionaries stayed in the country for many years, in some cases for the rest of their lives, and learnt the language, whereas the Danish missionaries were in the country for a limited period and in many cases never learnt proper Greenlandic.<sup>139</sup> A contributory factor can also be found in some of the opinions which were expressed by the groups who stood behind the missionaries, especially the Mission College. Even before the Moravians established the mission station of Friedrichsthal in 1824, the missionary at that time, Wanning, expressed in a letter to the Mission College his worries about the Moravians' activities and plans in the area. The reply from the Mission College did not provide much consolation: "We understand how unpleasant any collision with the missionary Brethren must be; but we do not doubt that they stay within the limits drawn up for them. We can inform you that the Greenlanders should not be prevented from one day going over to the new district which is occupied by the Brethren, if they voluntarily should desire to do so."<sup>140</sup>

Later in the century, Martensen, bishop and superior of the Mission College, wrote in connection with a criticism of the Moravian Brethren's methods and influence: "It must presumably be recognised that either of the two methods – the itinerant and the colonising – has its advantages and disadvantages, just as it should be recognised that different local conditions here may to a considerable extent get to exert a modifying influence. But unless the most pressing necessity should be present, which in this case does not seem to be the case, then it would be quite unreasonable to interfere and hinder a foreign Mission which indeed has led to a not insignificant degree of benediction."<sup>141</sup>

The Mission College apparently did not want a collision with the Moravians, whose missionaries with apparent success were busy performing a part of the mission's main task, namely converting the population of Greenland to Christianity. And this was even taking place for funds which the hard pressed Danish mission did not need to find for themselves. This positive attitude to the Moravian Brethren's efforts in Greenland was exposed in 1868 in an application from the Danish Missionary Society to the ministry. The background for this was plans or deliberations in the ministry to annul the Moravian Brethren's permission to run missionary activities in Greenland and send the Moravian missionaries home. The letter is a letter of support for the Moravian Brethren, in which the Missionary Society lists a number of professional, political and financial points in defence of allowing the Moravians to stay in the country.





Fig. 61. Utoqqarmiut, a few kilometres east of Pamialluk, with a well-preserved ruin from colonial times. Photo: B. Grønnow 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

Amongst other things, they worked out that the costs of the Moravians' activities in Greenland for the year 1866 corresponded to 5479 rigsdaler, a sum which the already pressed Danish mission itself would be obliged to find if they had to take over the Moravian Brethren's stations (Fig. 61).<sup>142</sup>

The question of funding was by no means unimportant. When the missionary Nissen as previously mentioned proposed the establishment of a separate mission district at Nanortalik, the Greenlandic *lektor*<sup>143</sup> had the following comments: "Hr. Nissen has made the suggestion that the populous outlying area of Nennortalik, which lies far from the colony, should be set up as its own mission district. But however desirable this might be, especially in relation to the heathens who live nearby, who have a fairly continual trade connection to this place, and however necessary it might finally be that Julianehåb's all too extensive mission district should be divided up, yet I cannot allow myself to adopt this proposal, as there can currently be no possibility of getting so costly a move approved."<sup>144</sup> One gets the clear impression that, irrespective of how relevant the proposal might seem to be, one could just as well abandon it in advance: there was simply no money to realise it!

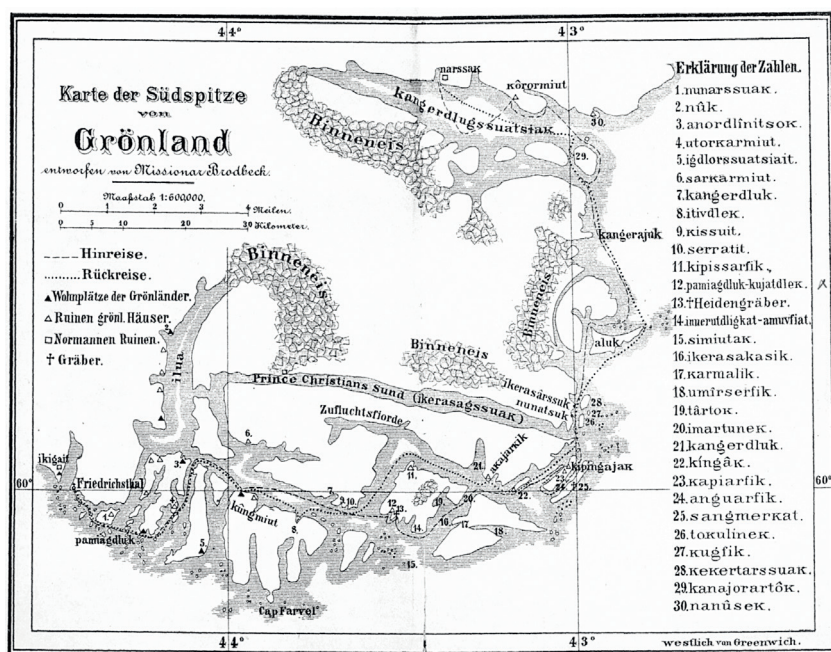
As we have seen, Danish missionaries made attempts throughout the century to get some of the immigrant East Greenlanders to join the Danish congregation. In spite of this, there appears after the initial sharp altercations between Esmann and Kleinschmidt to have been reasonable personal relations between the missionaries from the two congregations. This is illustrated by a report from the missionary Vesterboe, who shortly after taking up his post at Julianehåb made a journey to the southern part of his district and on his way came to Ikigaat “the most southerly point in my mission district,” where there had not been a visit by a Danish priest for nine years. As he was now in the area, he made use of the opportunity to visit the nearby Moravian congregation to discuss a matter connected with his duties. Since the women’s boat which he travelled in both needed repairs and to be dried, he had to stay for a few days in Friedrichsthal, where he according to his own statements had received a very friendly reception, and where he experienced a prayer meeting which was arranged for his sake, and had the possibility of talking to the German missionaries about “items of common interest in this country.” He ends his report from his stay as follows: “This morning at six o’clock I left here, but the Brethren had had three goats put into my women’s boat as a gift and a proof of great goodwill towards me.”<sup>145</sup>

In a diary note from 1845 (5 May), the missionary Vesterboe writes: “There came another heathen from the east coast to me, a tall, handsome, strongly built man with a large handlebar moustache and a shirt sewn of seal gut, but as he has stayed through the winter with his family at Friedrichsthal and the Brethren’s mission has the intention of baptising this family, I didn’t talk to him about going over to my congregation, so as not to attempt to thwart the above mentioned missionaries.”<sup>146</sup> Thus Vesterboe did not want to fish for converts among the Moravians’ congregation.

The two congregations have from the start administratively in practice operated as two separate systems, and it has not been permitted for the Moravian congregation to accept people who came from the Danish congregation.<sup>147</sup> On the other hand it was permitted for the Danish congregation to accept members of the Moravian congregation and there are indeed examples – although not very many – of this happening.<sup>148</sup> In 1855 an instruction was, however, sent to the Moravian mission stations, stating that the Mission College had now approved that persons from the two congregations could marry one another, and that they could decide for themselves which congregation they would live in. It was also permitted for parents whose children were baptised by the Danish missionary to be baptised by the Moravian missionaries.<sup>149</sup> This last decision quite clearly refers to the immigrant East Greenlanders, who in the final analysis wanted to settle at Friedrichsthal or its associated settlements.

The new rules about marriage between persons from the two congregations and subsequent choice of which congregation these persons would be associated with contributed to a change in the relationship between the missionaries from the two congregations. There are several examples of such marriages, but the most extraordinary are the examples where Danish missionaries, as time passed, for practical reasons themselves suggested the administrative and formal transfer of some members from their own congregation to the Moravian congregation, to which the relevant persons had already moved physically.<sup>150</sup> This contributes to the impression that the two congregations in the latter part of the 19th century, despite their competition over the new arrivals, had finally normalised their relations.

The Moravian missionaries had made a strategically good move when they in 1824 established the mission station at Friedrichsthal. The mission station lay on the route which the immigrating East Greenlanders followed to the nearest trading station, first Nanortalik and later Pamialluk, which



**Fig. 62.** In August 1881, the missionary Jacob Brodbeck from the mission station of Friedrichsthal travelled to Southeast Greenland, where he reached Narsaq in Kangerlussuatsiaq (Lindenow Fjord). He published a book about his journey, from which this map is taken (Brodbeck 1882). The map shows Brodbeck's route, both the inhabited settlements and places with remains after Eskimo and Norse habitation, and other important localities.

from 1848 became the centre for trade between east and west. And from Pamialluk it was for the seasoned East Greenlandic travellers just a short step further to Friedrichsthal. In the years after 1824, there was rapidly created a congregation which had a continual influx of arrivals from East Greenland. The Danish mission attempted to take up the challenge and to absorb some of the new arrivals, but only had poor success with this. By far the largest portion of the immigrant East Greenlanders were baptised by the Moravian Brethren's missionaries and became part of the Moravian congregation. They settled at Friedrichsthal or in settlements nearby and became part of the population of the Cape Farewell district, and thus came under the influence of the opposing interests of the Danish authorities and the Moravian missionaries.

From the immigrants themselves there is practically no historical material, but reports, church registers and statistical material from this period contain information which can shed light on the East Greenlandic immigration as a whole, the changing demographic conditions in the Cape Farewell district and the circumstances which the new arrivals lived under (Fig. 62).



## V. Artistry, catch failures and cultural crisis on the East Coast

In this chapter we shall look more closely at the situation in 19th-century East Greenland, from where the significant immigration to the Cape Farewell region took place. Here at the end of the century there were still a few populated areas left along the coast, and these were concentrated furthest to the north, but “hunger ravaged their community, and 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” (Mikkelsen & Sveistrup 1944: 79).

Seen in the light of history, this cause-and-effect explanation is generally accepted, as people point to the documented industrial sealing of hooded seals in the ice off the east coast, which since the 1870s had been greatly intensified, with an annual average of 100,000 animals being taken (*ibid.*). The result of this could also be seen in Ammassalik, where the quantity of hooded seals and harp seals “people say, is greatly reduced. From time to time people find dead seals on the ice, with the skins and blubber removed” (Holm 1887: 52).<sup>151</sup>

Periods of famine were often a result of dwindling catches, but among the inhabitants in the affected communities this was explained by failure to respect taboos. “When the hooded seals became few and far between, this man was looked at askance by the others, because he had by his behaviour caused the seals to become angry and therefore to leave the coast” (Holm 1887: 76).<sup>152</sup>

We shall now look more closely at what, under these circumstances, led to this residual group of East Greenlanders appearing as the “most artistic Eskimo community” (Thalbitzer 1912: 732), where this characteristic refers to the richly ornamented material culture which met the first Europeans on their arrival in Ammassalik in 1884, and which was not known from other regions and other periods in the eastern Arctic where failing catches had led to crises and hunger.

We must note that the extravagant use of ornamented objects took place at a time when the active mission in the Cape Farewell district had for a long time been directed at the immigrating East Greenlanders, whose trading journeys now also involved the northernmost inhabitants of the



coast. We shall see in the following sections whether this circumstance can also be connected to the changes which we have mentioned in the material culture, and will at the same time give an interpretation of the significance of the carvings which were used. In other words we are here on the threshold between prehistory and history (Fig. 63).



**Fig. 63.** Three women and a man in front of a summer tent on Kujánilik in Ammassalik Fjord in 1885. The West Greenlandic catechist Hansêrak wrote in his diary in June of that year: “They did not follow the West Greenlandic custom of scooping up the fish from the women’s boat, but the men go out during the night and scoop up from the kayaks, so the women’s boat collects the catch on the following day. After this they put the boat up on a sledge and drive it up to the drying place, where the *ammassaat* (English: capelins) are spread out on the rocks. They have ladles of wood with an interlacing of thongs of skin. I talked to many of them after they encouraged me to and asked questions about the Christian faith. We stayed there for two days; it was cold and the wind blew continually in from the fjord” (Hansêrak 1933: 169). Photo: H. Knutsen/Danish Arctic Institute 08626.

## The ‘isolated’ Ammassalik in the 19th century

The dense population of 17th- and 18th-century Southeast Greenland, which the archaeology discussed in Chapter I could demonstrate, confirms the old claim that there were enough people everywhere. Norse bell metal worked into pendants and Dutch glass beads had through barter found their way north from the southern part of the west coast, and the connection to Northeast Greenland still existed in this period (Mathiassen 1933: 66, 107; Robert-Lamblin 1986: 9; Gulløv 1995: 27).

But at the beginning of the 19th century, the demography seems to have changed; immigration had led to a considerable population increase in South Greenland, and the number of inhabitants along the 600 km long, and previously well-populated, stretch of the coast was now reduced to less than 600 persons (Graah 1932: 126). The contact to the northernmost



**Fig. 64.** In the 19th century, a settlement in the Ammassalik region often consisted of a large communal house which contained up to fifty inhabitants. The photograph was taken in about 1900 and shows a single family's place, out of the many along the platform edge which are separated by a ceiling support, *sukaq*. A man, two women and children in house clothes are sitting on the platform. A metal cooking pot hangs over the soapstone lamp, which has been placed on its lamp stand. The kamiks can be made out on the drying frame under the ceiling. The photographer is Johan Petersen, who took part as an interpreter in the Women's Boat Expedition and in 1894 became the first manager of the newly established colony in Ammassalik. Photo: The National Museum of Denmark L.129a.

group at Ammassalik had long since been broken off, and from 1830 we have information that it had been a generation since a man from Umiivik had been up there (*ibid.*: 146) (Fig. 64).

This apparent isolation, in which the population of Ammassalik thus found themselves, must be supposed to have had an influence on the group's survival, as a low birth rate could have been fatal (Robert-Lamblin 1986: 19; Mikkelsen & Sveistrup 1944: 34). Thus the increased depopulation of the southeast coast led to the people of the Ammassalik area, *ammassalimmiut*, no longer having their previous trading network available, so they had to travel all the way to the Cape Farewell district in the so-called Danish West Greenland. This was registered for the first time in 1849, when two objects from there were brought to Kielsen, the colonial manager in Julianehåb.

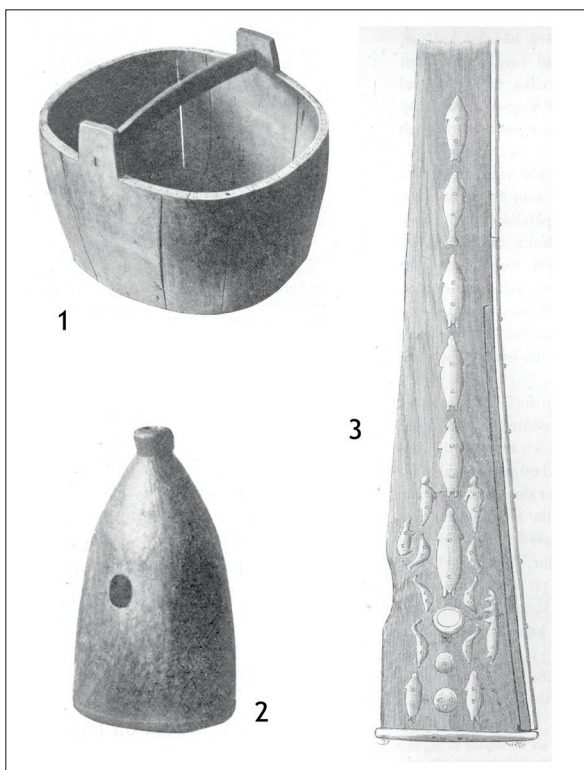
One of these objects is a large oval wooden bucket, made of staves, but without bands. The staves are held together at the top by an edge of bone pieces, which are attached to the staves with nails made of baleen. A piece of wood placed transversely serves as a handle. The other object is a water ladle, which also serves as a container for drink, made of wood in the shape of a bottle. The handle is likewise of wood and is hollow, so it is possible to suck water up, and is furnished with a bone button at the end. In the National Museum's records it is noted that "these two items (Lc 267 and Lc 268), which no Greenlanders had seen the like of, were brought to Julianehåb by a family who came from Ammassalik, a place on the east coast, which is said to be much further to the north than Captain Graah reached."<sup>153</sup> There is no further decoration on these objects, like that observed later when Gustav Holm on his women's boat expedition thirty-five years later reached Ammassalik (Thalbitzer 1912: 547 (fig. 273), 551 (fig. 280c)) (Fig. 65).

In the following decades, the trading stations in the Cape Farewell district received sporadic visits from Ammassalik, and were informed that many people lived there (Holm & Petersen 1921: 655); and when Holm arrived there in 1884 he noted that "these people had never seen Europeans in their midst" (Holm 1887: 168).<sup>154</sup> This did not mean that they could not have met them in other places, as "some make even quite long journeys to Illuluarsuk [Bernstorffs Isfjord] and Akorninarmiut [Skjoldungen] to make trade contacts with the Easterners further to the south" (*ibid.*: 56).<sup>155</sup>

On such journeys trading partnerships were set up between individuals, who could also include traders from West Greenland. The shaman Avgo from Sermiligaaq has told about such relations and explained in more detail that "*He was related to Jakob* (i.e. the assistant Lund) in Sydprøven. At the time when Jakob, after having been in Denmark, was catechist in Pamialluk, *his father (Maja) as one of his relations* had dealt with him several



**Fig. 65.** Objects from the east coast collected in South Greenland before Gustav Holm overwintered in Ammassalik in 1884–85. Driftwood water bucket (1) and a driftwood drink container (2) brought to Julianehåb (Qaqortoq) in 1849 by a family from Ammassalik, and a driftwood throwing board (3) given to the Swedish geologist and explorer Nordenskiöld by Lytzen, the colonial manager, in 1873.



times when he was over on the west coast; this was something he (the father) had often told about. But it was before he himself was born [about 1844] that his father went off to trade... He asked me to greet Jakob, and added that he would have liked to have sent him as a gift a piece of bearskin to sit on, if he had had one" (Hansêrak 1933: 138, our italics).<sup>156</sup>

In other words, they had for a long time oriented their travelling activities towards the south, from where influences came to Ammassalik. The contacts of the past to the more northerly regions had been forgotten (Mathiassen 1933: 66), even though these were in 1884 no further away than Kangerlussuaq at 68° north, which was then the most northerly known point and was called "*nuna isua*" [*nunap isua*], i.e. the country's extremity (Holm 1887: 145).

The Women's Boat Expedition's first meeting with Ammassalimmiut in September 1884 led to a somewhat negative mention of their material culture, as "their hunting equipment is not beautiful, only their kayak oars are beautiful,"<sup>157</sup> if one compared their equipment with the West Greenlanders' (Hansêrak 1933: 62). But in the course of the following year this first impression was changed, as the Europeans who were passing the winter were shown beautifully decorated objects, and "if the angmag-



**Fig. 66.** The ethnographical collection brought home from Ammassalik by Gustav Holm, exhibited at The National Museum of Denmark. Photo: The National Museum of Denmark, 1917.

salikkers' artistic sense is compared with that of the West Greenlanders, one will see that the latter are far behind the former" (Holm 1887: 151).<sup>158</sup> We shall now look more closely at these objects, where we first have to determine when the characteristic ornamentation was introduced, as it does not appear in the archaeological material (Mathiassen 1933: 125) (Fig. 66).

### **"... often carved so as to represent seals"**

Not in a single place in the available sources is there a mention of the purpose of the figures which appear in the form of ornaments, which are "carved as slightly elevated reliefs from teeth or bones, and are attached with bone pins to hunting equipment, eye shades, screens and barrelwork. On some objects completely carved seals, narwhals, bears, birds, fish, humans and kayaks can be seen. The majority of the figures are, however,





house from the attempt to pass the winter of 1882–83, during which thirty Ammassalimmiut met their deaths (Holm 1887: 56; Thalbitzer 1912: 442; Amdrup 1902: 105).

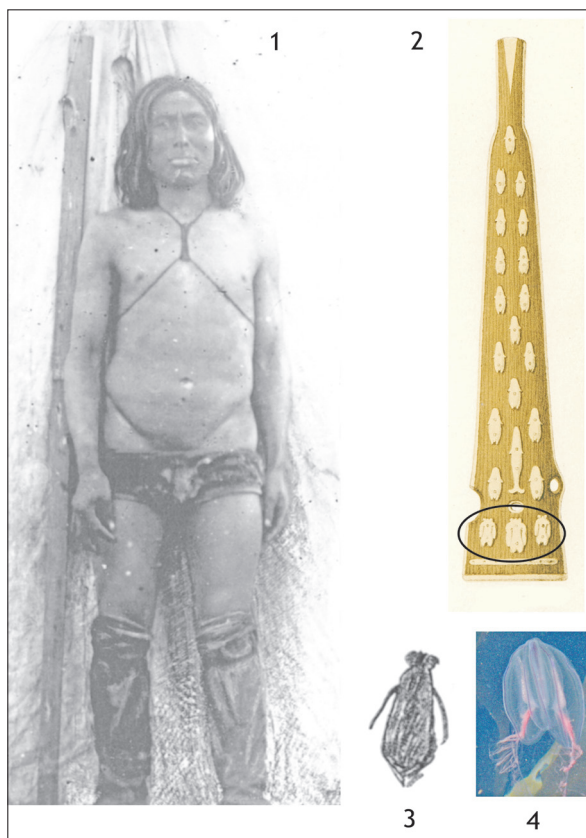
On the basis of this source material we must now draw attention to the temporal overlap between the decorated objects at Ammassalik, which were made around 1870, and the previously mentioned European sealing operations in the ice off the coast of East Greenland. On this topic, the colonial manager Johan Petersen remarked in 1900 that “if the nations who perform sealing do not soon set limits for their ruthless hunting of those species of seal which are so important for the arctic peoples, then it will certainly not take a hundred years before the hooded seal and the harp seal are rarities here. According to what the Easterners say, these two species of seal have been greatly reduced over the last generation, and this has been one of the major causes of the years of famine in this district which have been described by Gustav Holm” (Petersen 1957: 61).<sup>160</sup>

There was, in other words, a crisis in a society which around 1870 chose to decorate their hunting equipment – which according to the West Greenlander Hansêrak was not beautiful – with reliefs which were also riveted onto barrelwork. Holm said about this that it was done “on some objects,” which later on was formulated thus: “the men’s kayak equipment such as the throwing board, the kayak’s line rack, screens and eye shades are *often* decorated with many small reliefs ... water bottles and beakers *can have* reliefs on them, just like the previously mentioned kayak equipment” (Holm & Petersen 1921: 631, our italics).<sup>161</sup>

Out of the total number of objects collected from the overwintering at Ammassalik in 1884–85, which consist of 645 items, twenty-five of these are supplied with the reliefs described here, namely two throwing boards (Lb.366.b and Lb.367.b), two models of throwing boards (Lb.594 and Oslo no. 6484), a kayak line rack (Lb.379), three hunting knives (Lb.409.2, Lb.409.4 and Oslo no. 6494), two beakers, of which one has been used as a blubber container (Lc.955 and Lc.976.1), a model of a urine bucket (Lc.958), two models of water bucket (Lc.959.2 and Lc.959.3), eight eye screens (Ld.70.1-7 and Oslo no. 6537) and four eyeshades (Ld.71.1-3 and Ld.72) (Gustav Holm Samlingen 1985); and from the house of the dead at Nuuaalik the collected objects consist of 466 items of which two have reliefs, namely a throwing board (L.6244) and an eye screen (L.6515) (Thalbitzer 1912: 442, 595).

Thus it is just a relatively modest portion of the collected objects which has been furnished with these figures. Nevertheless they have been paid a lot of attention in the ethnographic literature on Ammassalik. So we must assume that their use was an expression of a particular way of thinking among certain persons, whom we will now designate, in as much as we

**Fig. 68.** The shaman (*angakkoq*) Sanimuinnaq (1) and his throwing board (2) with relief figures of seals and his helper spirits (in the circle). He made a drawing for Gustav Holm of his principal helper spirit, Arruusaq (3), which was a wing snail, *clione borealis* (4). Photo by 1: H. Knutsen, Ammassalik 1885 / Danish Arctic Institute 08617; of 4: E. L. Jensen, Cape Farewell 2004, The National Museum of Denmark. Remaining illustrations are from Holm (1887).



now turn our attention to the Inuit society's shamans, whose task was to ensure the catch.

"One of them, an *angakkoq* called Ingmâlukutsuk, had [...his] own magic spirit [...] Arrûssaq, which is a wing snail that lives in the sea (*clione borealis*), and which they call *the white magic spirit* (*toornaarsuk*). [...] His fellow-*angakkoq* [...] Sanimuinnaq's main spirit is Arrûssaq (the wing snail), which in the past had been the spirit for a female *angakkoq*, from whom he had inherited it [...]" (Hansêrak 1933: 87–89).<sup>162</sup>

To this Holm was able to make the comment that "every *angakkoq* has his own *toornaarsuk* and *aperketeq* [helper spirit], who also work as his spirits" (1887: 122),<sup>163</sup> and it is just these beings who, in addition to sea animals and birds, humans and kayaks, are pictured as reliefs on both throwing boards and kayak line racks (ibid.: 150) (Fig. 68).

Thus we are told that amid the extensive use of ornaments (ibid.: 151), there are certain carvings of helper spirits, which appear particularly on the shamans' hunting equipment. But apart from this we get no explanation of their purpose, which becomes lost in evasive explanations,

in which the white magic spirit mentioned above was assumed not to be “good, because, he said, it was related to the one that the Christians call *toornaarsuk* (i.e. the Devil)... He was just on the point of telling about the *angakkoqs* in general, but ... stopped, and when he was asked, would not say any more. I also asked him to draw his magic spirit *Arrússaq* (the wing snail) on a small piece of paper, but he would not draw it, because he felt sorry for it, as it was his magic spirit you see, he said” (Hansêrak 1933: 87–88).<sup>164</sup>

Also the shaman Avgo “directly denied that he was an *angakkoq* and would not admit to knowing anything about *toornaarsuk* (the chief of the magic spirits). I then took out the pictures from the Bible and showed him the one of the temptation of our Saviour, and explained to him that it was the same devil who had made all humans evil, and the same devil (*toornaarsuk*) ... has also got you to deny and pretend that you are not an *angakkoq*, so that you do not need to talk about him. This made an impression on him, and he believed it: He declared that he was an *angakkoq*, and that he had a little razorbill (a dwarf razorbill) as a spirit ... When he had understood and caught the proper meaning, he said that when he saw a possibility for it, then he would come over to the west coast and be converted – but that was probably not meant seriously” (Hansêrak 1933: 137).<sup>165</sup>

The persistent inquisitorial questions about *toornaarsuk*, which the West Greenlandic catechist Hansêrak asks time after time, do not however seem to have been understood, and the use of the word on the east coast appears also to be of recent appearance, and probably turns up for the first time in this connection (Sonne 1986: 212, 215). The expected answers were therefore that the shamans who were asked just humoured Hansêrak and got these beings to appear as symbols in a Christian linguistic context.

In this way the interpreter now performed as the Christian West Greenlander, while the real meaning of the symbols – both spirits and reliefs – continued to be the shaman’s own secret, which was expressed in the following way: “An *angakkoq*, whom Hansêrak had talked intensely to, said that he felt his lack of knowledge, believed in Our Lord and had a great desire to be baptised. When Hansêrak explained to him that if he believed, then he would have to drop the heathen customs and the *angakkoq*-being, then the heathen answered: ‘As I am used to it, I cannot give it up’. Hansêrak said that if he did not stop it, then he was not a believer, as a believer had to give up all improper habits. To this the heathen replied: ‘Yes, when I with time get to understand you better, then I will probably also get to give them up’” (Holm 1887: 148).<sup>166</sup>

The demand to give up all improper habits is an ultimatum, and must as such have been considered as a threat to the integrity of society, whose



entire *raison d'être* was something which it was the shaman's job to ensure, and even if they sometimes performed their "arts for fun," as Holm put it, yet one had to "bear in mind the idea that they bring good catches home" (ibid.: 130).<sup>167</sup> Good catches could primarily be ensured by following the rituals and associated taboos, which amongst other things meant that when a hooded seal had been brought down, then it must not be eaten – or in some cases even taken into the house – until three days had passed, even if the people were suffering from hunger, as the seals would otherwise keep away from the coast (Holm 1887: 76; Hansêrak 1933: 157).

We shall now look more closely at the connection which we have hinted at between the catch and the use of reliefs on selected objects, some of which belonged to the shamans and were furnished with their helper spirit, the wing snail. Here we shall emphasise the generally known rituals, which in large parts of the Inuit area are associated with the task of dealing with animals which had been killed. The objects consist of hunting equipment and barrelwork, which are the only groups with reliefs riveted onto them, and which therefore figuratively speaking illustrate the sequence of events from the hunting place to the dwelling place, a sequence which among other hunting peoples was also associated with rituals and taboos (cf. Tanner 1979: 153). In Ammassalik, the decorated hunting equipment was, however, kept as a tradition long after 1921, when the last East Greenlander was baptised (cf. Victor & Robert-Lamblin 1993: pl. 8).

## Ritual relations between the hunter and the hunted

The seals were the basic foundation of the Inuit society's existence, and they should be shown the deepest respect. "People think that the souls of the hunted animals become seals again when their bones are taken out and thrown into the sea at least three days after the seal's meat has been eaten" (Rosing 1946: 67),<sup>168</sup> and it was therefore necessary while hunting to show the seal some consideration by throwing the harpoon precisely, so that there could be respect on both sides; and to ensure this and avoid dangers when at sea, the hunters had amulets placed in the kayak, in a hollow on the harpoon shaft, and fastened to straps on the body and the arms, invisible to anyone but the hunter himself (ibid.: 68f.).

If the seal, in spite of all precautions, had not shown itself for a long time, the hunter could sing a magic song, which with careful use of a flattering and gracious choice of words spoke of the seal which he wished to catch (ibid.: 78). In this way attention is focused on the seal and not on the hunter's protective but invisible amulets, in order to please the



sensitive animal, whom they assumed would find pleasure in this attention, which also included the visible and beautifully decorated hunting equipment, which we find on the throwing board, kayak line rack, eye screen, eyeshade and hunting knife (Victor & Robert-Lamblin 1993: 14).

But whereas the significance of the amulets was revealed on the transition to Christianity, when the missionary had them delivered to him (Rosing 1994), we have never been told the significance of the decorated equipment, which we in the easterly Arctic area only find in Ammassalik.

Since the earliest colonial period in Greenland, we have information which tells that the animals of the sea have been dealt with special respect, which also had an aesthetic aspect; thus we know for the west coast that the whale was fond of beautiful things and clothes, but could not stand uncleanness (Egede 1925: 354), and something similar is told about by the shaman Angitinguaq, who said of a person that he used to put on his new clothes "every time a seal is brought into the house to be skinned" (Holm 1888: 308).<sup>169</sup> To show the quarry respect is a generally widespread phenomenon, which in regions outside Greenland is expressed in the way, that "it is thus generally assumed that seals will allow themselves to be killed by good hunters who observe their taboos, in fact, that they even call it 'going home' when they go to a breathing hole to let themselves be stabbed" (Rasmussen 1930: 43).

When the seal had been brought into land, a purification ceremony with urine was waiting, as described from Ammassalik, when "Utaq came home and had caught something, he dipped his fingers into the urine bucket and painted the animal which he had caught on the head with urine" (Hansêrak 1933: 124).<sup>170</sup> The dead animal also had fresh water from the water bucket dripped onto its snout, so that its soul would not thirst after its time in the salt sea. This type of custom was also observed by Clavering in Northeast Greenland, when he in 1823 saw the Eskimos there pour water on the killed seals and walruses (Clavering 1830: 24; Mikkelsen & Sveistrup 1944: 19).

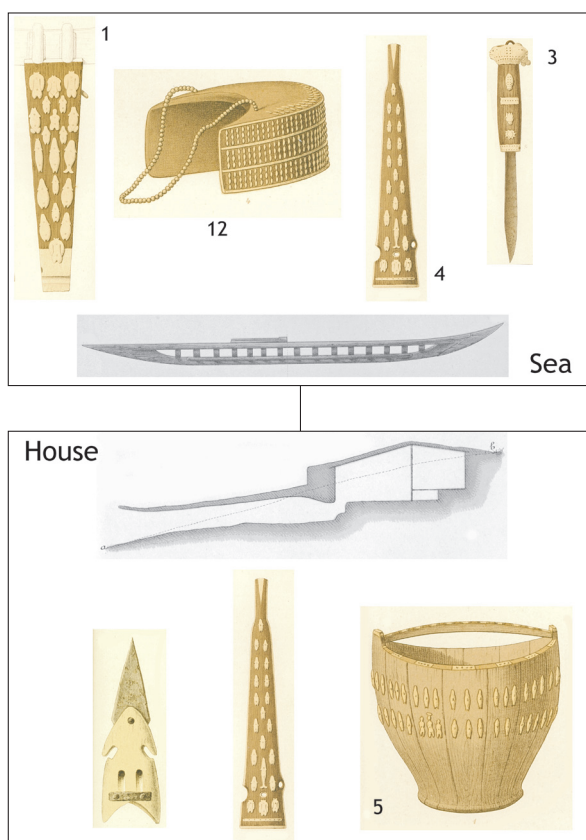
Thus it is a generally observed custom that the careful hunter always lets the seal drink, because "it is said that seals are always thirsty, and that they often let themselves be killed just to get a drink of water ... and all seals know where killed animals are usually treated well, and therefore they always make their way to such people" (Rasmussen 1931: 166).

The animal's soul, which was temporarily living in the head of the hunter's harpoon, now followed right into the house together with the other objects which had been used during the hunt. "Our friend Ajukutôq told me today that when they catch a seal up here, then they always take their throwing board into the house, so that the seal should not be made angry. The heads of the killed animals, regardless of whether they were

bears or seals, could not be boiled and eaten before the third day after the animals had been killed. As soon as the animal is flayed, the head is taken into the house and is laid beside the lamp, where it is allowed to lie until it should go into the pot. Beside the bear heads [or seal heads], they lay different valuable items, such as beads, harpoon heads and knives, but their owners get these back when the head has been eaten" (Petersen 1957: 36; Rosing 1946: 28).<sup>171</sup>

Here we can recognise a custom which is also common outside Greenland, and which says that "when it was flensed, the soul came out, and thus it came into the house through the harpoon head ... when the soul of the seal leaves the body, it spends the night with the harpoon head that killed it. The harpoon is therefore always put into a special place so that the soul of the seal may have quiet" (Rasmussen 1930: 44).

But as we have seen, it is only in Ammassalik that the carvings of the quarry appear on the hunting equipment and on the fittings of the kayak, where the bone buttons are often "carved so as to represent seals ... Handles and crosspieces on all types of strap for tying up the captured



**Fig. 69.** The seal's and the helper spirit's *inuua* can be followed from the hunting ground out on the sea and into the house. The relief figures only appear on the kayak line rack's legs (1 example), on eye screens and eyeshades (12 examples), on throwing boards (4 examples), on hunting knives (3 examples), and within the dwelling on water buckets, urine buckets and blubber containers (5 examples). The throwing board is taken into the house together with the harpoon head. Illustrations from Holm (1887).

animals with, and in which it is dragged along, are carved in the shape of seals" (Holm 1887: 76).<sup>172</sup> On land it was objects which were directly connected with the hunting that had carvings riveted onto them, that is to say the urine bucket and water bucket, but also the beaker or blubber container. However, neither the head of the harpoon nor the women's knife are decorated. The head has in this context its own function as the dwelling place of the animal's soul, which has moved to the head before the flaying process is started, while the women's knife has a place outside the relationships between the hunter and his quarry (Fig. 69).

## Symbols and the meeting of cultures

The demonstration of a direct connection between the decorated objects and the ritual relationships which we have described now gives us a foundation on which we can interpret the reliefs which are used. We must, however, first be clear about whom they are really intended to please, as they – in contrast to the amulets – can be seen by everyone.

Considered as a phenomenon, they have a purpose whose meaning lies in the selected figures, which almost excessively represent the animals of the sea, especially the seals. In other words, there is a form of communication in which the sender and receiver are defined by the ritual relationships which are emphasised, and whose meaning from an aesthetic point of view must be looked for in the chosen figures or signs (cf. Bateson 1972: 130, 141).

The significance of a sign depends, however, on the interpreter, who may recognise in it a picture of something well-known, such as the animals and humans which Holm saw produced in the first instance, or as an indication of a phenomenon, which he expresses by an aesthetic evaluation of the figures, or as a symbol of something which Holm did not see and which the shamans did not tell about. In this semiotic interpretation, the sign is read as an icon (the figure), an index (the aesthetics) and a symbol (here: the unknown), and expresses a logic which is basic for all communication. It is however the ability to understand a sign's symbol which is emphasised as something special for humans, who in this way distinguish themselves from other living beings (Deacon 1998: 70ff.).

This ability is culturally determined, and both Holm and Hansêrak's informants had it. They lived in an animistic world, which was structured in quite a different manner from the Europeans' world, and in this world all phenomena had their own inhabitant or soul, their *inuua*, which could be communicated with, but which only the *angakkoq* could see (Holm 1887: 130).

What they wanted to show with the beautifully carved reliefs appears just exactly to be the animals' and things' *inua*, which for the pleasure of the quarry could be seen and understood all the way from the hunting ground to the dwelling place. For "these souls are separated from the coarser material, and consist of something finer, invisible to our eyes, hands and other senses, and yet of the same form as the bodies from which they have come out, so the soul of a human resembles a human, the soul of a dog a dog, that of an arrow an arrow"; in this way the missionary Glahn describes *inua* in 18th-century Greenland, and in this way indicates the universal content of the concept among the Inuit (Glahn 1771: 347).

Such communication was important at the end of the 19th century, where the quantity of seals was rapidly decreasing, and with the symbol of their *inua*, which appeared so commonly on hunting equipment and barrelwork, a direct connection to the ritual relationships between hunter and quarry was created. Here, too, lies the explanation of why the Europeans did not get to know more than they could see with their own eyes, which was that the hunting equipment was particularly beautiful and that "everybody makes his own ornaments on his objects" (Holm 1887: 151),<sup>173</sup> after which there apparently was no more to ask about.

Also on the mission stations in South Greenland in the 19th century, and particularly in the area of Cape Farewell, the newly arrived people kept up the custom of showing respect for their quarry when it was brought into the house (Petersen 1957: 36). But this insight into the East Greenlandic mentality presents us with the question of why the general situation of crisis in Southeast Greenland produced the unique material evidence just exactly in Ammassalik.

The answer hardly lies in the relative isolation of the place, which was a result of the increased depopulation of the regions further south, since this was rapidly compensated for by longer trading journeys, where there was a possibility of settling on the southwest coast. We should rather look at the continuance of the society as the expression of a choice, a cultural strategy, which strengthened the institution that could maintain these ritual relationships, namely shamanism. For even if this institution when the Europeans arrived was not considered very highly, yet "people believe in them [i.e. the shamans] out of fear for the damage which they could cause by their arts" (Holm 1887: 129).<sup>174</sup> And just exactly this institution appears to have been strengthened by the riveted reliefs of seals and helper spirits, which served as a special pictorial language for the real people in power in society, namely the shamans. It was their implements which were the first to be decorated in order to ensure the society's survival, and this practice was extended to include the whole of society in a genuine enculturation process, in which "both boys and

girls from thirteen to fifteen years old could perform these tasks" (Holm 1887: 151).<sup>175</sup>

The society found itself in other words in a situation where the possibility of escaping from the crisis was under pressure from conditions imposed from outside. However, they had the ritual measures for counter-acting the dwindling catches, and it is also known from periods in the country's prehistory that external influences on a society can be associated with an increased appearance of artistically carved figures, which thus "becomes pedagogical implements for the shaman, who by their help can illustrate his techniques and experiences while exercising his function,"<sup>176</sup> a feature which especially the Dorset culture shows examples of (Appelt 2004: 183).

It appears however to be the Europeans in the Cape Farewell district who, with their completely strange attitude to resources and their use of an iconographic language, became the greatest challenge for the East Greenlandic society. The old woman Qingajaq, who sometime in the 1880s came to the west coast and was baptised as Susanne, told about her father, Ingersia, that he once considered travelling south to be baptised, but was advised not to by his sons, because "you cannot benefit being baptised; you will just come to a bad end. For *ingnerssuit* has told us that when he whom the baptised call Jesus appears at the end of the world to judge the baptised and the heathens, then *timersit*, the large dwellers of the hinterland, *ingnerssuit* and *akilinermiut* will join together in battle against this Jesus and kill him; and then the baptised will be left in clefts and chasms, while the heathens themselves will make their way up to heaven – and Ingersia therefore decided not to get baptised" (Rasmussen 1906: 173, our italics).<sup>177</sup>

Here we see a classic situation with a meeting of cultures, where one of the parties chooses side, as it was expressed in 1884 about current customs and the shaman's role in Ammassalik, "as I am used to it, I cannot give it up" (Holm 1887: 148).<sup>178</sup> Here the cultural tradition was strengthened, and in this case this happened through a revitalisation of their own religion and demonisation of the other. In this religious enculturation process it was the shamans who consolidated the society through the choice of a figurative language which made extensive use of reliefs, which in this way could ensure cultural and social integrity in Ammassalik for a while. In this situation, the purpose of the hunting implements becomes – in short – to open the larder of nature rather than just controlling and dominating it (cf. Ingold 2000: 290).

The only contemporary parallel to "placing carved figures of animals on practically everything where there is a suitable place for them" was found by Holm in Alaska (1887: 152–153). Here it was the symbols of



the Russian orthodox church service which stood in contrast to the Eskimo tradition, “when they saw the Russian priests in embroidered robes performing the complicated offices of the church it was believed that they were witnessing the white man’s method of celebrating a mask festival similar to their own” (Nelson 1899: 422). But neither in this case do we get any explanation of the significance of the figures which Holm refers to. We can conclude that we with our focus on catch failure and cultural crisis, which the institutions of society could do nothing to deal with, and which became the reason for the depopulation of the coast of East Greenland in the 19th century, have achieved some insight into the mental universe which many of the immigrant East Greenlanders in the Cape Farewell area found themselves in even after their baptism. We shall in the following chapters look more closely at their new existence in the so-called Danish West Greenland.

## VI. Demography and mobility in the Cape Farewell area 1824–1900

If the size of the population in the Cape Farewell area at the start of the 19th century is uncertain, there is certainly no doubt about the statistics for the remaining, largest part of the century. The Moravian missionaries produced summaries of their congregations on the basis of their church registers, and sent census papers or lists of inhabitants to both the Danish authorities in Copenhagen and the leaders of the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut. Moreover, in 1834 the first of a series of censuses in Greenland was held.

The censuses and lists of inhabitants give an excellent summary of the development of the population in the Friedrichsthal district as a whole, and of the development in the distribution of the population between the mission station and the surrounding settlements. In addition the material contains a good deal of other information. As a rule, the various lists describe each individual by name and – with some variations – include information on age, marital status, family relations, division into households and occupation. In certain cases there is, moreover, also information on who the owner of the house is, whether the house had a heating stove, whether the individual hunters owned a kayak, a women's boat and a tent, and other remarks where appropriate. This information provides a solid material for also shedding light on a number of other demographic features such as the size of families, relationships between families, family living conditions and mobility, and for looking at any changes in these in the course of the century. This gives information which extends the demographic investigation from Friedrichsthal performed by Heinz Israel (1978), which primarily deals with the period around 1890.

The censuses for Greenland distinguish between Greenlanders ("real Greenlanders"), mixtures, i.e. descendants from mixed marriages, and Europeans. The mixtures were often employed by the Trading Company, and later on by the ecclesiastical and educational authorities, but from a legal point of view they were considered as Greenlanders (Gad 1976: 23–24, 29–30). Even if members of the Moravian congregation in their daily life on hunting trips, visits to trading stations etc. had contact with other Greenlanders, it was as previously pointed out not normal for them to marry people outside their own congregation. There were, furthermore, no mixed marriages in the Moravian congregations, and thus no mixtures appear in the lists from Friedrichsthal.

With the expansion of the Trading Company (Ikigaat 1834, Pamialluk 1848 and Itilleq 1893), people from the Danish congregation also moved to these areas, but only in very limited numbers. It has most often just been the outlier and his family and servants, who have all belonged to the Danish congregation, and in connection with the censuses and lists of inhabitants they appear under the Danish congregation.

The missionaries and their families are included in the material for Friedrichsthal, but as a special group, and we omit them in the rest of this chapter. Our treatment of the population and its composition therefore deals exclusively with the Greenlandic congregation under the Friedrichsthal mission station.

### Population numbers in Friedrichsthal

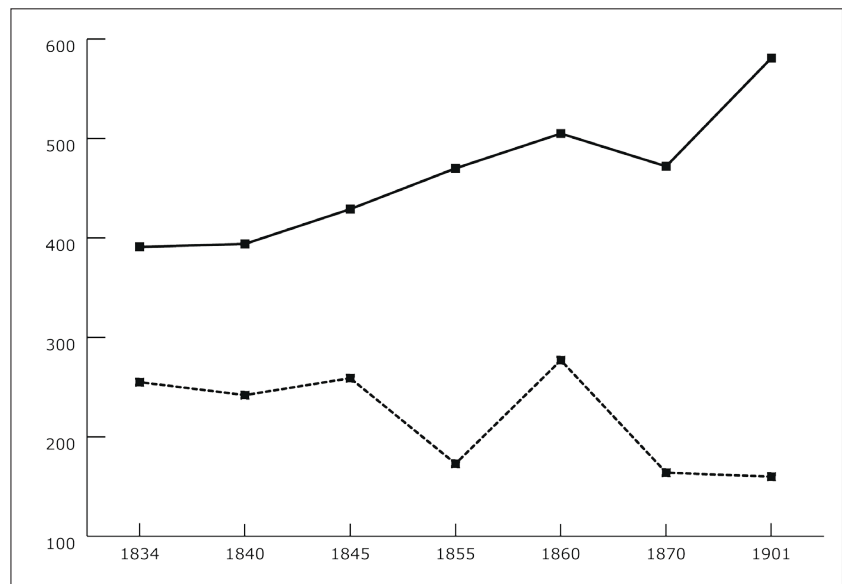
From 1834 to 1901, the population in the Friedrichsthal district increased from 391 to 581 persons, an overall increase of 48%. In the same period, the population of West Greenland as a whole increased by 42%. With the extra additional population which came to the Friedrichsthal district through immigration from East Greenland, one might have expected a more notable increase in relation to the rest of the country. But firstly there are large variations in the growth of the population in the individual areas of Greenland, and secondly in certain places there is even a fall in the population, which makes the numbers hard to compare (Grønlands Styrelse 1942: 418, table 22).

**Table 2**  
*The population of the Friedrichsthal district 1834–1901*

	Friedrichsthal	Settlements	Total
1834	255	136	391
1840	242	152	394
1845	259	170	429
1855	173	297	470
1860	277	228	505
1870	164	308	472
1901	160	421	581

Source: RA: Folketællinger i Grønland.

In 1901, the total population of the district was 581 persons. In the previous year, the Moravian Brethren had left Greenland, and the district was now included on the same footing as other areas in the Danish administration, trading and mission, which however did not have any noticeable effect on the size of the population. At this time, the immigrant East Greenlanders and their descendants in the previous Moravian congregation made up 20% of the population in Julianehåb District (2,979 persons) and just about 5% of the total population of West Greenland (11,190 persons) (Grønlands Styrelse 1942: 418, table 18). Thus around 1900 the Cape Farewell area was, seen from a Greenlandic point of view, an area with a relatively large population.



**Fig. 70.** Size of the population in the Friedrichsthal district 1834–1901.

The upper graph of the figure shows the total number of inhabitants in the Friedrichsthal congregation from 1834 to 1901, while the lower graph shows how large a portion of the population lived at the mission station itself in the same period. The difference gives the number of people living in settlements outside the mission station. After the establishment of the mission station in 1824 and the initial massive increase in size, the congregation grew steadily from 1834 to the end of the century, except for a small decrease in the population in the years around 1870. During the first years up to two thirds of the congregation lived at the mission station. This tendency changed from the middle of the century, and in the rest of the period the increase in population took place in the settlements, while the population at Friedrichsthal made up a smaller and smaller part of the total population. Source: RA Folketællinger i Grønland.

The growth in population in the Friedrichsthal district from the establishment of the mission station in 1824 until its closure in 1900 was uneven. In the first short period after the establishment of the mission station, a large number of people moved in from the surrounding population and from the people in the nearby areas of the east coast, after which the population remained relatively unchanged in the period up to about 1840. From the middle of the 19th century, there was a smooth increase, followed by a drop in the population around 1870. This period of decline was in its turn followed in the last years of the century by a marked increase in the population, after which the population reached its maximum of almost 600 persons in the year 1901. This last increase is, amongst other things, a consequence of more intense immigration from the middle of the 1880s. In general the population continued to grow throughout the century, but there are periods with unchanged or even falling numbers of inhabitants. The variations in the size of the population are explained by Israel (1978: 133–134) as consequences of the concentration of the population, variations due to excess births in good years and high mortality rates in poor years. To this must be added the immigration from East Greenland (Fig. 70).

Stagnation or even reduction of the population can thus be explained by the high mortality rate in poor years. Another reason can be changes in fertility due to cultural factors. It has been shown that an extremely large excess of women, combined with new forms of marriage and sexual morality, which the Moravian congregation had introduced into the area, led to a birth rate which was far below that in the rest of Greenland (Marquardt 2002). And as we shall see later, both the immigrant groups and the society in the Cape Farewell area were characterised by a large excess of women, while polygamy was abolished and the immigrants had a new sexual morality imposed on them.

The table also shows that the development in the population, apart from in the very first years, took place outside Friedrichsthal, while the number of inhabitants at the mission station itself fell throughout the period. This is particularly obvious between 1845 and 1855. It must be seen as a consequence of the considerable efforts on the Danish side to counteract the tendency to concentrate the congregation around the mission station, including the setting up of the trading station at Pamialluk in 1848, which we have discussed previously. The number of settlements – and thus the overall pattern of settlement – varies over the whole period, and we return to this later.



## Origins and birthplace

The census of 1845 contains, as the only one, additional information about the inhabitants' place of birth, and the distribution is shown in Table 3.

**Table 3**

*Friedrichsthal's population in 1845, according to place of birth*

<b>East Greenland</b>	203
<b>Friedrichsthal</b>	147
<b>Settlements near Friedrichsthal</b>	77
<b>Ikigaat (Østprøven)</b>	2
<b>Total</b>	429

Twenty years after the establishment of the Friedrichsthal mission station and the concentration of the population in and around it, about half of the congregation was made up of persons who were born in East Greenland or "Østbygden" (English: "the East Settlement"), which is the term used in the original material. At the same time, these people formed by far the largest part of the adult population. These are the groups who in 1824 and the following years settled in the area and were received into the Moravian congregation. On the other hand, in 1845 the children and young people were typically born in Friedrichsthal or one of the surrounding settlements, a tendency which must have become more marked in the following period. When such a large proportion of the children was born in Friedrichsthal itself, and a smaller number in the settlements, this is a reflection of the intense concentration of the population at the mission station during the first years. Hundred and forty-seven persons were born at the mission station, while seventy-seven were born in "Frederiksdal parish," as the area outside the mission station and thus including the settlements is called in the census, but this may also cover cases where the parents from Friedrichsthal have been at their summer hunting grounds, e.g. on Kitsissut.<sup>179</sup> Thus the information in the table is a consequence and confirmation of the strong concentration of the immigrant population at the mission station in the early years.

### Distribution of the population by sex and age

The material from the first census in Greenland in 1834 contains, in addition to a list of all the inhabitants, also a table which on the basis of the data from the census shows its distribution according to age and sex for the whole of the Julianehåb district, divided up into the Colony (i.e. Julianehåb and its outposts), the Lichtenau missionary area and the Friedrichsthal missionary area. Here Friedrichsthal shows marked differences from the two other areas.

**Table 4**  
*Distribution of the population by age and sex in Friedrichsthal congregation 1834*

Age	Men	Women	Fraction in %	Lichtenau (%)	Julianehåb (%)
0–10	63	43	28	28	27
11–20	64	56	31	24	23
21–30	38	47	22	20	18
31–40	21	25	12	13	14
41–50	6	12	5	9	12
51–60	1	7	2	4	5
61–	0	0	0	2	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: RA: Folketællinger i Grønland.

The eight servant women, who in the list for Friedrichsthal are registered separately, were not included in the original table. This explains the difference between the total number of inhabitants shown in this table (383) and in Table 2 (391). We do not know their age, and so it is not possible to place them in the appropriate groups of women.

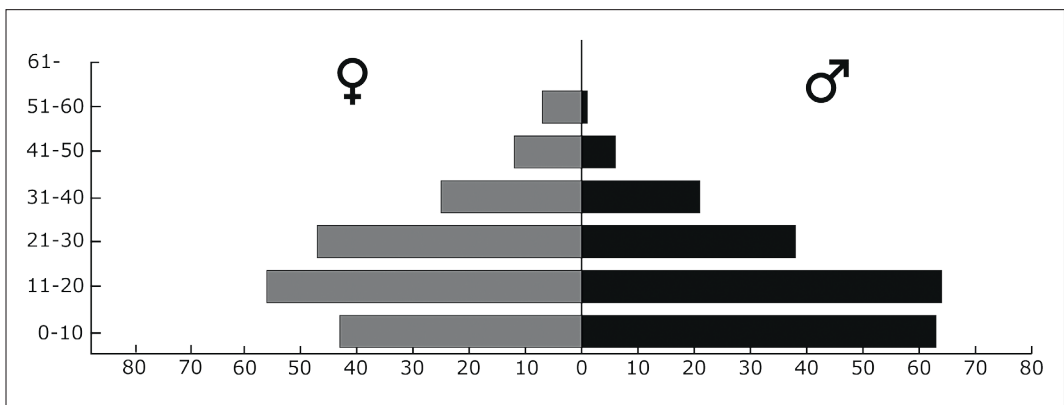
The numbers in the table give a clear message: In 1834, no less than 59% of the population in Friedrichsthal and the surrounding settlements were children and young people between 0 and 20 years old. For comparison, we include the corresponding percentages for Lichtenau and Julianehåb, which are 52 and 50% respectively.

Another notable feature is that among the children and young persons at Friedrichsthal there were many more boys than girls (127 vs. 99), and this difference can be seen most clearly in the youngest group (0–10 years), where there are sixty-three boys, but only forty-three girls.

Such a difference cannot be seen in the data for Lichtenau and Julianehåb.

On the other hand, women made up the large majority of the adult population in Friedrichsthal in 1834, where there were 91 women and 66 men over twenty years old. To these must be added eight women who are registered as servants (cf. note to Table 4). Of the women, twenty-seven (30%) were widows. In the entire population, there were only twenty-six persons (7%) over forty years of age, and among these there were three widowers and fifteen widows. Thus there were quite a lot of widows, but some of them can have been second wives for a hunter before they joined the Moravian congregation, where polygamy was not permitted. In an investigation of social and occupational changes in the Greenlandic congregation at Neuheerhuth in the 18th century, Israel provides evidence (1969: 25) that men with several wives could well be allowed to keep these after baptism. In the material which forms the basis of the current investigation there are no examples of hunters at Friedrichsthal being registered as having several wives. On the other hand, a number of them are registered as maintaining widows and their children, if any, and this can cover cases of previous second wives.

The sixty-six men over twenty years old made up 17% of the population, and the entire burden of maintenance has lain on this group. This



**Fig. 71.** Population in Friedrichsthal congregation in 1834 divided according to age and sex. The population pyramid for 1834 must be assumed to give a picture of the composition of the population which is close to that found in the Inuit society before European influence. Children and young persons made up far more than half of the population, and only a small number got to be more than fifty years old. Boys were clearly in the majority, which can be a consequence of the fact that in times of crisis girls were abandoned or put out into the cold. On the other hand, the risks of living as a hunter meant that many hunters died, and there had been an overweight of adult women with respect to men, so there was a balance between the total number of boys/men and girls/women. Source: RA Folketællinger i Grønland.

corresponds to the information which we have previously referred to, where it is stated that each hunter on average had to provide food, skins etc. for five–six persons (Fig. 71).

The data alone bear witness to a population which has lived a hard and risky life with a very high rate of mortality. Their condition of health has been poor, and the occupation of hunter has led to many accidents with fatal results. Many hunters have died on hunting trips, and the surviving widows and children have been dependent on other members of society taking over the burden of their maintenance. In periods with poor catches, there was a high risk of death by starvation, and in such situations it was common in the original society that widows and orphans were killed or abandoned, and thus left to die (Robert-Lamblin 2006). It is therefore natural to conclude that the skew distribution between boys and girls in Friedrichsthal in 1834 which we have demonstrated here is a consequence of the population – or parts of it – in the years leading up to their immigration to West Greenland having experienced times of hardship, and that newly born or young girls have been exposed. And tales which have been passed down also include ones which tell of children or whole families being exposed, which is also reported from Southeast Greenland (Rasmussen 1906).

The data presented here show the population situation in 1834, i.e. just a few years after the establishment of the mission station in the Cape Farewell area and immigration which up to 1831 yearly increased the size of the population. It must be assumed that at this time there had not yet been any noticeable effect on the composition of the population as a result of immigration from West Greenland. Thus it is natural to conclude that the picture which we get of the population of the district in the time immediately before the immigration simultaneously reflects the situation in Southeast Greenland, which the newly arriving population came from – that is to say, the original Eskimo society.

Life under the new conditions seems however to have affected the composition of the population, at least in one respect. In the Moravian Brethren's archive there is a table for 1840 which, as in the case of 1834, shows the distribution of the population by age and sex in the Friedrichsthal congregation.<sup>180</sup> In the years from 1834 to 1840 there had only been a very modest level of immigration, and the total population (excluding Europeans) is also more or less unchanged (394 in 1840, as opposed to 383 in 1834), but now, in contrast to six years earlier, there were more women than men (201 and 193 respectively). And this entire change can be ascribed to changes in a single age group, namely those between 0 and 10 years old, where there in 1840 were exactly as many boys as girls, fifty of each, whereas there in 1834 had been many more boys than

girls in this age group. There can only be one explanation for this: after their affiliation to the Moravian congregation, the custom of exposing or killing baby girls had ceased.

An overall, broader interpretation of the information about the population from the census in 1834 can be attempted via a comparison with corresponding data from later periods. The table below shows data from the census in 1901, and once again gives the distribution by age and sex in the district – which now, after the Moravians left, and the mission had been transferred to the Danish mission, was called Frederiksdal. This time the data from the Cape Farewell area are compared with data from the whole of West Greenland.

**Table 5**

*Distribution of the population by age and sex in Frederiksdal district 1901*

Age	Men	Women	Fraction in %	West Greenland in %
0–10	64	78	24	27
11–20	63	80	25	21
21–30	46	53	17	18
31–40	32	38	12	13
41–50	29	34	11	10
51–60	17	33	9	7
61–69	3	11	2	3
70–	0	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>254</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

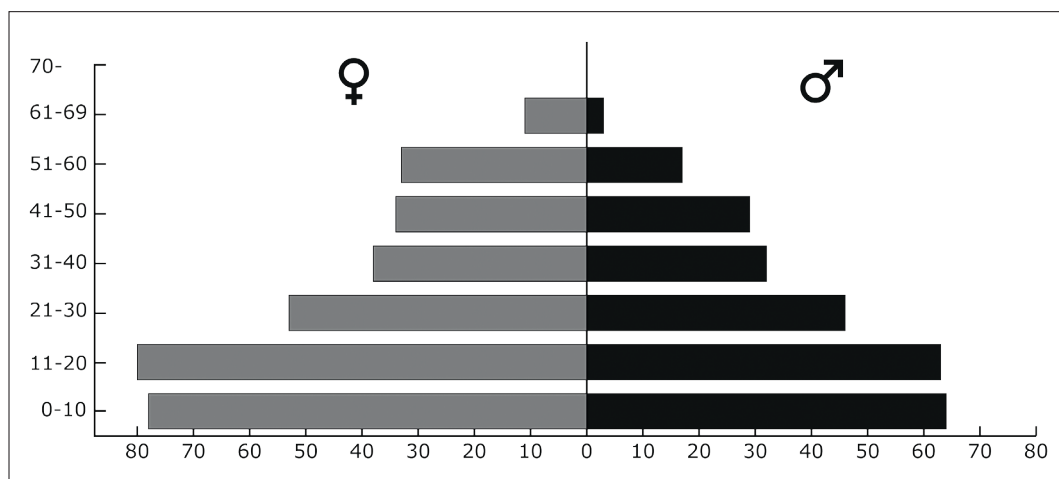
Source: RA: Folketællinger i Grønland; Grønlands Styrelse 1942: table 22.

After the Friedrichsthal congregation's transfer to the Danish mission, the name "Frederiksdal" was used. On the front page of the list of inhabitants for 1901, the following remark has been added: "Those persons for whom a question mark appears beside their age are all previous heathens from the east coast."<sup>181</sup> However, an age is given for all these persons, and even if there are individual cases where the estimated age is wrong, this will not affect the overall picture. The list of inhabitants also includes Jens Chemnitz, who was at the time appointed as superior catechist in Frederiksdal, together with his family (eight persons in total). These have been omitted from the table here.



The data in the table show that in 1901 the distribution between the group of children and young people on the one hand and the group of adults on the other hand is more or less the same in Frederiksdal and the whole of West Greenland. The same observation applies to the distribution of men and women. Due to the hunter's occupation being risky, there is still a big difference in the numbers of men and women: Frederiksdal 254 men (44%) and 327 women (56%), West Greenland 5198 men (47%) and 5976 women (53%), but there were no longer large relative differences between the two areas. The noticeable difference between 1834 and 1901 in Friedrichsthal is seen in the ratio of boys to girls: whereas there in 1834 were many more boys, in 1901 there was an excess of girls. This development confirms the assumption that the population of Southeast Greenland, after having settled in West Greenland, no longer killed or exposed girls in times of hardship, either because this was forbidden or else because in the new society there were better possibilities for avoiding death by starvation (Fig. 72).

On one important point, conditions in the Cape Farewell area differed significantly from those in West Greenland seen as a whole, and this was with respect to length of life. Whereas about 1% of the population of West Greenland in 1901 was aged seventy or more, there was nobody in the Cape Farewell area in this age group. As the information in the table above



**Fig. 72.** Population in Frederiksdal district in 1901 divided according to age and sex.

The figure shows the division of the population according to age and sex in Frederiksdal in 1901, the year after the Moravian missionaries left Greenland. Some marked changes can be seen in relation to 1834: There were now just as many boys as girls, and as there were still many fatal accidents among the hunters, a large excess of women arose. Children and young persons now made up a smaller proportion than in 1834 – roughly half – while there were more elderly persons. Source: RA Folketællinger i Grønland.

demonstrates, in that year, four persons (one man and three women) in West Greenland were eighty years old or more, whereas the oldest people in Frederiksdal were all sixty-seven: Renatus, living in Illorsuatsiaat, Rosine, living in Illukasik and Henriette, living in Anorliuitsoq.

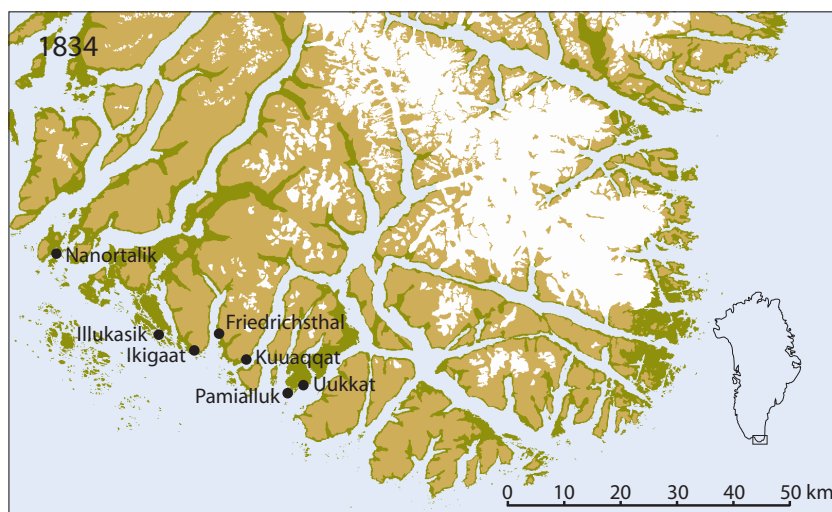
Despite these differences, it is in general the case that the population in Friedrichsthal, from the time when the first immigrants from East Greenland settled at the mission station in 1824 until the last ones did so in 1900, have been exposed to an influence and a development, after which the composition of the population to a great extent corresponded to the rest of the colonised part of Greenland.

## **Distribution of the population by settlements**

The population lists and delegation lists from the Moravian Brethren and the census results from the Danish authorities give us, in addition to information about the size of the population and its distribution with respect to age and sex etc., precise information about where in the district the population lived in the year in which the count took place. Starting from the data which can be found in the Appendix, we now consider three examples which show the distribution of the population in the settlements in the Cape Farewell area in three selected years, namely 1834, 1855 and 1901. The aim of this is to get a general idea of mobility in the area in that part of the 19th century during which the population concerned belonged to the Moravian congregation.

The material from the Moravian Brethren's lists and the Danish censuses refers to about twenty-five identifiable localities which in the period concerned were inhabited for shorter or longer periods of time (see Appendix). In addition to these, there can however have been places, which have only been inhabited for a very short time, for which we have no information. This is for example the case for Illukoq south of Itilleq (Raahauge et al. 2005: 12). In addition, there are individual cases where some of the congregation's members lived in a settlement e.g. Papikitsoq, whose inhabitants belonged to the Danish congregation, and which is thus outside the Cape Farewell area.

A map of the district's inhabited settlements in 1834 shows a strong concentration of the congregation in Friedrichsthal and a few settlements in the immediate neighbourhood of the mission station (Fig. 73). This strong concentration is accentuated by the fact that the main part of the population lived in Friedrichsthal itself, where the population in the following period continually rose and in 1850 had reached 300 persons. In the period 1833–1850, the population at the



**Fig. 73.** Inhabited places in the Friedrichsthal district in 1834. During the first years after the establishment of the mission station in Friedrichsthal, the Moravian congregation lived at the mission station itself or at a number of small settlements close to it. Source: RA Folketællinger i Grønland.

mission station made up between 56% and 70% of the total registered population in the district.

The complex of problems connected with the strong concentration of population and the Danish authorities' efforts to persuade or force the Moravian missionaries to spread their congregation has been described above. From the middle of the century, the population's pattern of settlement shifted further to the south, and in 1855 there were fourteen inhabited settlements as opposed to six in 1834 (Fig. 74). A large part of the population was by then living near the newly established Danish trading station of Pamialluk and in settlements in Ilua, the fjord system behind Pamialluk Island. Even if the number of inhabitants at the mission station had fallen noticeably, Friedrichsthal was still the numerically largest settlement in the Cape Farewell area. It continued to be so for the rest of the century, but at the same time the population in Pamialluk rose continually until 1880, and the number of inhabited settlements in the Ilua area stabilised.

In the final fifteen years of the 19th century, a further shift towards the south took place, and an increasing portion of the congregation lived in settlements close to Cape Farewell (Fig. 75). This coincides with the immigration of the last large groups in the period 1887–1900. It has previously been mentioned that establishment of the outpost of Itilleq in 1893 had, contrary to expectations, been unable to prevent the last people

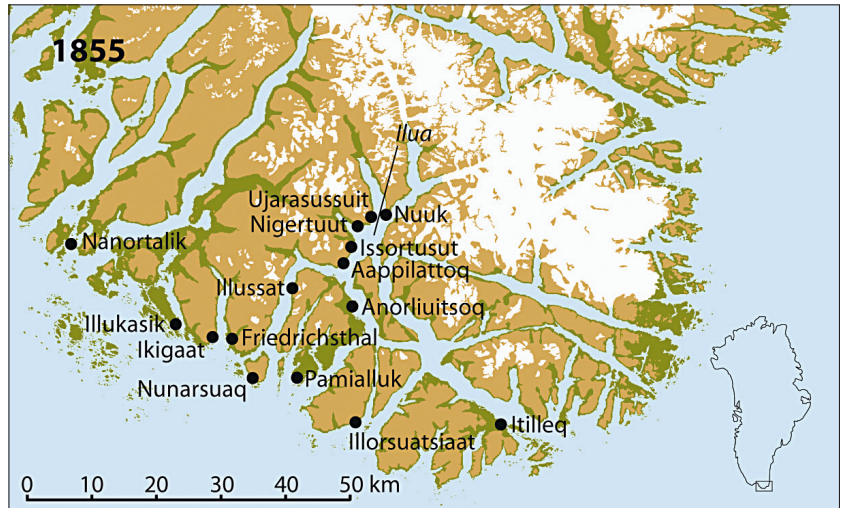


Fig. 74. Inhabited places in the Friedrichsthal district in 1855. In the middle of the century, the population in the Moravian congregation under Friedrichsthal was spread out over a larger number of settlements and covered a large part of the district, including Ilua, the area behind the large islands which lie out towards the open sea. This was not least a result of the Danish authorities' strong resistance to the Moravian missionaries' desire to concentrate the congregation around the mission station, and to the establishment of the trading station at Pamialluk in 1848. Source: RA Folketællinger i Grønland.

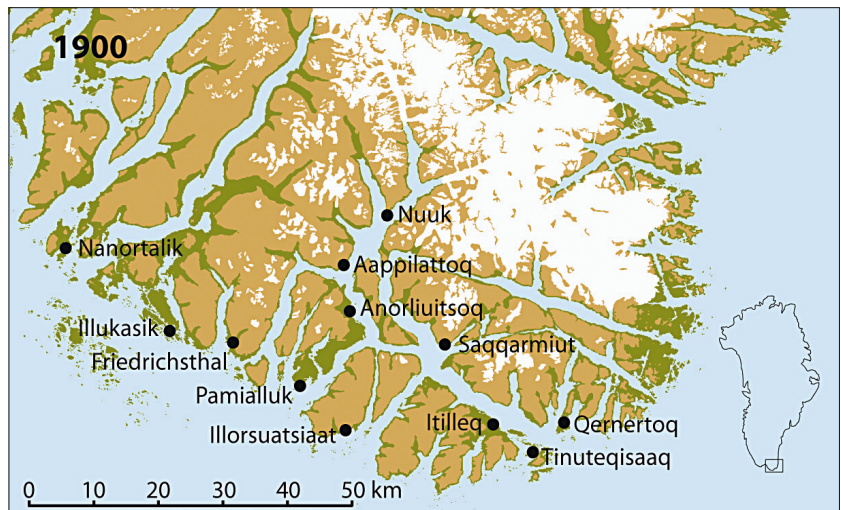


Fig. 75. Inhabited places in the Friedrichsthal district in 1900. In 1893, the Trading Company established an outpost at Itilleq, and the Danish authorities' efforts to spread the population had now borne fruit. Thus when the Moravian Brethren left Greenland in 1900, the congregation in Friedrichsthal was living in ten settlements spread evenly over the western part of the Cape Farewell area, in addition to the mission station itself. Source: RA Folketællinger i Grønland.

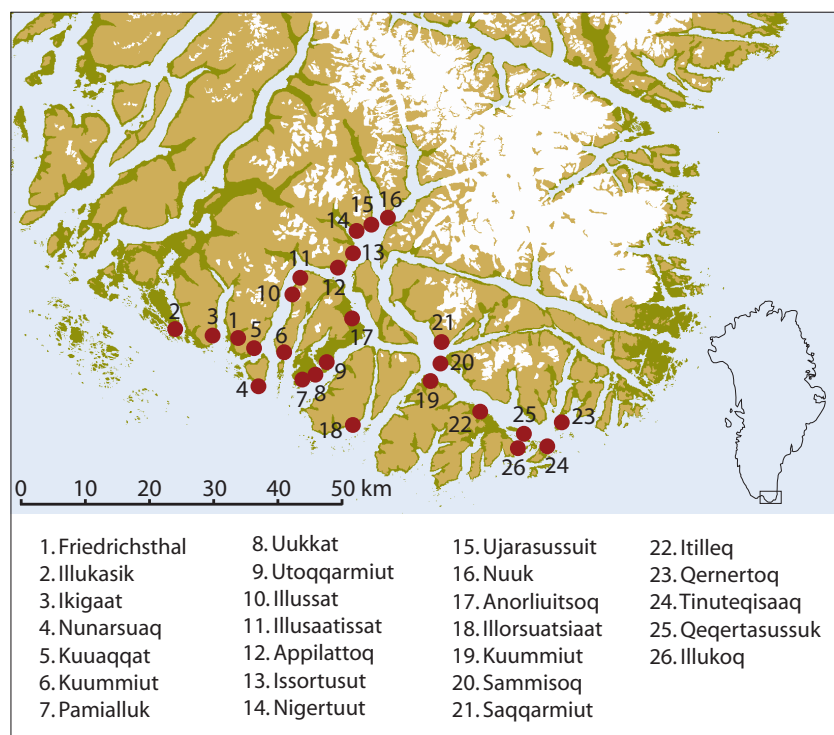
in Southeast Greenland from settling at the mission station. At its autumn meeting on 25 September 1895, the Julianehåb Board of Guardians therefore decided to send the inspector a request for permission to allow free trading of all goods at Itilleq, with the following motivation: “The station at Itivdleq was presumably originally established for the heathens, but the region is in fact only inhabited by Westerners who are accustomed to European food.”<sup>182</sup> It can however be shown that, for example, some of the fifty persons who settled in 1887 at Friedrichsthal trickled out as time went by and went to live in the settlements, e.g. in the area around Itilleq (Jensen 2002b). Even if the establishment of the outpost did not fulfil the intention of stopping immigration from East Greenland, it seems – at least for some groups of the region’s population – to have contributed to encouraging people to move out to the southernmost part of the area. Taken as a whole, these examples of the distribution of the population in the Cape Farewell area show that great changes took place in the pattern of settlement in the course of a relatively short period. One of the reasons for this is presumably pressure from the authorities to get the population to spread out more. The timing of these changes in the pattern of settlement coincide with the three periods of immigration which have already been discussed: The first rapid period with a strong concentration at and around the mission station; then a period of slackening with reduced immigration but with people moving out to the area around Pamialluk and Ilua instead; and finally, after the middle of the 1880s, a last period of heavy immigration together with moving out to the southernmost part of the Cape Farewell area.

Both in the middle and at the end of the century, the people who moved out at first lived spread out over many settlements, after which some of the new settlements were again abandoned, and the total number of settlements therefore reduced. Individual settlements, such as Qeqertasussuk, were inhabited for such a short time that they are not mentioned in the censuses, but only in a single list of inhabitants from the Moravian congregation. And it is possible that inhabited places over and above the previously mentioned Illukoq south of Itilleq are not mentioned in the material. From the censuses and lists of inhabitants, it is however possible to demonstrate that in 1855 there were nine settlements in the Ilua area, including Pamialluk, and in 1870 there were five. In 1896 there were five settlements in the area near Itilleq and in 1901 there were four.<sup>183</sup>

Moving out in this way to a large number of settlements, followed by stabilisation on fewer places, has also been shown to have taken place by Robert-Lamblin for the Ammassalik area in the years after the setting up of the trading station there in 1894 (Robert-Lamblin 1986: 77–79). Thus



this demographic change seems to be a common tendency in this type of society, when external actors settle for longer periods among or close to the indigent population. By the end of the century, after the last wave of emigration from East Greenland and after the Moravian Brethren had left the country, there were eleven inhabited places distributed evenly over the whole region (Fig. 76).



**Fig. 76.** The map shows all the known settlements which during the period 1824–1900 have been inhabited for a shorter or longer time by people who were members of the Moravian congregation in Friedrichsthal. Most of them appear in the censuses 1834–1901 and in the Moravian lists of inhabitants, while a few are known from other material. Certain settlements mentioned in the censuses (Ippimmiut, Ikerasak and Qeqertatsiaq) have not been identified, while other settlements can have been occupied in periods without being mentioned in the historical material. Thus when the Moravian Brethren left Greenland in 1900, the congregation in Friedrichsthal was living in ten settlements spread evenly over the western part of the Cape Farewell area, in addition to the mission station itself. Source: RA Folketællinger i Grønland.

## The families

As a rule, the persons in the censuses and list of inhabitants are registered family by family. The head of the family, which at least at the start and in the middle of the century was always the family's breadwinner, i.e. the hunter, is noted first, followed by his closest family and finally by the other persons who were attached to the family. The family from Friedrichsthal, who in the census of 1834 are listed first in the list of inhabitants, is a typical example:<sup>184</sup>

Name	Age	Status	Remarks
1. Joh. Michael	50x	married	
2. Mar. Sophie	48x	married	his wife
3. Johanna Elisabeth	24x	unmarried	their daughter
4. Samuel	14	unmarried	foster-child
5. Antonia	46x	widow	
6. Zephta	22	unmarried	} the widow's children
7. Louise	18	unmarried	
8. Nathaniel	12	unmarried	

Thus the family consisted of a couple, their child and a foster-son. In addition to these there were a widow and her children, whom the hunter also provided for. This family represents a perfectly normal family type throughout the century. In some of the lists, it is explicitly stated who is maintained by whom, and in some cases also their family relationship, if any. It can for example be the breadwinner's or his wife's parents (most often the mother) or siblings, or there may just be a statement that it is a widow and her children, if any. Here one should remember that when it says that a woman is a widow, this may mean it is the hunter's previous second wife. There is no help to be found in the material, which contains no information about such cases, or whether it really is the case that the woman's husband has died.

In 1834, the congregation at Friedrichsthal contained fifty families with 383 persons. This gives an average size of 7.7 persons per family throughout the district. For the mission station and the district's settlements, the numbers are 7.5 and 8 persons respectively. In the course of the century, the individual families came on average to have fewer members. However, the changes were not big ones, and in the last part of the 19th century it was still commonplace that a family could have various persons associated with it, whom the hunter maintained in addition to his own close family.

In several of the lists there is information about which families lived together, and in this way we get information about the numbers of houses and how many people lived in each house. At the beginning they could hold a large number of people. In 1840, the whole congregation's 394 inhabitants (sixty families) lived in nineteen houses, corresponding to twenty-one persons (three families) in each house. There were however big differences in house sizes from place to place – for example, in 1845 in Utoqqarmiut forty-two people were living in the settlement's only house, whereas in a single house in Illussat ten people<sup>185</sup> were living.

Whereas there were no big changes during the century in the composition and size of a normal family, there were considerable changes with respect to how the families lived. In the first part of the 19th century, the dwelling was a communal dwelling, whereas the form of dwelling at the end of the century had turned completely into small houses for individual families. In 1901 there was one family living in each house, whereas there had previously been three in each house, and the average numbers of inhabitants per house had fallen to 6.8. The sizes of the houses in the large and small inhabited places exhibit small differences, and the given examples indicate that average families were smallest in the larger inhabited places, the mission station and the central trading station, and largest in the settlements out in the district:

**Table 6**

*Distribution of people per house in Frederiksdal and district in 1901*

1st example:	Frederiksdal	6.7
	Rest of district	6.9
2nd example:	Frederiksdal,	6.7
	Pamialluk, Illukasik	5.6
	Rest of district	8.0

RA: Folketællinger i Grønland.

There can be several explanations for the new housing pattern. In the first part of the 19th century, the dwelling had been the traditional communal dwelling, which amongst other things had been used by large groups which often changed winter settlement (Gulløv 1986). In the first period after the setting up of the mission station, the population has retained the communal dwelling. After the establishment of Friedrichsthal and – in the course of the century – some fixed settlements in the district, mobility fell and the population in general became more stationary.

The change in housing pattern can also be explained as a consequence of an increase in incomes from trading in skins and blubber. Distribution of the take from hunting required a system of great solidarity, whereas a system with more income in the form of money could get the breadwinners to think more individually and thus in terms of smaller, individual dwellings (Petersen 1965). At the same time, the development towards smaller houses for individual family units has in all probability been strengthened by the efforts which the Danish authorities have made to improve dwelling conditions. Loans for building new houses have been given to some of the more enterprising hunters, amongst other things in connection with the efforts to spread the population. This tendency is also clearest in Pamialluk and Illukasik, which received a large part of the population which moved out.

In the Moravian Brethren's material a separate group of women – either widows or unmarried – who worked for the mission's people is often mentioned. In the first lists of inhabitants it can most often not be seen whether these servants lived by themselves or round about in the individual families. Not until we reach the list from 1870 is it made clear that the eight women who are "in service at the mission" lived in their own house.<sup>186</sup> In this way they do not seem to have been associated with a family with a permanent duty of maintenance. The establishment of an independent house for these women can incidentally look like a solitary relic from the Moravian system of dividing the population up into choirs which lived separately (Fig. 77).

The change in family and dwelling forms was noticeable for a number of other women, especially widows, and their children. At the end of the century there are examples of a woman, rather than a hunter, being listed first in a family, i.e. as the head of the family. An example of this is Benigne, born in 1846. Even if her situation should not be thought of as typical, it can nevertheless as a not exceptional example be seen as a contrast to the first family which we introduced at the start of this section. Benigne lived in 1890 in Friedrichsthal together with her husband Isak and their two children in house no. 16, and together with them lived Isak's brother with his wife and their two children. But in 1896, we can see from the last list of inhabitants in the congregation which we have from the Moravian Brethren, Isak had died, and the brother David had moved with his family to Illukasik, where they had got their own house. Benigne is registered as a widow and house owner, and now lived alone in the house together with her two children. There is no information about how Benigne earned a living.<sup>187</sup>

The original Eskimo society was built up around the families. The move to West Greenland and the establishment of a society run by Europeans



**Fig. 77.** The women servants in Friedrichsthal photographed outside their house. The missionaries took on a number of women who helped for example with the daily housekeeping and in connection with the preparations for meetings in the church. They were widows or young women, who in this way earned part of their keep. From at least the middle of the 19th century these women lived in their own house. Bohlmann 1900, Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 910.

led to the first changes in family patterns and dwelling forms for the immigrant East Greenlanders. The large dwelling communities were split up into smaller units based on the individual family, which must have meant a weaker social network for those who were already worst off. The social responsibility which lay in the traditional system of family relations was weakened, but on the other hand a certain amount of help from public funds was gradually introduced.



## **Mobility in the district of Friedrichsthal in the 19th century. The case of Tittus, Brigitte, Matthæus, Augusta and their descendants**

With the censuses and lists of inhabitants as the primary sources, we have in the previous section provided a series of pieces of information of mainly statistical nature about the population in the Friedrichsthal district in the 19th century. This information gives an overall picture of the development in the size of the population, its distribution with respect to age and sex, the size and composition of families, settlement and dwelling patterns, migration within the district and other factors.

In this section we shall look at similar factors, but now based on information which we can use to follow selected families through the same period. Most importantly, this will give us the possibility of getting closer to some of the inhabitants of the area and – even if we have no pictures of them – of “bringing these people to life.” From being part of our statistics they will be able to appear as individuals and the information about them will help to give us some insight into their life and its conditions.

The starting point here is a snapshot in 1845 of the settlement of Kuummiut in the western part of Pamialluk Island, not far from the place where the Danish trading station of Pamialluk was established three years later. In the available sources from this period, this is the first time that Kuummiut is registered as a settlement. In the year considered, there was just a single house there, and in it lived two families with a total of twenty-five persons. Who were these inhabitants, where did they come from, why did they live together in Kuummiut in 1845, where did they and their descendants live during the rest of the century, and does the material provide us with other statements about their life and its conditions? (Fig. 78).

No written material has been passed down by or specifically about these families, but their very existence has left its traces in the sources which we have used. By following these traces back in time to the period when the Moravian congregation was established in the Cape Farewell region and forward towards the end of the century, the individual unrelated pieces of information can be fitted together to give a complete view of some of the events and occurrences which have affected these families, and in this way it is possible to construct at least a frame within which their lives have played themselves out.

The primary source material is the censuses. From the first one in 1834 up to 1901, these give us information about where the selected families lived, their sizes, changing cohabitants etc. To this we must add the church register for Friedrichsthal for the period 1824–1900, which



**Fig. 78.** Kuummiut lies between Friedrichsthal and Pamialluk and was in the 19th century inhabited during several periods, including in 1845, when the Tittus and Brigitte and the Matthæus and Augusta families lived in the settlement's only house. In the foreground a ruin from the colonial time, where the remains of the roof's wooden construction can be made out. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

contains supplementary information about the congregation's members. The church register names in chronological order all the persons who were baptised in Friedrichsthal by the Moravian Brethren. In addition, the baptismal name and date of baptism are registered, and for those who had moved to the area from East Greenland also the original Greenlandic name. Where we mention this, it is reproduced in the orthography used in the church register. Finally there is in a number of cases information about family relationships, marriage, and the date and cause of death. The persons are often registered, and thus have been baptised, family by family, but there are also several examples of people being baptised at different times from the rest of the family (NKA 1824-1900). Finally, the Moravian Brethren's lists of inhabitants in certain cases give individual items of supplementary information which can provide more detailed knowledge about individual persons. The names of individuals often appear in different spellings, but to avoid confusion we choose here in each concrete case to use just one spelling form.

In the census for 1845,<sup>188</sup> the two families described below, consisting of twenty-five people who lived together in a common dwelling, were registered in Kuummiut. For each individual person, the name, age, marital status and family relationships are registered. As something peculiar to this census, each individual's place of birth is also given, and a distinction is made between East Greenland, Friedrichsthal and the Friedrichsthal district, in the last case without any information about which settlement the person concerned was born in.

First family:

Tittus, hunter (33, East Greenland)

Brigitte, his wife (32, East Greenland)

Their children:

Elisa (9, Friedrichsthal)

Esra (5, the district)

Josua (2, the district)

The husband's siblings;

Friedrica, unmarried (27, East Greenland)

Heinrich, unmarried (24, East Greenland)

The husband's relations:

Elisabeth, widow (41, East Greenland) and her 3 children

Maria (18, Friedrichsthal)

Amalia (8, Friedrichsthal)

Paulina (5, Friedrichsthal)

In addition:

David, unmarried hunter (19, Friedrichsthal) and his two siblings

Theresia, unmarried (24, Friedrichsthal)

Micha (14, Friedrichsthal).

Second family:

Matthæus, hunter (43, East Greenland)

Augusta, his wife (38, East Greenland)

Their children:

Tabea (16, the district)

Erdmuth (13, the district)

Blandina (7, Friedrichsthal)

Enoch (4, the district)

Abia (17, the district), their foster-son

The husband's relations:

Phoebe (46, East Greenland), unmarried, the husband's sister

Marianne (31, East Greenland), unmarried, the husband's sister

Joab (30, East Greenland), unmarried hunter

Daniel (23, East Greenland), unmarried hunter.

The two families who lived together in Kuummiut in 1845 were built up around the two breadwinners, Tittus and Matthæus, and their wives, Brigitte and Augusta. In addition to wives and children, some relatives of the two hunters – e.g. unmarried women, a widow and her two children – and also some adult hunters who could contribute to the catch were attached to the families. The children and young people were born in the area as a part of the congregation, some in Friedrichsthal and others in the district, which indicates some mobility among the relatives. The adults on the other hand were born in East Greenland and had immigrated into the area, where they had joined the Moravian congregation and been baptised. Thus they can be found in the church register among the many who were baptised in the years just after the establishment of the mission station.

The church register states that (174) Tittus, who was originally called Auamio, was baptised on 15 January 1826. He was 12 years old at the time. His parents (59) Abia (Oqāraq) and (60) Benigne (Tarte) and four younger siblings had been baptised as early as December 1824, i.e. as some of the very first in Friedrichsthal. There is no information on why Tittus was not baptised together with his parents and siblings. Tittus' parents died already in 1826 and 1828; the cause of death is not registered.

(133) Brigitte's (Tupernaqe) parents (65) Elisa (Ussuena)<sup>189</sup> and (66) Bibiana, who like Tittus' mother was originally called Tarte, were baptised and entered into the church register at the same time as Tittus' parents. Elisa died in 1833 and left Bibiana as a widow with four children. The following year, Tittus and Brigitte got married.

The other hunter from Kuummiut in 1845 was Matthæus. His original name was Kappaq and he was baptised in March 1827 at the age of about 25, and entered into the church register as number (238). From the information in the register it can be seen that Matthæus was a brother of the previously mentioned Elisa, Brigitte's father. In 1828, Matthæus got married to (108) Blandine. Matthæus and Blandine subsequently had two children, (293) Tabea and (376) Erdmuth, but the latter died in 1832 just one year old, and when the couple got yet another girl the following year, she was named in accordance with old Greenlandic custom after her dead sister, and baptised (448) Erdmuth.

Thus in 1834, Tittus and Brigitte were a quite young and newly married couple, of about 21 and 23 years of age respectively, and in the

census which was carried out that same year Tittus is registered as the breadwinner for the census' 30th family in Friedrichsthal. They do not have any children themselves, but nevertheless have a considerable burden of maintenance. They have living with them his siblings Augusta, Friedrica, Heinrich and Benjamin, who are 23, 15, 13 and 11 years old respectively, and also Brigitte's mother Bibiana (widow, aged 42) and Brigitte's siblings Cornelia, Simon, Amos, Sem and Pauline of between 15 and 1 years of age. This census just lists the families and does not give any information about which families live in the same houses. Thus we do not know whom (if anybody) Tittus, Brigitte and their families lived together with.

In the same year we find the couple Matthæus and Blandine and their two daughters at the settlement of Uukkat on Pamialluk Island. Together with them live his three sisters, Julia (widow, aged 40), Phoebe (unmarried, aged 37) and Marianne (unmarried, aged 19) and two 18-year-old boys, Tobia, who is Blandine's brother, and Joab, who is "taken on," i.e. taken into the family.<sup>190</sup>

At the next census, which took place in 1840,<sup>191</sup> Tittus and Brigitte still lived in Friedrichsthal. In connection with the registration, the individual houses were given numbers, and their house is denoted "house 12." According to the census they have the two children Elisa (aged 3) and Marthe (aged 1), but here the church register gives us some additional information. In June 1835, the couple had had their first child, a boy, who was baptised (512) Elisa after Brigitte's late father, but the child died already in February 1836. The following year they got yet another son, who was also baptised (544) Elisa. It is him who appears in the census. In 1839 they again got a son, who was baptised (596) Esra the same day as he was born. The rapid baptism indicates that the boy has been weak, and indeed he died shortly after, just nine days old. The Marthe who is mentioned is not their child, and it is uncertain who her parents were. Thus within four years the couple have had three children, of which only one has survived, but in return they have adopted a baby.

As persons attached to their family, only Tittus' three siblings Friedrica, Heinrich, who as an 18-year-old has the status of a hunter, and Benjamin are now registered. Brigitte's sister Cornelia (aged 22) has in the mean time got married to, and has moved in with, Otto (aged 26), who lives in the settlement of Kuuaqqat together with two brothers of respectively twenty-four and sixteen years of age. Otto is a hunter, but it is also stated that he is a "Schoolteacher" and that Cornelia is a "(female) Reader." They also have Bibiana, Cornelia's mother, living with them, and she has moved from Friedrichsthal together with three other of her children. Of these, Simon (aged 18) is "insane" (Danish: "sindssvag"). About Bibiana it says: "She and her dependents are maintained by her family and the nation."<sup>192</sup>



By the expression “are maintained by the nation” we understand that they received means to sustain life from the hunters there. Compared to 1834, the son (69) Amos is missing, as he died in 1835 aged about eleven.

In the census’s house number 12 in Friedrichsthal, Matthæus is now also living. After 1834, he and Blandine had got two daughters, (509) Pauline and (547) Pauline, but both of them died before they were a year old, and in September 1837 their mother, Blandine, died too. Already in November the same year, Matthæus gets married to (87) Augusta, who is Tittus’ eldest sister, and the following year they get a daughter, baptised (582) Pauline after her two late half sisters, but half a year later she is also dead. Yet another daughter, (608) Blandine, born in 1840 and named after Matthæus’ first wife, appears in the census. Together with his children from his first marriage, he has now moved to Friedrichsthal and lives together with his new brother-in-law Tittus and his family. Two of his sisters, Phoebe and Marianne, have moved together with him to Friedrichsthal, while the third sister (227) Julia, who was already a widow when they joined the Moravian congregation, is now herself dead without apparently having left any children. The boy Paulus (aged 13) is also registered as a part of the family, designated as a “foster-son.”

In 1840, the couple Andreas and Elisabeth and their two children, the unmarried Benigne (aged 24), and the very young couple Justus and Karitas, who at that time had no children, all lived in the same house as Tittus’ and Matthæus’ families.

After 1840, the two brothers-in-law Matthæus and Tittus and their families have left Friedrichsthal and settled in Kuummiut, where they were living at the time of the census in 1845. Tittus and Brigitte have got two more boys, (621) Esra and (670) Josua. On the other hand, the adopted or foster-daughter Marthe is not mentioned, and it is not immediately clear what her fate has been. Elisabeth and her husband Andreas lived with Tittus and Matthæus in Friedrichsthal in 1840, but in the mean time Andreas has died and Elisabeth and her children have followed on to Kuummiut, where they are maintained by Tittus, who is her relative. The family has also been extended with the young hunter David and his two sisters.

Matthæus and Augusta have got a son, and there is also a foster-son attached to the family. But their daughter (608) Blandine has died at the age of two. The 7-year-old Blandine who appears in the census cannot therefore be their daughter, but her relationship is not made clear by the material. Matthæus’ unmarried sisters still live with them, and three new persons have arrived, namely his relatives Joab and Daniel and a foster-son Abia.

On the other hand, the young couple who in 1840 were living together with the others in “house 12,” Justus and Karitas, are in 1845 still living in

Friedrichsthal, where we find them in the last house in the census. They now have two boys aged five and two, and live together with, amongst others, his brother Lucas, aged eighteen, and her sister Filipina, aged twenty-one. In the same house there also live Otto and Kornelia and the latter's mother and sister, whom we earlier saw together with Tittus and Brigitte. In 1840 they lived in Kuuaqqat, but have moved back to Friedrichsthal. They also have Benjamin (aged 22), "relative of the husband," living with them. This is Tittus' younger brother, who has chosen not to follow his brother to Kuummiut.

We have up to now chosen to follow the two couples Tittus and Brigitte and Matthæus and Augusta from their immigration from East Greenland to Friedrichsthal, until they live together in Kuummiut in 1845. They were well-established hunters. They had started a family and had, as the custom was, taken over the duty of maintaining other people. It can clearly be seen that these duties – and thus the sense of community – build on



**Fig. 79.** Anorliuitsoq with the remains of a house from the colonial time in the foreground. Towards the northeast the island of Annikitsoq with its huge massif can be seen. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

family relations. The relationships in this case do not just go via Matthæus' marriage to Tittus' sister. Tittus' wife Brigitte is Matthæus' niece. The two couples make up the kernel of the group which also maintains mothers who have become widows, and under-age and/or unmarried siblings. In addition there are some young couples.

In the census of 1855,<sup>193</sup> the two families have not only moved from Kuummiut, which is now uninhabited, but they also live in different places. Tittus and Brigitte have, now with six children, moved back to Friedrichsthal. They still have Tittus' sister Friedrica living with them. In addition, Renata (aged 43), with the designation "servant woman," is listed under their family.

Matthæus and Augusta, together with the sons Enoch and Paulus and Matthæus' sister Phoebe, have moved to the settlement of Anorliuitsoq in the fjord at Ilua (Fig. 79). The sister Marianne has also followed them to Anorliuitsoq, but now she is married to Joab, who has lived with the family for a long time, and they now have a daughter aged three. The young man Daniel and his family also live there. The Moravian Brethren's list of the population for the same year<sup>194</sup> contains some additional information, and it turns out that Daniel is Joab's brother, which explains why the two have kept together. Finally, the couple Justus and Theresia with three children are again living with Matthæus and his family. Phoebe is now the only one of Matthæus' sisters who is completely dependent on her brother. In the Moravian Brethren's designation list, there is a remark that she is lame, and this can be an explanation of why she never got married.

Five years later, in the census of 1860,<sup>195</sup> we have to go back to Friedrichsthal to find the two families. This census does not give any information about who lives together in the individual houses, but the two families are not listed one after the other, and so it is natural to assume that they no longer live together. Tittus and Brigitte are now forty-seven and forty-six years old respectively, and have six children, five boys and one girl:

Elisa (23 years old, hunter)  
 Esra (19 years old, bird hunter and fisherman)  
 Josua (16 years old, at present without kayak)  
 Lucas (14 years old, without kayak)  
 Amos (11 years old, without kayak)  
 Christiana (8 years old, disabled).

In 1860 Augusta is a widow, as Matthæus died in 1856. With her live the youngest children Enoch (aged 18) and Paulus (aged 10). Enoch has in spite of his young age taken over the maintenance of his mother and

young brother and is designated as “Hunter and breadwinner.” Of the two elder daughters, (448) Erdmuth died in 1857 at the age of 24; she was married and the mother of a boy, (967) Matthæus, who was barely a year old when his mother died. The family’s eldest daughter, (293) Tabea, was married in 1855 to (205) Sem, who however died in 1859, after which Tabea married (379) Aron in 1861. The Moravian Brethren’s designation lists for 1855 and 1866 respectively show that she originally moved with Sem to the settlement of Nigertuut, but with her second husband, Aron, she returned in 1866 to Friedrichsthal, where they lived in their own house.<sup>196</sup>

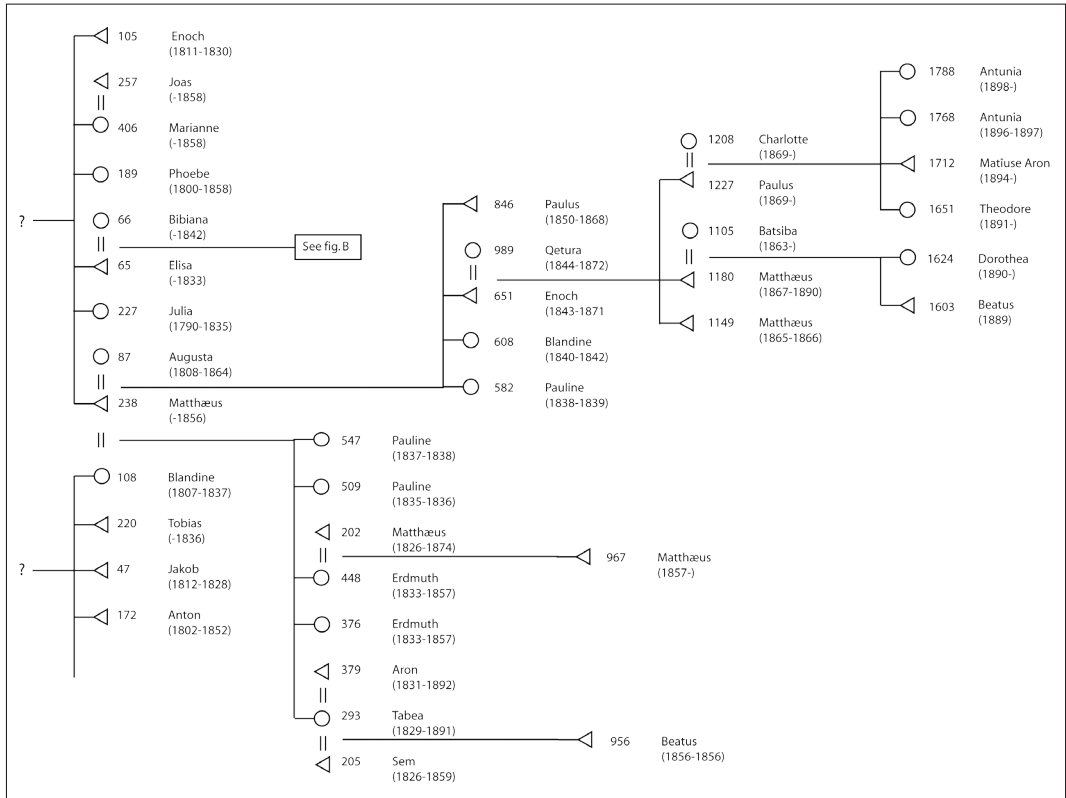
At the next census, which took place in 1870,<sup>197</sup> Tittus had also died, but Brigitte was still alive, and 56 years old. Together with all her children, of which there are now seven (the 9-year-old Joab is the latest arrival), she now lives in the settlement of Nuuk in the innermost part of Ilua. She lives with the three youngest children in a house for herself. The four eldest boys are now married and have children, and live together in another of the settlement’s houses in a group of fourteen persons. They maintain the entire family, which also includes the under-age sister of the wife of one of the boys.

This time Augusta was no longer alive. She died in 1864 and her youngest son Paulus died in 1868. Only two of her and Matthæus’ children are still alive, namely Tabea and Enoch. They live in Friedrichsthal, Tabea with her husband Aron and Enoch with his wife Qetura. (989) Qetura was an immigrant from East Greenland, was originally called Allianangitsoq and was baptised in 1858 at the age of fourteen. Her elder brother had been baptised the year before, and as early as 1852 their mother, the widow (874) Benedicta, had been baptised together with two sons, of which one was younger and the other older than Qetura. There is no information about why they were not all baptised together, or whether the family immigrated at the same time at all. Enoch and Qetura, too, had the experience that some of their children died, as their firstborn (1149) Matthæus died in 1866, when he was just one year old. In 1870 they have the two sons (1180) Matthæus and (1227) Paulus.

The next census was carried out in 1901.<sup>198</sup> It is not our intention here to identify each individual one of Tittus and Brigitte and Matthæus and Augusta’s descendants in the generation which had passed, but just to give some kind of status and an overview. Out of Tittus and Brigitte’s large group of children, the majority managed to become adults, marry and have children. Three of the sons were still alive in 1901, and lived as in 1870 in the settlement of Nuuk, but now in separate houses. Thus the family has kept together through the entire century (Figs. 80a, b, c and d).

Things went differently for Matthæus and Augusta’s children. Many of them died as children or in youth, and only two of them survived their

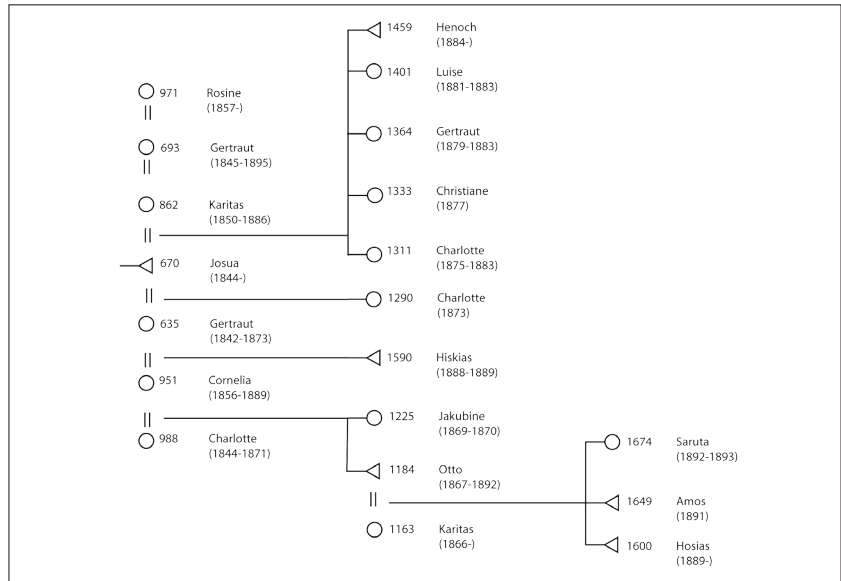
mother. The son Enoch died in 1871, and the following year his wife Qetura died and left the couple's two boys, aged five and three respectively. It is not clear who looked after them, but it could have been the boys' aunt on the father's side, Tabea, and her husband Aron, with whom the youngest son, Paulus, lived in 1890.<sup>199</sup> Of Enoch and Qetura's boys, Matthæus married (1105) Batsiba and in 1890 got a daughter, but died the same year, after which his widow some years later married a widower with two children.



**Fig. 80a.** This diagram gives, together with Figures 80b, c and d, an overall summary of the family relationships for the two families, Matthæus and Augusta and Tittus and Brigitte, who in 1845 lived together in the communal house in Kuummiut, and for their descendants. All the information comes from the church register for the Moravian congregation in Friedrichsthal, i.e. from the time when the first of them were baptised in 1824 to the last baptism in 1900, shortly before the Moravian missionaries left Greenland and the congregations were taken over by the Danish mission. Each individual is given with his or her number from the church register, and with the year of birth and year of death, where available. The parents of the first adult immigrants are not known, and this generation is therefore denoted by question marks (NKA 1824-1900). In this scheme, it is Matthæus, his wives Blandine and Augusta, and their descendants, who are in focus. Child mortality in the society of the time was high. Only a small number of Matthæus and Augusta's descendants reached adulthood and had children of their own, and the number of their descendants who were alive in 1900 was therefore small.







**Fig. 80c.** Tittus and Brigitte's son Josua lived to be what at the time would be considered an old man, and was married no less than six times. However, he did not have many children and the majority of these died early, some of them already in the same year as they were born.

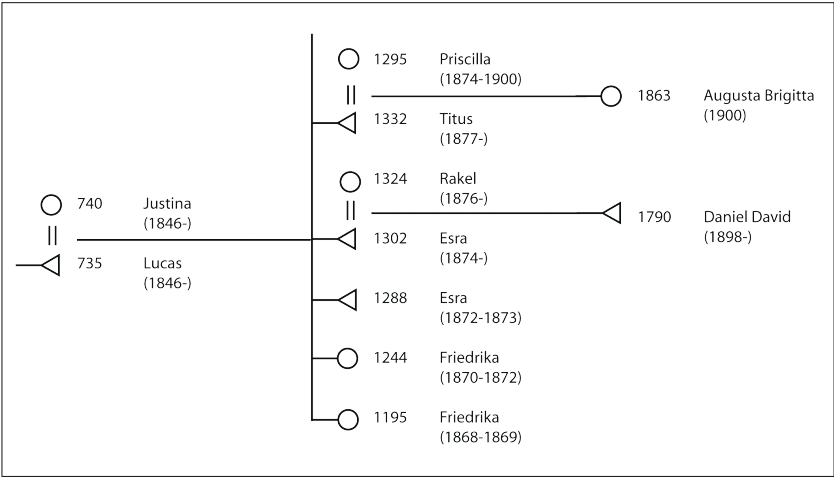
In spite of their common starting point, the case demonstrates that the families concerned had two very different histories. But it also shows that the whole of society was organised around the family or families, and that people who lived together as a rule were attached to one another by family ties. The element which bore society was the basic families with their breadwinners, and with these there were associated various family members such as widows, possibly with their children, orphans, younger siblings and others who were dependent on the family for survival.

Another striking thing is the high mortality rate, not least among children, of which many died during their first year of life. But mortality was also high among adults, and many women had to marry a second time to get support for their children, and men to get a partner to look after the necessary task of dealing with the catch and bringing up the children.

Finally, the case shows that there was great mobility in society at Cape Farewell in the 19th century. One important reason for this is the traditional Greenlandic way of life, where a hunter normally lived in many settlements during his lifetime. To this we must add the efforts by the authorities in the middle of the 19th century to promote moving out from Friedrichsthal to the area around Pamialluk and Ilua, and later on to Itilleq and other settlements around Cape Farewell itself.

Another factor contributing to the great mobility was the way in which families were organised and the high mortality rates. If for example a young woman got married, she would as a rule move to the husband’s family, which could well live in another settlement, and if the husband died then she moved back to her own family. If the widow remarried, she would again have to move, this time to the new husband, and so on. The large mobility was a result of the conditions of life and the way in which society was organised, and was an element in the battle for survival.

The immigrants from East Greenland and their descendants lived in and were often dependent on a sense of family community which is also known from the original society. However, the immigration to West Greenland and the influences from the new social conditions meant that in the course of the 19th century changes took place in for example the composition of the population, the patterns of settlement and family relations. But immigration to West Greenland also led to considerable changes, both for society as a whole and for the individual, in areas such as the occupational, social and spiritual. In the following chapters we describe some of the new surroundings which the immigrants had to live in, and give some examples of what it meant for the East Greenlanders to have to adapt themselves to these new conditions.



**Fig. 80d.** Lucas, another of Tittus and Brigitte’s sons, also survived several of his children. He himself, two of his sons and a grandchild were still alive when the congregation was transferred to the Danish mission in 1900.

## VII. The East Greenlanders under new conditions

By immigrating to West Greenland, the immigrants from East Greenland became both inhabitants of the Danish colony and members of the Moravian congregation. Thus they did not just settle in an area with different physical and occupational requirements, but submitted in practice to two authorities or powers, whose rules and actions had an influence on their and their descendants' lives. Wilhjelm (2001: 374) has dealt with this problem area and concludes that the mission's initiatives have contributed to passivating the population.

Heinz Israel (1969) has investigated changes in conditions with respect to dwelling places and occupations among the population in Neuherrnhut in the 18th century under the influence of the Moravian Brethren's mission. Even if immigration from Southeast Greenland and settlement around the Moravians' mission station in Friedrichsthal took place in the following century, Israel's analysis indicates a series of general and comparable factors, and statements from the 19th-century sources from the southernmost part of Greenland show many common features in the two societies.

Another work by Heinz Israel (1978) contains a demographic investigation of Frederiksdal (he uses the Danish name) in 1890, which considers the social and economic conditions for the individual in Frederiksdal and its surroundings at the end of the 19th century, which is also included in the current investigation.

### **Members of the Moravians' congregation**

When individuals or groups from East Greenland moved to West Greenland, most of them settled in Friedrichsthal, where they immediately became members of the Moravian congregation (Fig. 81). There they followed the missionaries' teaching during, for example, a winter, and then were baptised, where they replaced their old name with a European one, often one from the Bible. But the changes were not yet complete. Within the congregation there was a set of rules which the members had to follow, otherwise they risked sanctions. Supervision and the giving of sanctions in relation to the rules of the congregation were performed by the missionaries, who therefore behaved as an authority for the Greenlanders. This was a completely new situation.



**Fig. 81.** The congregation at Friedrichsthal collected up in front of the church. The missionaries shown here were stationed in several of the Moravians' mission stations in the southernmost part of Greenland and are (from the left): Hinz from Lichtenau, Riegel from Illorpaat, Schärf and – furthest right – Bohlmann, both from Friedrichsthal (Bugge 1969: 336). The photo is dated 1897, whereas Bugge gives Schärf as the photographer in 1899. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 667.

A number of the old customs and taboos related to birth, the giving of names, marriage, death and burial were abolished. Divorces had previously been performed without formalities, but could in principle not take place under the Moravians, although there were possibilities of compromises. Death and burial had previously been things which only concerned the closest relatives, but now became a matter for the entire congregation (Israel 1969: 29–33).

Among the Moravian Brethren's characteristic features were the division of the congregation into choirs and the principle of drawing lots in order to make decisions connected with the choice of names, permission for getting married and so on. These principles did not, however, work for very long in Greenland, and had no influence at all in Friedrichsthal (Israel 1969: 46–49; Wilhjelm 2001: 35–36). When people were admitted into the congregation, existing marriages were accepted, but it was not permitted to have several wives. If a man had several wives, then the one whom he had married first was considered his legal wife, and any other wives were considered as widows. The former husband no longer had any formal



responsibility for the former wives, and it is known that in some cases their social situation deteriorated severely (Jensen 2003; Rasmussen 1906).<sup>200</sup>

The children were now supposed to go to school, and they were taught the subjects which were most fundamental for the Moravians, such as reading, writing and religious instruction. In 1832, a report from Friedrichsthal states that the school had been visited by “about sixty boys and eighty girls.” Thus the boys had not been so diligent in going to school, and the explanation given for this was as follows: “Because the Greenlanders’ occupation and the necessary practice in travelling by kayak put some obstacles in the way of the boys, their school is less visited than the girls’ school.”<sup>201</sup> It should be noticed that the text refers to “their school,” so it seems that boys and girls, in complete accordance with Moravian principles, were taught separately (Fig. 82).

Other new things for the immigrants were the meetings, where people met and often ate together and where Christianity was preached, the introduction of festivals such as Easter, Whitsun and Christmas, and the rituals which were performed in various contexts. In connection with the meetings, practical activities could also take place, and there seems to have been good attendance at the activities related to handiwork or sewing (Nähsschule), which the missionaries’ wives organised.<sup>202</sup>



**Fig. 82.** Pupils of the school in Friedrichsthal photographed together with their teacher. Bohlmann 1900, Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 918.

A special element was the music. Right from the establishment of the mission station in 1824, the French horn was introduced to the probably astonished listeners,<sup>203</sup> and after that music was an ingredient in the meetings there. One of the Danish missionaries writes in his diary: "The Greenlanders have from the hand of Nature a decidedly musical innate talent, a fact which my friends the evangelical brethren at Lichtenau and Friedrichsthal have also noticed, and therefore put much emphasis on beautiful church music, as they have organs in their respective churches and these are accompanied on festival days by wind instruments, violins and basses, which are played by half-grown Greenlanders, who in the course of a very short time have been taught by the brethren."<sup>204</sup> And then a little sigh: It is so "beautiful, that I in my heart must regret that we have no organ in Julianehaab's lovely church" (Fig. 83).<sup>205</sup>

Those who did not obey the Moravian missionaries' rules could be penalised via the so-called church discipline. A very common reason for sanctions was failure to obey the sixth Commandment, and letters and



**Fig. 83.** A characteristic of the Moravian congregation was the use of wind instruments in connection with meetings of the congregation. Here the wind players at Friedrichsthal are shown on a ridge near the mission station. Below the ridge, the flatland and – to the left and right in the picture – peat houses, tents and women's boats can be seen. Bohlmann 1900, Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 908.

reports are full of complaints about the poor morals which according to the missionaries were prevalent among the members of the congregation.<sup>206</sup> The sanctions could be exclusion from various occurrences, such as meetings or communion, or in serious cases corporal punishment or expulsion from the mission station (Israel 1969: 53–54; Wilhjelm 2001: 36–39). This last possibility was, however, removed at some stage, as it is stated in a letter from the inspector in South Greenland to the Moravian missionaries that they did not have competence to move the local population around. Relocation whose aim was directly or indirectly to punish the person concerned could only be initiated by the Board of Guardians. And where it was not a question of punishment, it was not permitted to force people. In other words, people should be willing to move into or out of the area.<sup>207</sup> It did not seem here to matter that it was in agreement with the authorities' wishes that the population of Friedrichsthal as far as possible should settle in places out in the district!

As can also be seen from the censuses, pressure from trading interests meant that large parts of the population in Friedrichsthal in the 19th century moved out to smaller settlements in the Cape Farewell area. The background for the mission's desire to collect the congregation up nearby was put into perspective by the move. The travelling season was short, and poor weather or a lot of ice could mean that it was not possible on the annual missionary trip to reach all the settlements. To counteract this, efforts were made to establish a training scheme for catechists, but without much success. Instead they employed so-called national assistants, who were hunters living in the individual settlements who should look after schooling there. They often had no education or training and they received a poor wage or none at all, but were chosen because they were the best in their settlement at reading. The assistants were often augmented by male or female "readers," whose academic qualifications have normally been even worse than the assistants' (Evangelisk Missions-Tidende 1851: 164; Wilhjelm 2001: 246, 402–403).

The missionaries had to change their way of working and more actively go out to visit people, and so branches were set up out in the district, such as Pamialluk, about which Rink wrote: "The youngest missionary there, Hr. Schneider, appears to be active in travelling around to the inhabited places to teach the children, and has in this connection even practised kayak rowing. He expressed the desire that the mission could pay for some building materials in order to build a simple school house at the well-populated place Illoa, so that he could be able to stay there temporarily for some months of the year."<sup>208</sup> And in 1860 the Moravian Brethren could report that their wish for a school house in Pamialluk had been fulfilled: "On the outside place Pamiadluk near Friedrichsthal, regular school and meetings are held in the newly built house, which was

formally inaugurated on 20 October, and this is of great use and a blessing for this quite heavily populated place, which is also visited by heathens from the east coast” (Evangelisk Missions-Tidende 1861: 184).<sup>209</sup>

## Inhabitants in the Danish colony

By settling in Southwest Greenland, the immigrant East Greenlanders directly got easier access to trading for European goods, and this has naturally given the individual immigrant greater contact with the Danish traders. The presence of the Trading Company as an actual authority first became really noticeable, however, after the introduction of the boards of guardians in the middle of the century. The boards of guardians were a type of local council, consisting of Danish civil servants and the hunters’ own elected representatives, the guardians (*paarsisut*, singular *paarsisoq*), and they had the task of, amongst other things, organising repartitioning, which was the distribution of bonuses to the good hunters, in the same way as they in hard times looked after the distribution of help to people who were in need. For the population, the distribution of help could, however, lead to a loss of rights for the individual who had received help, or collectively via a prohibition on the sale of coffee on the recipients’ settlement, or by forbidding people to travel to other places to buy coffee.<sup>210</sup> The background for limiting just exactly the sale of coffee was an assumption that some people had a tendency to use too many resources, and thus literally impoverish themselves on coffee, and that an excessive consumption of coffee was bad for the health and could lead to the hunter losing his ability to work.

We have previously dealt with the conflict between the Danish authorities and the Moravian missionaries. The settlement policy meant for the immigrant East Greenlanders that they could not necessarily decide for themselves where they should live. The restrictions were tightened after the considerable immigration in 1887 and the subsequent social hardship in Friedrichsthal, and in 1893 the Julianehåb Board of Guardians proposed restrictions which would directly hit immigrants from East Greenland. The proposal was that new immigrants could only settle at Friedrichsthal temporarily, and that they should move to the outpost at Qernertoq, whose establishment was just then being planned, as soon as it was finished.

The inspector approved of the Board of Guardians’ recommendation that “the Greenlanders who come to Friedrichsthal from the east coast should be informed that they can only stay there in the interim, and that when the new outpost on the east coast is established they should settle



there, and that a guardian will be elected when the place is established.”<sup>211</sup> It should be noticed that the new immigrants in this way were ensured representation in the Julianehåb Board of Guardians, but that the influence and authority which the local member could formally achieve through this was at the same time subject to rules and structures dictated by the Danish authorities.

In the Danish colonial districts there was a medical service. According to doctor Prosch’s account it was certainly difficult to set up “even a fairly primitive medical service,” but as time went by more or less regular trips around in the district came to be made. The doctor turned out for epidemics, which regularly broke out, and prophylactic work was performed – for example, the entire population was vaccinated against smallpox.<sup>212</sup> With the transition to Christianity the previous shamans, *angakku*t, not only lost their position on the religious plane, but were also replaced by doctors, or at least by someone who had the medical responsibility.

## Occupations

Reports and letters naturally contain a good deal of information about the population’s occupations. The move to a new area did not immediately give rise to any change in occupation for the new inhabitants in Southwest Greenland. The most important occupation was and continued to be sealing, and in addition to that the hunting of seabirds, fishing and collecting other edible items were good supplements, especially in times when the seal catch failed (Fig. 84).<sup>213</sup>

The widespread mobility with regular journeys to hunting and fishing grounds, or “the Greenlanders’ great desire for wandering and recreation” (Danish: “Grønlandernes store Flakke- og Adspredelseslyst”), as it is called in a report from a Danish missionary,<sup>214</sup> formed the basis for an effective exploitation of the resources, and during the summer almost everyone went off. On a journey to the south in 1851, the missionary Vesterboe could observe that Ikigaat and Pamialluk were empty of people, who had all gone off to Kitsissut, the group of islands northwest of Cape Farewell, and some years later Rink writes of his arrival at Friedrichsthal: “To my great pleasure I also saw that all the Greenlanders had moved out to the Hooded Seal Islands [Kitsissut]. It was quite empty here in this place which is so full of people in the winter.”<sup>215</sup> This way of life was not peculiar to the new group of inhabitants, but was characteristic for the entire district of Julianehåb, including Julianehåb itself. Thus in 1853 the missionary Janssen writes: “Teaching at school takes place from time to time with the few children who are present, and who don’t even stay in the colony





**Fig. 84.** Hunters at Friedrichsthal have been out hunting and have shot seals and polar bears. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 661.

all the time; even more distinctly than further north, one notices clearly in the summertime how the Greenlanders in this respect are a people of nomadic hunters.”<sup>216</sup> And some years later one of his successors reports: “Since the Greenlanders now all move out to the islands to hunt hooded seals, and no proper schooling can take place, as the parents when they travel away take their families with them and only the colonists stay behind here, I have today, 1 June, declared the school on holiday until further notice.”<sup>217</sup>

The Danish Trading Company’s criticism of the fact that the Moravians concentrated people at the mission station, resulting in a poorer commercial situation, which we have dealt with several times, appears to have been real enough. In his investigation, Israel (1978: 145) compares the production apparatus, i.e. kayaks, women’s boats, rifles etc., in Friedrichsthal itself and in the associated settlements, and concludes that the situation was worse at the mission station than in the settlements, which were better equipped, especially with respect to women’s boats and tents.

In the course of the century, the colonial authorities took steps to promote commercial activities; for example, they sold rifles on credit (Danish: “udborgede”) to good hunters or coming hunters. This could at Friedrichsthal be combined with the attempts to attract people away

from the mission station by making the acquisition of rifles conditional on moving out to a settlement.<sup>218</sup> Initiatives such as these became more common after the introduction of the boards of guardians, and could in addition to acquisition of a rifle also apply to acquisition of a kayak and instruction in kayak rowing and hunting from a kayak, especially for young, fatherless men.

Thus the immigrant East Greenlanders continued their life as hunters, but the new conditions led to new possibilities for other functions and some income (Israel 1969: 51–52). At the mission station, a number of “servant women” were employed to help the missionaries, and especially their wives. As stated previously, the censuses show that they were unmarried, often widows, and that in the last part of the century they lived together in a separate house. Through their relationship to the missionaries they had social security. For the various functions connected with meetings and the like there were assistants, and in the outposts the national assistants were the missionaries’ extended arm for teaching (Fig. 85). When the missionaries had to travel, this took place in a women’s boat with oarswomen from the congregation and accompanying men in



**Fig. 85.** The assistants assembled in Friedrichsthal (UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b). An assistant (Hilfer) had the same function as the Danish mission’s catechist, and looked after tasks in both the school and the church at the settlement. However, the job was so poorly paid that it was assumed that they would also work as hunters. Bohlmann 1900, Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 911.

kayaks. Finally there was the possibility of selling part of the catch to the missionaries and their families. Some of these activities could be unpaid, e.g. working as an assistant, while others gave a modest reward, often as payment in kind, for example tobacco.

In short it can be concluded that the immigrants from East Greenland in the 19th century kept their original occupation, but that the tendency to concentrate the population at the Moravian mission station created poor conditions for the hunters to follow their occupation. Other forms of work were introduced as time went by, but they have only been for a small part of the population. And as these new jobs or functions often did not give any salary, or the salary was paid out in kind, they have not had much significance for the overall economy.

## Social conditions

In the middle of March 1855, Jacob Lund, the outlier at Pamialluk, sent a report about conditions in his part of the Cape Farewell district. The report clearly illustrates the social problems which the population could run into when sickness was rife and prevented the hunters from exercising their occupation. It also indicates what modest possibilities Lund, as the state's – and therefore also the "social services" – man on the spot had for improving conditions, and how he in his isolated situation had to follow his own intuition and take responsibility. Lund writes of the steps for promoting commercial activities and for promoting moving out which we have mentioned above. He reports that the health situation is "tolerably good," but that eleven persons nevertheless have died in the course of the winter, seven of them from Pamialluk, and that three families have lost their breadwinner.

Of his initiatives to help the hard-hit he writes: "The prevalent diseases have a not insignificant influence on the catch and on the Greenlanders' economic situation. – As several hunters who have been afflicted by disease, either directly or indirectly – through their nearest family – who seemed to be about to die at any moment, were forced to neglect their daily occupation, and this has led to a situation where the Greenlanders' supplies of fresh meat and blubber are currently running very low, while there is still a certain store of dried meat. – Those families who lost their breadwinners have practically no supplies of food and blubber. This is indeed the case for the widows Amalia, Christiane and Ester, whom I have allowed myself in a modest way to support free at the Trading Company's expense. – Ananias' surviving relatives at Ujarasuksuit, whom I have previously had reason to mention, have on their mother's death gone to a

good family, who are likely to look after them in a proper manner. – But I have not yet experienced the sad necessity of having to sell blubber or provisions on credit, which in the present month, seen in relation to the current state of the catch, will be unavoidable on a small scale and to individual breadwinners, unless there is a change for the better.”<sup>219</sup>

He finishes his report: “This autumn I have, in accordance with current regulations, allowed myself to allocate those who are moving out, Christian to Kekkertaittiak [Qeqertatsiaq] and Abea to Anordliuittik [Anorliuitsoq], free support in the form of housing materials, but the Trading Company will regretfully have no great benefit from the latter person, as he through the loss of his kayak, as I have touched on above, met such an untimely death. This unfortunate man owed the Trading Company for a military rifle, but as the rifle was left on the spot, I have after retrieving it had it brought to the hunter Ludvig here in the hope that this will meet with your approval.”<sup>220</sup>

Diseases were a big problem. Epidemics of influenza were common and a problem for the general state of health, but other epidemics, such as smallpox, occurred too, and the reports frequently contain information about deaths as a consequence of this. The problem occurred throughout the district, and there are also examples where East Greenlanders who were just on a trading trip were hard hit (Jensen 2003). It is natural to believe that the immigrants and travellers from East Greenland have had a poorer immune system and were therefore more susceptible to these epidemics. Several sources indicate that the inhabitants at the Moravian mission stations were more vulnerable, but the sources can be coloured by the Trading Company’s general attitude to the settlements there. For example, in 1876 the colonial manager Hansen writes in a report: “I believe that I can present as a fact which has been confirmed over many years, that during epidemics these stations have been the most affected, something which is perhaps due to the facts that when these stations were established, too much attention was paid to good grazing areas and too little attention to the choice of suitable hunting grounds, that the inhabitants are packed too closely together, and that the whole station seems to live under a less fortunate ecclesiastical influence and under unfavourable sanitary conditions.”<sup>221</sup>

Throughout the century the sources mention catch failures, diseases and great hardship, sometimes in the whole district, at other times more locally, and Janssen calls the “Spring a recurring time of hardship” (*Dansk Missionsblad* 1853: 84). Hunger and starvation have not been unknown phenomena in Greenland, but on the contrary a part of the conditions of life, and Rink draws this conclusion on the matter: “getting back to the time of hardship, we must remember that as a rule it also produces the

most essential food, which is easily seen from the fact that the population has not died out a long time ago, neither before nor after the establishment of the Trading Company.”<sup>222</sup>

Whether conditions have been harder in the southernmost part of Greenland will not be discussed here. On the other hand it is certain that at least the Danish traders and missionaries at the time often judged conditions in the Moravian congregation, and thus also among the immigrants from East Greenland in Friedrichsthal, to be worse than in the Danish congregation, presumably because of the concentration of population.

From the middle of the 19th century, more and more new houses were built in Greenland, including many with heating stoves, primarily with the aim of improving the standard of housing and thus contributing to an improvement in health conditions (Figs. 86 and 87). However, introduction of the heating stove also had another purpose, which was to get the Greenlanders to use coal as fuel and thus to create an increased trade in blubber (Mathiesen 1852: 181). How the new houses were evaluated at the time can be seen in inspector Holbøll's report to the Ministry of the Interior in 1850: “The improved houses or materials for them, which have been sent out, continue to have a beneficial effect in South Greenland, although perhaps most in Julianehaab's District, where it is easiest for the Greenlanders to get hold of fuel. In Julianehaab's District, glass windows have had a beneficial influence on snow blindness, which is so common among Greenlanders in certain seasons, and which must partly be an effect of the light which gut windows give, since there is a striking difference between the numbers of Greenlanders afflicted with snow blindness who live in houses with gut windows and in houses with glass windows.”<sup>223</sup>

It has been described above how the introduction of new houses in Julianehaab district was also used as an element in the efforts to get the population in Friedrichsthal district to live further apart.

The general tendency in the Cape Farewell area was that during the 19th century people went over from having communal houses to living in smaller houses with one or two families. At the same time, the concept of a “house owner” was introduced (Israel 1978: 146), and in censuses it was common to see women registered as house owners and owners of a women's boat or tents, and thus the widows now began to inherit the house and production apparatus on the death of the breadwinner.





Fig. 86. House in Friedrichsthal built of stones and peat. The chimney shows that there is a stove for cooking or heating. The right hand part of the house is probably a type of entrance used for storing hunting equipment and the like, and where the door into the house itself is to be found. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 7294.



Fig. 87. The interior of a house in Friedrichsthal. The house is built of peat and stone, but the walls are covered with boards. Right at the back of the house is the platform, which the two women are sitting on. The post in the middle is a support for the roof construction. To the left in the picture a blubber lamp can be seen. Bohlmann, Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 913.

## Elisabeth – a midwife from East Greenland

The missionaries' servant women and the widows' taking over of houses and women's boats are examples of the changed conditions, where at least some women could ensure an independent status and a socially secured situation for themselves. The following case of the midwife Elisabeth gives yet another example. On the one hand, her situation is a special one, as only very few got any actual training in functions which were not associated with the occupation of being a hunter. On the other hand, she is an illustrative example of the phenomenon that special tasks, which in the original society were performed by particularly knowledgeable or experienced persons when they were needed at the time, after the integration into the Danish colony eventually turned into functions or jobs which required special training or education, and which could lead to an employment.

The starting point for the case is a few pieces of information about a midwife in the Friedrichsthal district, who was born in 1839 and died in 1908. She was trained as a midwife in 1887, but had ostensibly acted as a midwife before she was trained in the western sense.<sup>224</sup> From these modest pieces of information, the person can be identified via the church register in Friedrichsthal and the contemporary lists of inhabitants.

The first step is to investigate whether in 1839 any girls in Friedrichsthal district were baptised Elisabeth, and indeed there were in fact two newly born babies, registered just after one another in the church register. But at the same time, other information in the church register showed that one of the girls (590) died the same year barely three months old, while the other (591) died in 1855, when she was 16 years old.<sup>225</sup> Thus neither of these could have been the girl who later became a midwife.

In 1852 the church register gives information about a girl, whose original name was Takka, and who thus came from East Greenland, who as a big girl was baptised Elisabeth. She was apparently born in 1839, although this may be an estimate. The church register gives no information about when this Elisabeth died, but this must be after 1900, since after that year no further entries were made in the register. To confirm or refute whether this is the right Elisabeth, we need further information from other sources, in this case the list of inhabitants.

The information in the list of inhabitants for 1890 gets us on the right track. Here there is indeed a woman named Elisabeth, born in 1839, a widow and midwife, who lived in Friedrichsthal in house no. 10, owned by the widow Henriette. In the same house there lived a little family, whose male head was the hunter Ludvig. In the list of inhabitants for 1896 we again find Elisabeth, though now with the shortened name

Lisbet, together with the family Ludvig, who have now got their own house in Friedrichsthal. Finally we find her in the list of inhabitants for 1870 with the remark: "Apprentice midwife at Julianehaab."<sup>226</sup> The lists of inhabitants confirm the information that Elisabeth also worked as a midwife before 1887, but also show that she had already then received some form of training.

It has still not been shown that Takka, baptised Elisabeth in 1852, and the midwife Elisabeth are the same person. There is, however, a crucial piece of evidence in the list of inhabitants for 1870. Elisabeth the midwife lives together with her brother Anthon – and so we need to go back to the church register. Opposite Elisabeth (Takka) it is stated that her father is (760) Simon. He was baptised in 1848 together with his wife and three children, and the register gives the following information about the family: Simon was originally called Alluktak, his wife is (761) Jakobina (Nukagpiak, d. 1867) and the children (762) Augustinus (Aqqajuk, b. 1842, d. 1858 in kayak), (763) Josua (Ulluksuk, b. 1832, d. 1854 of influenza) and (769) Anton (Sokattelik). It is the last of these, Anton, who is Elisabeth's brother, and whom she lives with in 1870, and whose widow Henriette she lives with in 1890. We can therefore conclude that the girl Takka, who immigrated from East Greenland and was baptised Elisabeth, and the midwife Elisabeth are the same person.

In the same way as Elisabeth's identity and origin have been determined, it is possible to get an outline of her life. Takka and her family moved from East Greenland to West Greenland, where the parents and children were baptised in Friedrichsthal in 1848. They must however have immigrated some years before, because as early as 1846 a girl whose parents are (760) Simon and (761) Jakobina is baptised. The girl was born in February that year, but the baptism did not take place until September, which makes it likely that the family immigrated and joined the congregation that summer at the latest.

The girl was baptised (738) Elisabeth, but she died already three days later of "innerlicher Entzündung" (English: "internal inflammation"), probably pneumonia. The rest of the family were, as stated, first baptised some years later, the elder sister Takka not until 1852, where she according to the local tradition was given her late sister Elisabeth's name. Simon and Jakobina settled in Friedrichsthal with their flock of children, which in 1852 was augmented with (894) Ferdinand (d. 1867 in a kayak). In 1854, Simon died and in the list of inhabitants for 1855, (156) Jakobina is registered as a widow without maintenance.<sup>227</sup>

In 1862, Elisabeth married (858) Paulus (b. 1837). Paulus and his family had likewise immigrated for East Greenland. In 1850 they were living in Friedrichsthal in house number fifteen, and the list of inhabitants shows

that at this time only the youngest of the children had not been baptised, and that the mother – somewhat unusually – belonged to the Danish congregation and was therefore not included on the list. The father (849) Petrus, originally Puiak, and Paulus, originally Ajuak, were both baptised in 1851. Petrus died in 1853 and in the church register there is an entry: “on 17 July arrived home sick from a journey by kayak and two days later died in the south at Nunatsuk.”<sup>228</sup> Nunatsuk is a locality slightly up the east coast, and so the family have at least in that summer stayed there, perhaps on a hunting trip. In 1855, Petrus’ four surviving children lived with his brother Nicodemus in Issortusut, a small settlement in Ilua, where in that year there was only registered one house with ten inhabitants in total. Paulus is then nineteen years old, rows a kayak and has a muzzle loading rifle.<sup>229</sup>

In 1863, the young couple Elisabeth and Paulus got a son (1117) Augustus, but already two months later Paulus died, according to the church register presumably perished in a kayak, as he did not return from hunting. Elisabeth and her son were now without a breadwinner. They lived after that with Elisabeth’s brother Anton and his wife Henriette, amongst others together with Elisabeth and Anton’s mother, the widow Jacobina, and Elisabeth’s and Anton’s young brother Ferdinand.

In 1870, Elisabeth and Augustus are still living with her brother Anton (house 6). She had in the meantime been in Julianehåb, where she had been taught to be a midwife, with the new status which followed with this, and she can now, even if in a modest way, contribute to keeping the family. In addition, the mother Jacobina had died. In 1890, both her brother Anton and son Augustus have died (in 1880 and 1876 respectively), and Elisabeth is living with her sister-in-law Henriette, Anton’s widow, who is denoted as “House owner” (House 10). In the same house lived the young couple Ludvig and Pauline, who is Henriette’s daughter. In 1896, the son-in-law Ludvig had taken over the house, and Elisabeth (called Lisbet), the local midwife, was still living with the family.<sup>230</sup>

Here ends the story of Elisabeth, who lived almost to the age of 70. In spite of epidemics, kayak accidents etc., the length of life was increasing among the population of the Friedrichsthal district. Even if more people than before reached a relatively high age, Elisabeth must in her last years have been considered as a very old lady.

The story of Elisabeth contains, moreover, a number of pieces of information which reach out beyond the individual and contribute to the story of that time and the society in which she lived. We shall here look briefly at some examples.

The mean expectation of life in the society of that time has been low. Epidemic diseases have been commonplace, and for many people this

resulted in death. Periods of hunger have been prevalent – thus among the causes of death for Elisabeth's father Simon were noted "Hardship" and "Attrition" ("Noth" and "Auszählung"), or in other words: he died of hunger. Finally, a large number of hunters have died in kayaks or in some other way when out hunting, for example two of Elisabeth's brothers, her husband Paulus and the latter's father Petrus.

The high mortality and especially the large number who died at sea led to great problems of support. When Paulus' father died, his brother took over the duty of supporting the entire group of children, who moved out to him or with him to Issortusut. Anton, who was the only one of Simon and Jacobina's sons who lived to adulthood, took on his mother when his father died, and later on also his sister Elisabeth and her son, when her husband Paulus died. In this way the family attempted to solve the problems for those who would otherwise be without a breadwinner (Fig. 88).

Elisabeth's story also illustrates the changes in life and the order of society, both for the immigrant East Greenlanders and for the population of the district as a whole. In the first part of the history of the mission station, many people lived together in relatively large houses, as a rule several families together. Towards the end of the century, the households



**Fig. 88.** Fish was an important part of the food in the Cape Farewell area, and in periods with poor hunting the hunters fished instead of hunting. Some, such as fatherless or orphan children, were never trained as hunters and therefore mostly had to try to live off fishery alone, which in general gave low status in society. As can be seen in the picture, fishing took place from a kayak, since dinghies were first introduced into the area in the 20th century. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 483.



became smaller and smaller and began to approach the basic family, with associated members who would otherwise be without support. This is exactly the situation we see in the case of Elisabeth. And now women, too, could become house owners, such as Henriette after she became a widow. The explanation of this change must be that the households had been reduced to a size and composition which is similar to a basic family. Furthermore, the individual families became more stationary, as they most often, especially the widows, lived in the same place and in the same house every winter.

Elisabeth was sent to Julianehåb to be trained as a midwife and subsequently performed this function in Friedrichsthal for more than a generation. The East Greenlanders have surely had women who understood how to assist at births, and therefore had a special role in society. It was a new situation that people should be directly trained to take on this function, also in the Danish colony, and then be employed. Apart from helping at births, the midwife was supposed, to the extent that her ability and training allowed, to help with advice and care in cases of illness, a function which in the original society was in part performed by the shaman.

The story of Elisabeth has touched on a number of the conditions and changes which the immigrant East Greenlanders experienced when they settled in West Greenland. The story fundamentally deals with Elisabeth and her life, but at the same time Elisabeth can be seen as a personification of the history of the immigrant East Greenlanders and the society of which they became part.

## Spiritual matters

When it comes to the question of how the East Greenlandic immigrants were affected in their way of thinking or their moral concepts, or which thoughts they had about these matters on their meeting with western culture and religion, then the holes in the existing sources become very apparent. The sources show to a much greater extent how the mission's and the Trading Company's people looked at this group of inhabitants, but through the reports which form the basis for what follows here, it is nevertheless possible to get an impression of how this group reacted to the new message, and of the conflicts which arose as time went by, especially with the German missionaries (Fig. 89).

In a summary of the Moravian Brethren's missionary activities in 1845, it says amongst other things about Greenland that "in Friedrichsthal, on the southern tip of the country, several heathen families turn up from the eastern part of the country for the sake of trade. Our missionaries use



Fig. 89. The confirmands in Friedrichsthal in 1898 (UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b). The young people are in their party clothes, which show clear signs of being affected by contact to West Greenland, e.g. through the use of cloth for anoraks, and the girls' bead collars. Bohlmann 1898, Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 580.

this opportunity to make them acquainted with the Gospel, and try to get them to stay here, and for several of those who came here a year ago we have the very best hopes" (Evangelsk Missions-Tidende 1846: 22).<sup>231</sup>

The East Greenlandic immigrants' desire to settle in Southwest Greenland appears however, as we have seen in the section on the causes of emigration, not to have been motivated by spiritual considerations, and this is confirmed by the statement of regret by the Moravian missionary Asboe: "This summer sixteen persons have applied to us to be accepted into the congregation. Several companies of heathens came here recently to trade. Unfortunately they had no desire to buy the one priceless pearl" (Evangelsk Missions-Tidende 1860: 43).<sup>232</sup>

From Ammassalik, Thalbitzer says of the former shaman Mitsivar-nianga, that he had great difficulty in understanding or translating figurative expressions from the Bible, but that he had no problems in explaining abstract concepts or problem complexes from his own world (Thalbitzer 1933/34: 60–63). It must have been correspondingly difficult for the

congregation in Friedrichsthal, not least for the new arrivals from East Greenland. At any rate the following examples show that the mission had big problems in expounding its ideas to the East Greenlanders who settled in Southwest Greenland and on their baptism formally renounced heathenism and their old belief. And the examples seem also to show a bottomless chasm between the missionaries and the Greenlandic population.

The Moravian missionary Lund reported from the missionary work at Friedrichsthal that people would like to be baptised and accepted into the congregation, but: "To strain their thoughts and memory, in order to acquire knowledge of things which reach beyond their daily life, or even into eternity, is only rarely something for the Greenlanders" and "especially when we speak of spiritual things, little or no impression [is made] on the Greenlanders' sluggish and cold hearts" (*Evangelisk Missions-Tidende* 1849: 163–165).<sup>233</sup>

Janssen was a Danish missionary, but also spoke about conditions at Friedrichsthal: "great confusion reigns in this congregation which lies so close to heathenism, and it is not without deep pain that I leave here, as there is so much work to carry out in the service of the church and school."<sup>234</sup> The Moravian missionaries, too, were at times very negative and went as far as to characterise the state of things as follows: "There is no living Christianity among them" (Danish: "Der findes ingen levende Christendom iblandt dem") (*Evangelisk Missions-Tidende* 1891: 39). Thus the congregation lived in a manner far removed from the missionaries' instructions, and it was a long way to what they considered as a Christian life.

The report from the missionary Lund which we mentioned above also speaks of mortally ill people who at the last minute converted and thus, in the missionaries' opinion, saw the meaning of eternal life. They therefore just managed to be baptised – and thus, in the eyes of the missionaries, saved – before they died. Such stories are common in, for example, *Nachrichten* and *Evangelisk Missions-Tidende*, which were read by the broad Moravian community. The sequences of events described can of course not be repudiated, but there may be other reasons lying behind the reports. An investigation of written life stories shows that these appear to be created on the basis of a fixed template, where the person described, amongst other things through an emotional conversion, acknowledges earlier sins and professes the grace of Jesus (Jarrick 1987: 78–128). In the same way, the reports of deathbed conversions which are referred to here seem to be built up using a fixed template, where the intention is to confirm and strengthen the reader in the Moravians' belief.

The stories in these journals have also been intended for people who were going to give moral and financial support to the missionary work in

Greenland, and the missionaries' continued existence must be assumed to have depended on results or expectations of such. Even at the time there was criticism of the fact that the missionaries' letters and reports were liable to be edited and the truth embellished (Wilhjelm 2001: 153–155). A similar form of editing also seems to affect the reports from Friedrichsthal and the published information on this.

In a report on the poor spiritual conditions, attention is focused on the fathers of families and owners of women's boats. In the opinion of the missionaries, these did not give their households a good example, they showed "little desire for God's word," and they did not help people at the outposts to come to the mission station to take part in church meetings (Evangelisk Missions-Tidende 1884: 56–57). From this description it appears that at least part of the leading persons in the local society had shown some resistance and ill will towards the missionaries and their efforts.

It was not only the Europeans who looked critically at the Christianity or the so-called level of morality among the inhabitants of the Cape Farewell area. In 1882–83, the Greenlandic catechist Johannes Hansen, who was later the interpreter on Gustav Holm's women's boat expedition, overwintered in Aappilattoq, amongst other things with the aim of describing some customs and rituals which the inhabitants there followed when hunting polar bears and afterwards. Johannes Hansen judged that they were old heathen customs which had continued, and which were peculiar to this area. The people were indeed baptised, but followed these – in his opinion – unchristian customs because they regularly had contact to the heathens in East Greenland.<sup>235</sup>

Religious fanaticism was a phenomenon which at times turned up in various places in Greenland, and from the Cape Farewell area we know the story of Mathæus, who claimed he was the archangel Gabriel. The story is known from contemporary sources, and Rink, who at this time was the inspector in South Greenland, reproduces it in his publications (Rink 1857, II: 288–289, 1866: 367). The story has also lived on for at least some generations after the events took place, as it is known in a not originally published version, probably noted down by Knud Rasmussen during his visit to the area in 1904 (Sonne 2004).

In brief, the story is that during the winter of 1853–54 some men in Friedrichsthal had created a great disturbance and were about to split the congregation into two camps. They began to hold their own meetings, and several of them thought they had had revelations. During the winter, support for them died out, and Mathæus, who now called himself Gabriel, and his prophet, Aron, preached that the end of the world was near, and that they would go off to the east coast to convert the population there.



They went off with some of the mission station's inhabitants to Kuummiut, where they settled so that they could go to East Greenland in the spring. With the assistance of, amongst others, Jacob Lund, who as the outlier in Pamialluk was close to these events and apparently had great influence, also within the Moravian congregation, and who according to his own statements had his "agents," people were made to see reason. And before spring arrived, the whole affair had evaporated again.<sup>236</sup>

In the Julianehåb district as a whole, and also in the Moravians' area, there are examples of people who in spite of being baptised still believed in or practised some of the customs from heathen times (Fig. 90). From Julianehåb, Janssen reported rumours that a woman by using magic had caused a hunter to be killed in a kayak accident.<sup>237</sup> A couple of years later there was a report about the Mathæus whom we have talked about above, that he "got a girl from Komiut [Kuummiut] brought to him, as a wife in the heathen manner."<sup>238</sup> And a few years later, Nissen noted in his diary that at Itilleq there lived a few people who belonged to the Moravian congregation, and that one of these was "known for witchcraft."<sup>239</sup>



**Fig. 90.** A group of kayak men assembled in the bay in front of the mission station at Friedrichsthal. The kayak at the front is remarkable because of its characteristic upwardly turning tips. This is for a so-called *piaaqqisiaq* (Central West Greenlandic: *piaaqqusiaq*), a boy whose elder brother or brothers have died. He could therefore also be in danger from evil spirits, and the kayak with the strange shape is supposed to protect him while he is growing up. Its use therefore continues a tradition which goes back to the original society. When the boy has grown up, he will get a kayak built like other kayaks (Petersen 1986: 51). Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 669.



Knud Rasmussen had the same experience during his stay in the area in 1904, i.e. after the last wave of immigration and after the Moravians had left Greenland. He collected information on the population's conditions of life, culture and traditions, including such a large number of rules of life and omens that it is tempting to think that these were still in use, despite the conversion to Christianity. Two examples are: "If the ravens cry loudly when they fly over a settlement, this indicates good fortune"<sup>240</sup> and "'Amulet boys', *piârquasiat*, in clothes which are split up the back must take care that the first seal which they catch is also cut up along the back and not along the belly, as one would otherwise do" (Rasmussen 1979: 54, 66).<sup>241</sup>

These examples seem to demonstrate that the population, in spite of their formal conversion to Christianity, on certain points had retained customs and beliefs which they had grown up with in East Greenland. At the same time they show how the Europeans had the attitude of keeping their distance from the original way of thinking, and thus that there were latent possibilities for conflict.

## The West Greenlanders' view of the immigrant East Greenlanders

We have explained earlier how people in West Greenland, for example in the 18th century, considered East Greenlanders as wild people with a hankering for cannibalism. An investigation based on articles in *Atuagagdliutit* between 1861 and 1914 shows that the West Greenlanders at the start of this period had a generally negative attitude to the East Greenlanders, including those East Greenlanders who immigrated to Southwest Greenland. They merged into the more general context of the mission, where heathens were considered with mistrust and in some cases as directly dangerous. In the latter part of the period, the attitude became more neutral. After 1894, some people used the term "*merdlertut*," i.e. children, to describe the East Greenlanders, and this is to be understood in the way that West Greenlanders and East Greenlanders are to be seen as part of the same national community, but with the West Greenlanders as the developed or civilised ones, and the East Greenlanders as those who are still far from a higher civilised state (Langgaard 1999).

In the Julianehåb district attitudes had evidently been different, cf. Mørch's explanation. Nevertheless, there are examples of people exploiting the East Greenlanders' lack of knowledge of the conditions. In the minutes from the meeting of the Julianehåb Board of Guardians in the autumn of 1873, it states:

“The chairman asked how the Greenlanders who had come to Pamiagdhluk from the east coast had been treated by the population there – *pârssisoq*<sup>242</sup> declared that both the outlier and the population had been equally good at cheating the East Greenlanders. In the case of the outlier, the colonial manager set the necessary investigation going, and in the case of the population Mr. Rosing has taken on the task of trying to collect the necessary information during his coming trip to Pamiagdhluk.”<sup>243</sup> Both the Trading Company’s people and the local population have apparently cheated the East Greenlanders in trading with their goods.

Even if the immigrant East Greenlanders had formally become part of the West Greenlandic population, these examples seem to show that they were not considered as such. Instead, people noticed the differences and stressed the strangeness, the original East Greenlandic character.

## The East Greenlandic character

The immigrant East Greenlanders settled to a large extent in a small and isolated geographical area, and brought with them a number of traits which have distinguished them from the rest of the population of South Greenland and given them a special East Greenlandic character. In 1864, Lars Møller, the editor of *Atuagagdliutit*, went with the inspector on his journey to the south, and came to Julianehåb, where most people had left, either away fishing *ammassaar* or having gone to Kitsissut (*kipparsimallutik*). About the language spoken among *qavannngarnisaviit* (those who have come from East Greenland) he says that it is difficult to understand, and that they speak very fast when they talk together.<sup>244</sup> The assistant Ulrik Rosing, who worked for several years in Nanortalik and had a lot of contact to the immigrants, also says, after a winter which he passed in Pamialluk, that he could have problems with the language.<sup>245</sup> In the wake of the immigration from Southeast Greenland, the area which at the time was occupied by the Moravian congregation, i.e. Friedrichsthal and further south, got its own dialect, which was still prevalent in the area.

Several sources say about polar bear hunts that the skin belonged to the one who had first seen the bear, even if someone else killed the quarry (Mathiesen 1852: 116) (Fig. 91).<sup>246</sup> The oldest of these sources is from 1800 and the custom was thus already known in southern Greenland before actual immigration took place. It is also known from West Greenland and is still practised in East Greenland.

In 1859, the doctor in Julianehåb was travelling to the southern part of the district and got as far as Friedrichsthal, from where he reported that there were two houses in which there lived people who had arrived from

the east coast the year before, and that several of the women had been tattooed.<sup>247</sup> A couple of years later, Rosen, who had previously been a missionary in Godthåb, visited Friedrichsthal and wrote of his impressions: "I have visited the Greenlanders at that place in their tents. Most of them have been heathens and many are tattooed. They laugh readily and are ignorant of everything which is not purely Greenlandic."<sup>248</sup>

But the East Greenlanders also impressed their particular character on the area in other ways. Jens Mathiesen, the assistant and manager in Julianehåb from 1820 to 1833, and the interpreter on Graah's previously mentioned expedition to the east coast, describes the customs of the inhabitants, such as song contests at Kitsissut, and also the houses with several families, about whose inhabitants he writes, "... the women are naked to the degree that only their middles are covered with a pair of extremely short trousers. In the colonies and thereabouts, the cleanliness of the houses is somewhat better than in more remote places; here, too, the women have enough modesty to at least cover the upper part of their body with a chemise and the lower extremities with ordinary trousers"



**Fig. 91.** Women at Friedrichsthal working on a polar bear skin. There was still a strict division of labour in 19th-century Greenlandic society. When the men had landed the catch, it was the women's task to deal with the meat and skin. Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 672.

(Mathiesen 1852: 81).<sup>249</sup> On the topic of death and burial, Mathiesen continues: “The heathen weeping ceremony now only takes place south of Nennortelik and perhaps far to the north [i.e. up the east coast]” (ibid.: 88).<sup>250</sup> This description is from the Julianehåb district at the start of the 19th century, before the big immigration from East Greenland started. But it has very likely also been true of the immigrant East Greenlanders who during the rest of the century settled south of Nanortalik. Their way of life has been very close to the Julianehåb population’s previous way of living, and for these latter must have been like a picture of times long ago.

The examples above can be supplemented with other contributions which all indicate that the population of the Cape Farewell area had their own language and common customs.<sup>251</sup> In the rest of West Greenland they were thought of as being different. At the start of the 20th century, the eskimologist Thalbitzer was first in Ammassalik and later in the Cape Farewell area, and for him there was no doubt: The population around Cape Farewell were still East Greenlanders! (Thalbitzer 1917). The East Greenlanders who had arrived had perhaps become part of a larger society, a minority in West Greenland. But with their own language, own customs and their East Greenlandic origins, they both defined themselves



**Fig. 92.** Some of the inhabitants at Friedrichsthal assembled in front of the church and the missionaries’ house. In the foreground, two of the missionaries and their wives are standing. Behind them are members of the Greenlandic congregation. Some of the people photographed are standing with rakes to rake grass together with. This can be some of the women servants who took part in the task of collecting up winter fodder for the goats. Bohlmann, Moravian Archives Herrnhut, LBS 303.



and were defined by the rest of the population as a special group with their own identity. They were *qavappiaat!* (Fig. 92).

More than a century has now passed since the last group of East Greenlandic immigrants settled in the Cape Farewell area. Greenland is today a modern industrial society, and there have been tremendous changes in society. In the Cape Farewell area there are now only two settlements left, with just over two hundred inhabitants. Most of the rest of the immigrants' descendants live in Nanortalik, while others are spread out over other parts of the country.

There is however a cultural heritage as a leftover from, and a reminder of, the 19th-century immigration from East Greenland. Sailing around in the area, one can see the remains of the places which were previously inhabited and other signs of human activity. And in speech and writing one can still see and hear tales of life at that time. For many people, especially in the South Greenlandic area, consciousness of and the historical association to Southeast Greenland and the area around Cape Farewell is still alive and well.



## VIII. Memories of the past

In the year 1900, about 600 people lived in the Cape Farewell area in settlements, some of which were quite close to the southernmost tip of the country. The last groups had arrived from East Greenland and after a century with great mobility, also within the Cape Farewell area, the pattern of settlement seems to have become stable. However, within just a few years changes in the climate and the occupational conditions again threw the population into a period of breakup. People moved or were transferred to more northerly settlements or right out of the district, and from the middle of the 20th century there were only two inhabited settlements left in the district, namely Aappilattoq and the settlement by the original mission station Friedrichsthal, which is known today by the local name of Narsarmijit, which is nowadays Greenland's most southerly settlement (Bak 1981: 253–255). In total there are now about 250 inhabitants in the two settlements. After the depopulation of the Cape Farewell area, the remains of the immigrants from Southeast Greenland, *uiarnerit*, continue to live on in the cultural landscape and in people's consciousness, the mental landscape.

Hunters from especially these two settlements still hunt at Cape Farewell, and as in their forefathers' time hunting trips are regularly made to the coastal waters at Aluk and even further up the east coast. The local population and, to a lesser extent, travellers from elsewhere make trips into the area. And when you have got there, you unavoidably catch sight of the physical remnants from previous generations.

From the immigrant East Greenlanders, a number of legends have been passed down together with reports on life in the last years in Southeast Greenland. They have been told again and again and some of them have been written down several times. They have given inspiration to Greenlandic authors, and also in today's Greenland memories of their forefathers and their roots in Southeast Greenland make up an important part of the people's self-perception, particularly in the southernmost parts of Greenland.

### The cultural landscape

From the sources, principally the censuses and the Moravian Brethren's lists of inhabitants, we know a large number of places in the Cape Farewell

area which in the period 1824 to 1900 have been inhabited for a shorter or longer period, some of them several times. The majority of the abandoned settlements have been uninhabited for more than a hundred years, but in the Arctic climate and with the limited human activity in the depopulated area, there have been optimal conditions for preserving the physical remains for posterity. The settlements therefore still stand there today, abandoned but as evidence of earlier human presence (Raahauge et al. 2005) (Fig. 93).

The location of the settlements follows the general pattern in Greenland (Petersen 1965: 111). They are all oriented towards the sea, and often there are several ways to and from the sea, probably a safety feature in case there should suddenly be bad weather while the hunters were out. As in earlier times, transport in the area takes place on boats. As one sails along, it can be difficult for the untrained eye to see where the previous settlements were



**Fig. 93.** From 1848 and some way into the 20th century, Pamialluk was the central trading station in Cape Farewell. The trading station is now closed and the settlement abandoned, but in the landscape we can still see the remains of the Greenlanders' houses on the green slope to the left in the picture, and the stone trading buildings to the right (cf. Fig. 37). Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

placed, but clear green spots in the landscape are a good sign, and if one goes closer they often turn out to be the ruins of peat houses overgrown with lyme grass. At a distance it is often hard to imagine that there has been room for habitation, but if one lands and moves up behind the settlements, the landscape opens out. Most settlements have a hinterland of small flatlands, valleys and green areas which the inhabitants have been able to move on to, and which is much larger than it appears when seen from outside.

In many of the settlements there are different types of dwelling, which show that the place has been inhabited in different periods – for example, houses from the 16th and 17th centuries, communal dwellings from the 18th and 19th centuries and newer houses for individual families. In addition to this there are tent rings and so-called tent houses, i.e. tent banks used in connection with the summer tent, which in this way was protected against the often very powerful gusts of wind which turn up in the alpine landscape. The oldest houses are seen as low banks overgrown with grass and crowberry, while the newer houses, which have been inhabited in the last part of the 19th century and in some settlements in the first part of the 20th century, appear as collapsed houses or ruins overgrown with the green lyme grass, which from a distance tells of the existence of the erstwhile settlement. In addition, cairns, graves, supports for women's boats and other examples of human activity can be seen (Fig. 94). In several settlements, evidence has also been found that the Palaeo-Eskimo culture, the Dorset people, in the distant past have used the same settlements (Raahauge et. al 2005).

The existence of both communal dwellings and newer houses for single families in some of the settlements indicates that these places have been inhabited several times in the course of the 19th century. In several cases, an already existing communal dwelling has been shortened and adapted so that it fitted the needs of a smaller group, and in other cases we find examples of a house for a single family being built inside a communal dwelling. In all cases this has made it easier to collect building materials and resulted in a house which was easier to keep warm.

In almost all settlements there are graves. The heathen graves are chambers, while the Christian graves are often heaps of stones, or the deceased were buried in the earth, after which the grave was been surrounded by stones or covered with a single layer of stones. The graves are usually well preserved, which could indicate that people have respected the sanctity of the grave, possibly out of respect for the dead or out of fear of their spirits, or they have known the old Greenlandic proverb "He who opens a grave opens a storm." The Moravian missionary Brodbeck states at the end of the 19th century that the local population normally





**Fig. 94.** At the previous settlement of Tinuteqisaaq, there is still a complete set of supports for women's boats, consisting of four long, upright stones. The women's boat was placed between the stones with its bottom upwards and lashed fast, so it was safe against all types of weather. Photo: B. Grønnow 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

respected graves and left them in peace. Some things have however been removed, because at that time Europeans began to interest themselves in grave goods, and when the inhabitants of the region discovered that one could sell the content of graves to Europeans, some of them got the better of their respect or fear and desecrated the graves (Brodbeck 1882). The graves are placed a little way away from the houses, as a rule out of sight and often on a ridge or hillock behind the settlement, with a good view over the fjord or sound and towards high mountains. The dead should have a fine view. In Tinuteqisaaq, which lies on an island of the same name close to Cape Farewell itself and close to the imaginary boundary between the east and west coasts, most of the ten or so graves are placed with a view towards the mountains and the southern cape in an easterly direction – towards the old homeland! (Figs. 95 and 96).

The cultural landscape is the mark or print which humans have put on nature. In the meeting with nature, the landscape has become a part of a group of people's world of experience, which however only exists as long as there is anyone to remember it (Berglund 2004: 347–348). The East Greenlandic immigrants and their descendants have left their distinct mark



**Fig. 95.** The Moravian missionary Conrad Kleinschmidt's fenced grave at Friedrichsthal looking out towards the characteristic and dominating mountains west of the mission station and the settlement. A few of the Moravian missionaries, or their wives or children, died in Greenland and are buried at the mission station to which they were attached. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

on the Cape Farewell area. The area has by now been depopulated for about two generations, only a small part of the population regularly sails there, and even fewer know in detail just a small proportion of the places where some of their forefathers have lived. However, the memory of some of these forefathers and their experiences lives on in the population and helps to preserve their consciousness of the historical connection to the now uninhabited settlements.





**Fig. 96.** Tinuteqisaaq was one of the most southerly of the 19th-century Moravian settlements. Here the graves are placed so there is a view towards “The Gateway to East Greenland” and part of the route which the East Greenlandic women’s boats followed on their way to and from Southwest Greenland. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

## Reminiscences at different times

Reports of life in Southeast Greenland were written down for the first time just a few years after the last immigration to the Cape Farewell area. Knud Rasmussen was in the area in connection with the Danish Literary Greenland Expedition 1902–1904, and collected legends and tales. Not everyone was willing to tell about the events of the past, but after some time most of them thawed up. Knud Rasmussen wrote about this in his diary:

“The people who are in the camp with us here – are for the most part newly baptised heathens from the east coast. They are interesting to talk to. And they provide without too much evasion many remarkable and curious details from their heathenism. They have an idea that it is useful for their souls to confess – to talk about their previous mistaken belief. In particular they believe that they should confess quickly, so that the evil should not remain sitting in them and prevent the Christian belief from developing.

Now an old man, Kuânia, was ill at the start – and in spite of all attempts, nothing helped. It was not until he had cleared his conscience by telling about various sins which he had committed during his time as a heathen that he succeeded in overcoming the Evil.

A woman could not learn to read at all – or understand what the priest explained to her about the Christian faith; – It was not until she had cleared her conscience of the fact that she had been about to become an *Angakok* [*angakkoq*, shaman], that she succeeded in grasping what it was she should know and understand in order to receive baptism etc.”<sup>252</sup>

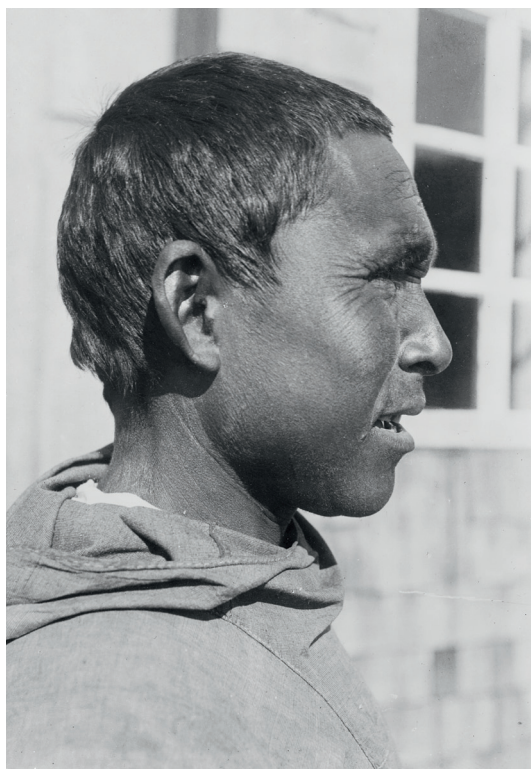
There are reports of several murders, including wife murders, and of widows and children who died because they had lost their breadwinner, and children who were put out in the cold because they had become a burden for the rest of society. They expressed the idea that life on the east coast had been uncertain, and that one could never feel sure of being secured against anything. The winter was full of conflicts because of idleness and, in periods, lack of food. And in addition to the fear of being killed, there was the fear of dying of starvation (Rasmussen 1906).

The reports from East Greenland were exciting and lived on in society in West Greenland. Due to the dramatic content and the extremely unchristian elements, they could be surrounded by a good deal of secrecy and were thus often subjects of taboo. The children would normally be sent to bed when tales should be told of things which were not for delicate ears (NKA: C-08: 01-484 (Adam Aronsen) & 01-486 (Kornelius Jakobsen)). The stories have been told from generation to generation and form an important part of the oral local history tradition for posterity. Thus the immigrant East Greenlanders' memories of their own experiences have been passed on to and developed by their descendants as mediated reminiscences (Warring 1996: 208).

Parts of these reminiscences have on several occasions been collected and written down, by amongst others Leif and Mâliâraq Vebæk in 1948 and 1961 and Lange and Raahauge in 1991 (Vebæk 2006; NKA: C-08). The Vebæks' collections cover both legends and tales and the tellers' own experiences, while Lange and Raahauge's collection principally contains biographical material with tales of personal experiences and information about features and conditions of life in the teller's own time, and also some stories which have been passed on about the immigrant East Greenlanders. There was a generation between the sets of informants for the two collections, and some of the people whom the Vebæks interviewed were born in the last part of the 19th century and had emigrated from East Greenland, whereas Lange and Raahauge's informants were all born in Southwest Greenland in the first part of the 20th century.



**Figs. 97a and b.** Aaddaaridad, baptised Kristian Poulsen, belonged to the last group of immigrants who came to Friedrichsthal in 1900. The men in East Greenland were as a rule long-haired, but it was the custom that after they were baptised they had their hair cut short. Aaddaaridaad was happy to talk about his previous life and customs in South Greenland, or would perform drum dances. Photos: W. Thalbitzer 1914/Danish Arctic Institute 07889; E. Holtved 1931/Danish Arctic Institute 46651.



These collections have furnished us with accessible sources for posterity, and the possibility of providing some insight into the descendants' way of thinking (Floris 1996: 127–133), and how changes have taken place in the tale and the interpretation of the story as time went by.

In relation to the reports which were reproduced by Knud Rasmussen shortly after 1900, and the collected reports from the middle and final part of the century, there has been a shift in content and focus. Knud Rasmussen's storytellers are people who themselves had emigrated from East Greenland. The reports of their own experiences refer to a wide gallery of persons, and the events which are referred to are extremely dramatic, for example with several murders, and the story of a mother and her five children who threw themselves into the sea because her husband was dead and there was nobody to support the bereaved family. This has changed with time. In the descendants' reminiscences, the dramatic events are seen in a much more conciliatory light, and a single person dominates the stories. This man is called Aaddaaridaad (Figs. 97a and b).<sup>253</sup>

Aaddaaridaad was also one of Knud Rasmussen's sources. He appears as the leading person in the group who at the end of the 19th century immigrated to Friedrichsthal, and he had stood in the midst of the dramatic events during the final years in Southeast Greenland and the reports about these. He had been a shaman and was a great teller of legends, and he readily passed on his knowledge of legends and myths and Eskimo tradition. But he would not talk about the killings, and when Knud Rasmussen tried to press him, he answered "Yes, the people that I killed deserved the death they got, for they were dangerous for the rest of us. I didn't kill them from a desire to murder, but from a feeling of duty to my companions in the settlement" (Rasmussen 1906: 162).<sup>254</sup>

Aaddaaridaad plays the dominant principal role in the descendants' tales of their forefathers' life in East Greenland and the immigration to West Greenland, both in the Vebæks' and Lange and Raahauge's collections, and in present-day Greenland. Stories about other important persons and events are still told in certain families or among groups of the population who have roots in particular limited geographical areas, such as some of the previous settlements in the district. But the story of Aaddaaridaad has become "the big story" and must be seen today as an exponent of the descendants' common memory of their forefathers' life in Southeast Greenland and their immigration to Southwest Greenland (Jensen 2009).

At the same time as the reports changed focus, and Aaddaaridaad now appeared as the central figure, the fear and loathing of him, which Knud Rasmussen had met in some of his informants, disappeared. In the descendants' stories, murder and the like are not excluded, but they are mentioned more rarely, and in the cases where Aaddaaridaad is involved,

he is not surrounded with the same aura of fear as in some of the early tales. Several of the later storytellers have known him, and one of them says that it could indeed sometimes be frightening to listen to his tales, but that it was also exciting as a child to see him perform with drum songs, and he characterises him as “very pleasant and amusing” (Danish: “meget rar og sjov”).<sup>255</sup> In those cases where the dramatic episodes are mentioned, it most often happens quite briefly and without comment, as a natural thing. Or, as it was said about the helper spirits who appeared in the reports: “They were so common that there was nothing to be surprised about. We ... were not surprised; I have heard it so many times as a child that I cannot bother about it.”<sup>256</sup>

In the later reports, a new theme – the religious – turns up. In Knud Rasmussen’s version from 1904, Aaddaaridaad tells in detail about his training as a shaman and about how he got his helper spirits. Only in a single sentence does he mention his decision to go to the west coast and get baptised, but the main emphasis is put on the helper spirits’ reaction and their attempts to persuade him to stay – and thus hold on to his old belief. In the descendants’ stories this part has got a completely new angle and a new element: The meeting with the Christian religion, personified by Jesus. There are various versions of the course of events, but put briefly the core of the stories is that a shining figure shows itself to Aaddaaridaad, when he is out one day in his kayak. The figure speaks to him and tries to persuade him to go to the west coast and be baptised. When Aaddaaridaad gets back to the settlement, he is met by his wife, who before he left had been mortally ill. By a miracle she has been cured, and this convinces Aaddaaridaad, so he decides to move west at once and be baptised.

In his printed version of the reports, Knud Rasmussen stays very close to his written notes and often reproduces his notes completely unchanged. This part of the story of Aaddaaridaad is however not to be found at all in his diaries and handwritten notes (Hundested Bibliotek: KRA; KB: Knud Rasmussens arkiv 4). There does not seem to be any reason why Aaddaaridaad in 1904 should omit this part of the story – on the contrary, Knud Rasmussen represents just exactly the society into which he had moved, and therefore Christianity. Aaddaaridaad was a charismatic figure and a great storyteller, who loved to tell and perform. It is also said that he in his old days was often called in to other families where he was asked – for payment – to entertain and tell about life in East Greenland, and that this could last the whole evening and the night as well.<sup>257</sup> It is therefore natural to conclude that the story has been added later, and it could well be by Aaddaaridaad himself. In this way an explanation of the exodus from Southeast Greenland was put together, which was both in agreement with the ideology of the new society and therefore acceptable, and also had



some validity for the main person concerned, as it could be accepted as an explanation of why all the other immigrants from Southeast Greenland took steps to settle in Southwest Greenland.

### *Angakkoq Papik* – a novel

In 1952 the novel *Angakkoq Papik. Qavanngarnitsat inuunerannik oqaluttuaq* (“Papik the shaman: A tale of East Greenlanders’ life”) appeared, written by Kristen Poulsen, who from 1934 to 1939 was catechist in Aappilattoq south of Nanortalik, i.e. in the area where the immigrants from East Greenland and their descendants settled (Poulsen & Lynge 1989: 7). While there, Poulsen had amongst others met Aaddaaridaad, who “untiringly had told me about what it was like to be a shaman”<sup>258</sup> and the novel is dedicated to “my late friend Aallaarutaat [Aaddaaridaad]” (Poulsen 1975: 3).<sup>259</sup>

The novel is built up on a framework created from the reports about Aaddaaridaad’s life and experiences in Southeast Greenland, and Papik and Aaddaaridaad are indeed one and the same person. Papik was trained as a shaman and got more and more helper spirits, he committed several murders, but when he in a vision was confronted by Jesus, he decided to go to the west coast to be baptised. To this story, the author adds a series of elements and sections of ethnographic character about life as a hunter, spirits and tupilaks, and he also takes the poetic licence of incorporating events and names which are known from reports from the Ammassalik area into the story (Rosing 1963, 1993). Thus from a starting point of the story of Aaddaaridaad, the story of Papik becomes a general description of life in the original Inuit society.

In the novel, Kristen Poulsen stays quite close to the local tradition and he does not mention the fear which appeared in the earliest reminiscences. The author does not omit murders or shamans and their spirits, but does not make a problem out of them, and he generally describes the population as good and unspoiled, in spite of the fact that they in his own words were “just heathens” (Poulsen 1975: 3).<sup>260</sup> Elements in the earliest reports, as we know them from Knud Rasmussen, can already have been forgotten by the time that Kristen Poulsen came to the area, or Poulsen can have omitted them or adapted them to his own interpretation and interests. For he had a particular aim with his novel. The purpose was not just to write on conditions in the original society or to incorporate a Christian message into a novel on conditions in East Greenland and the last wave of immigration to West Greenland.

Kristen Poulsen was active in the contemporary debate about the development of Greenlandic society, and amongst other things wrote in

1936 – while he was catechist in Aappilattoq – an article in the then existing South Greenlandic newspaper *Sujumut* with the title “*Kingumut*” (“Back”), in which he encouraged his contemporaries also to look back at the life and customs of the past, not in order to return to them, but to take the old culture as an example, and thus to see the faults in the existing society and use the virtues of the past as inspiration for a positive development towards a modern Greenlandic society (Mikiassen 1936).<sup>261</sup>

The main political attitude in Greenland at that time was a desire to get up to the same material and intellectual level as the western industrial societies, which for many people represented an ideal. In a way, Kristen Poulsen agreed with this, and the aim of *Angakkoq Papik* was thus to influence the historically and politically conscious Greenlander, so that he would also see elements in the original Inuit society as something positive, which the present could identify itself with and use in a political context. Thus the story of Papik the shaman was torn out of the local context and through the fictional construction turned into a political tool. However, the time was not ripe for such thoughts, as the 1950s and 1960s were dominated by the desire for rapid modernisation and development in the direction of western norms. But *Angakkoq Papik* had a renaissance and was reprinted in 1975 and 1986, when new terms such as Greenlandisation and the introduction of Home Rule appeared on the agenda, and where the original society and knowledge of it became an important factor in the creation of a Greenlandic identity as an independent people who had their own culture – and thus a part of the foundation for demanding greater political influence and, eventually, independence (Sørensen 2006).

## History and identity

The immigrant East Greenlanders have from the very start brought with them memories and knowledge of life in East Greenland, and their stories have been incorporated into the oral tradition. Not until after the last wave of immigration in 1900 was there any collection or publication of selected reminiscences and reports, by means of which accessible sources were created for posterity.

From the previous discussion it can be seen that in the Cape Farewell area there existed a collective memory of the immigrants up through the 20th century, apparently with the main focus on the events of the final years in Southeast Greenland. The memories have from the start been woven together from personal experiences and events passed on by tradition, i.e. from biography and history. The memories exist not only through their association with individual persons, but as communal

memories. Among the descendants of the East Greenlandic immigrants, some memories have been passed down in families or small communities, while others, like the story of Aaddaaridaad, form a part of the larger community's memory. In both cases the memories create a common framework for understanding and contributing to both an individual and collective identity.

In the time up to the establishment of Greenland's home rule in 1979 and also afterwards, a nation-building took place whose aim was, starting from the new political situation, to build up a common Greenlandic identity and to strengthen the feeling of being one people in one country. Identity is, as such, a social construction and a result of dynamic processes which bind people to one another with the help of many components, such as consciousness of a common ethnicity and history (Dorais & Searles 2001). In such a process, Cohen (1985: 118) shows, "[lies] the reality of community (...) in its members' perception of the vitality of its culture. People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity." The memories from the Cape Farewell area contributed to this national process, principally centred round the stories about Aaddaaridaad and life in the original society in East Greenland, which for example were broadcast to the population of the entire country via radio and television.

Nuttall (2001) discusses the relationship between national and local identity and the complementarity which lies in being a part of a larger community, the nation, and a smaller community with its own characteristics, such as a region. Starting from an investigation of two settlements in South Greenland, one of them being Aappilattoq, which is precisely one of the two remaining settlements in the Cape Farewell area, he shows that the small places in Greenland are threatened and the local identity is therefore on the defensive. The population in these places must participate actively in efforts to preserve and strengthen a local identity, and in that situation people are dependent on a knowledge of history: "Memory brings the past into the present, strengthening sentiments and ideas of locality as well as social relationships" (Nuttall 2001: 62) (Fig. 98).

A small number of the descendants of the East Greenlandic immigrants still live in the Cape Farewell area, while the majority of them now live in Nanortalik or other more distant places, and therefore no longer have – or perhaps never have had – the close binding to the area which could contribute to the creation of a community or local identity. Nevertheless they still have the memories and knowledge of the past. The common frame of understanding appears still to be alive in the population of the southernmost part of Greenland, and conversations and interviews leave

the impression that people in general have a certain knowledge of the historical meaning of the expression “*uiarnerit*,” which is the traditional name for the immigrant East Greenlanders, and are aware that they through some of their forefathers have roots back on the east coast. In the population of Nanortalik and the southern settlements, there exists a collective memory of the immigrant forefathers, life in East Greenland and a number of events associated with this. As there are many separate memories collected in a common memory space, it would perhaps be better to use the expression “conglomerate memories.” Thus people have memories in common, but not necessarily with an identical content. The framework for the memories is often the individual’s family (Warring 1996; Jensen 2004).

In the memories, central persons (such as Aaddaaridaad and Kuaania) and places (such as Narsarmijit and Pamialluk) live as symbols of the remembered past. Interest in the forefathers found expression in an event by Aaddaaridaad’s gravestone on 14 April 2001 on the occasion of the 100 year anniversary of the baptism of Aaddaaridaad and others of the last wave



**Fig. 98.** Over the now closed settlement of Sammissoq, a cross, which is visible from a great distance, can be seen. Crosses like this were put up by the local population in several previous settlements to indicate that they had been vacated in the first half of the 20th century and as a memorial to the life which had once been lived there. Photo: H. C. Gulløv 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

of immigrants (Fig. 99). The gravestone stands out from the churchyard's wooden crosses, and is one of the few physical memorials which have been established in posterity with relation to the historical association to Southeast Greenland and the immigrants from there (Jensen 2002a). There appears to be a renewed interest in the past among the descendants, and increasing historical awareness, which may hang together with a desire to strengthen the local identity within the region. And in that context, the history of the East Greenlandic immigration to and the descendants' life in the Cape Farewell area is completely fundamental.

The cultural landscape and the memories which have been passed down remain as local evidence of a phase in history in which the population moved from Southeast Greenland and settled in the Cape Farewell area. On the other hand, in the local area there are practically no material remains in the form of objects. But if one goes to Herrnhut in the German state of Saxony, where the central activities of the Moravian Brethren are still placed, there is an extraordinarily fine collection of objects from Greenland, including objects collected at the erstwhile mission station Friedrichsthal.

**Fig. 99.** Aaddaaridad's – Kristian Poulsen's – gravestone. According to the information on the stone, he was born in East Greenland before 1884 and died in Nanortalik in 1941. In a list of the population of southeast Greenland in 1884, he is stated to have been twelve years old at that time, i.e. he was born in 1872 (Hansen 1888). The stone is one of the few material relics which have been erected after his death, and it plays a role in people's memories of the East Greenlandic immigration to the Cape Farewell area and the political attitudes to these memories. Photo: H. C. Gulløv 2001, The National Museum of Denmark.







**Fig. 100.** Narsarmijit (Frederiksdal) is today the most southerly settlement in Greenland. In the middle of the settlement stands the church and bears witness of the time when the Moravian mission station in Friedrichsthal lay here and was the centre for a large congregation who lived spread out in settlements over the entire Cape Farewell district. Today the church functions as a church for the Church of Greenland. The long building on the left of the church is the school. The missionaries' house has been taken down and moved to Nanortalik where it functions as the priest's house. Photo: E. L. Jensen 2004, The National Museum of Denmark.

The missionaries have sent or brought the objects with them to Europe, and they have – often by complicated routes – ended up in the museum at Herrnhut. This collection of museum items is a result of the meeting of cultures which has been described in this book, and it contributes to shedding light both on the encounter between the Moravian missionaries and the East Greenlandic immigrants and on the material culture in the Cape Farewell area (Fig. 100).

## IX. Greenland in Herrnhut

### History

In this chapter we shall look more closely at the Greenlandic objects in Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, which through the years have come to Europe together with the Moravian Brethren's returning missionaries and their families.

The collection is in this context of particular interest because the collected objects come from the local congregations, who gave farewell presents to the missionaries who were leaving, while the missionaries themselves collected *Erinnerungsstücke* or souvenirs to remind them of their stay. Thus an independent collection took place in the country where the missionary field had to be divided with Danish and Norwegian missionaries, and after the cession of Norway to Sweden in 1814 with the Danish missionaries alone. As early as 1757, ethnographic items which had been brought home were placed in Naturalienkabinett in Barby, which was open to the public, and where the students at the Moravian Brethren's Theological seminary could get an idea of the material culture in their coming field of work. In 1809, the cabinet was moved to Niesky and subsequently new collections were added in the archive at Herrnhut in 1845 and in Kleinwelka in 1872 (Augustin 2003: 15).

The museum in Herrnhut was founded in 1878 with collections which came from the area, from the inhabitants' private hiding-places, and not least as a reaction to circular letters sent to all the Moravian Brethren's mission stations with an appeal to support the new museum. A division into an ethnographic and a local historical section took place in 1905 (Meier 1978: 7–8).

Objects also came to Herrnhut from the Moravians' other localities in Germany and after large parts of the collection at Niesky had been destroyed by military operations in the spring of 1945, the rest were transferred to Herrnhut in 1947–48. There is no record of the missing items from these destructive events (*ibid.*).

Today there are about 5500 objects in Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut which can all be related to the work of the Moravian missions. Hundred and seventy of these are classified as Greenlandic, which means that most of them must date from the period 1733–1900 during which the Moravian mission was active in the country; but due to the collection's turbulent existence the number must be assumed to have been higher (Augustin 2003: 9, 2008: 213) (Figs. 101, 102 and 103).





**Fig. 101.** The Moravian Brethren's church at the end of Comeniusstraße, Herrnhut. Built 1756–57, ruined 1945, rebuilt 1951–53. Photo: H. C. Gulløv 1984, The National Museum of Denmark.



**Fig. 102.** Vogtshof, Sitz der Direktion der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität (Seat of the Board of the Evangelical United Brethren), Herrnhut. Built 1730–34. Photo: H. C. Gulløv 1984, The National Museum of Denmark.



**Fig. 103.** The archive of the Moravian mission, Zentralarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität (Central Archive of the Evangelical United Brethren), Herrnhut. Has functioned as the main archive since 1764. Photo: H. C. Gulløv 1984, The National Museum of Denmark.

## The provenance of the objects

The majority of the objects which have been preserved come from the end of the 19th century and must be assumed to have arrived in connection with the establishment of the museum in 1878. Thus particular interest attaches to the objects which can be traced back to the South Greenlandic mission stations Lichtenau, Friedrichsthal and Illorpaat, which were set up in 1774, 1824 and 1864 respectively, and which the East Greenlandic immigrants went to in large numbers, becoming part of the congregation.

It is these objects which we will try to identify and describe later in this chapter. The information which is given for the individual objects consists of a description and to a limited extent the names of people and the date of acquisition.

First we have to see whether the names in the museum register can also be found in the lists of missionaries who had been sent out, and who appear in the church registers. An investigation of this question can tell us who the donor was and where the object comes from. But as the missionaries frequently moved from place to place and thus also worked



in places further up the west coast, we must also make use of information from the mission stations Neuherrnhut, Lichtenfels and Ummannaq, which were established in 1733, 1758 and 1861 respectively, in order to get a complete overview of the material.

## Names of persons in the museum register

The following persons are named in connection with the registered Greenlandic objects (here given in alphabetical order, and in the form in which they appear in the register): Ludwig Becker; Th. Bechler; Bindschedler; Boas; Br. Bohlmann; Schw. Carol-Lemerz; M. Clemens; David Cranz; Grillich; F. A. Hagenauer; O. Heinke; Br. Hirt; Schw. Koch; Leden; Br. Lehmann; D. Lorez; Mehlhose; Schw. Menzel; Curt Möschler; Eugen Reichel; Schw. Th. Reichel; A. Riegel; A. Röderer; Br. Schmiedecke; Br. Schneider; Br. Seidel; Spindler; Starik(?); Br. Warmow; Schw. Weiler.

## Names of persons in the church registers

In relation to this investigation's overall theme – the Cape Farewell region – interest attaches to the Moravian mission's southerly stations, i.e. Lichtenau, Friedrichsthal and Illorpaat. Here the available church registers have been a great help; however, the first volume of Lichtenau's church register (1774–1843) was lost with the sinking of M/S Hans Hedtoft south of Cape Farewell in January 1959, so the relevant persons have been searched for elsewhere (e.g. Wilhjelm 2001). Additional information about the northern mission stations around Neuherrnhut, together with the biographies of the last Moravian missionaries in South Greenland have principally been looked for in Bugge (1969: 340–342), Israel (1969: 202–203) and Wilhjelm (2001: 495–508).

Missionaries in Lichtenau 1774–1843:

**Brodersen**, Jesper (\*1749 Slesvig-Holsten †1822 Herrnhut)

– 1792 from Lichtenfels, 1793 to Neuherrnhut.

**Beck**, Jakob (\*1741 Neuherrnhut †1822 Lichtenau) & Maria, b. **Winkler**

– 1793 from Lichtenfels, 1797 to Europe, 1798 from Europe.

**Kranich**, Joh. Fr. (\*1773 Kleberg †1816 North Atlantic)

– 1805 from Europe, 1816 to Europe.

**Kleinschmidt**, Johan Conrad (\*1768 Mühlhausen †1832 Friedrichsthal) & Christina, b. **Petersen**

– 1813 from Europe, 1823 to Europe.



- Müller**, Valentin (\*1787 Neckarshausen †1869 Gnadenfrei) & Johanna Dorothea (†1865 Gnadenfrei), b. **Glafé**  
 – 1813 from Europe, 1819 to Europe, 1824 from Neuherrenhut, 1834 to Friedrichsthal, 1841 from Friedrichsthal, 1854 to Europe.
- Eberle**, Michael (\*1773 Württemberg †1859 Kleinwelka) & Johanna Maria, b. **Beck**  
 – 1819 from Neuherrenhut, 1826 to Lichtenfels.
- Ihrer**, Georg Michael (†1863 Kleinwelka) & Marie Louise (\*1801 Neuherrenhut †1878 Kleinwelka), b. **Kleinschmidt**  
 – 1826 from Europe, 1829 to Friedrichsthal, 1834 from Friedrichsthal, 1841 to Friedrichsthal.
- Kögel**, Johannes (\*1793 Bönningheim †1873 Niesky) & Friederike Henr., b. **Teicher**  
 – 1831 from Europe, 1841 to Europe, 1842 from Europe, 1861 to Europe.
- Tietzen**, Joh. Fr. David (\*1794 Neuwied †1858 Lichtenfels) & Friederikke Wilhelmine, b. **Pemsel**  
 – 1835 from Lichtenfels, 1836 to Lichtenfels.
- Asboe**, Michael Andersen (\*1802 Aastorp †1885 Christiansfeld)  
 – 1837 from Friedrichsthal, 1846 to Europe.
- Uellner**, Johann Wilhelm (\*1807 Echenhagen †1884 Kleinwelka)  
 – 1838 from Europe, 1840 to Friedrichsthal.
- Kruth**, Ferdinand (\*1804 Stettin †1863 Hoffenthal)  
 – 1843 from Europe, 1845 to Friedrichsthal.

None of the names in the museum register can be found in the above extract from the church register.

Missionaries and their spouses in Lichtenau (& Illorpaat) 1844–1900 (*Kirchen=Buch, zweiter Band; Register der europäischen Geschwister*):

- Hasting**, Christian Ludwig  
 – 1846 from Europe, 1847 to Lichtenfels, 1851 to Europe.
- Warmow**, Matthäus (\*1818 Kottbus †1898 Kleinwelka)  
 – 1846 from Europe, 1852 to Lichtenfels.
- Hansen**, Ingeborg Christine (\*1815 Teglegaard †1851 Friedrichsthal), married 1847 to M. A. **Asboe**  
 – 1847 from Europe, 1849 to Friedrichsthal.
- Jensen**, Anne Sophie (1822–1909), married 1852 to M. A. **Asboe**  
 – 1852 from Europe, 1855 to Lichtenfels.
- Schneider**, Immanuel Gottlob  
 – 1854 from Friedrichsthal, 1858 to Europe.
- Kögel**, Caspar (\*1801 Bönningheim †1862 Lichtenau) & Johanna, b. **Nepilas**  
 – 1855 from Lichtenfels, 1864 Johanna to Europe.

**Schmiedecke**, Ferdinand Wilhelm (\*1832 Potsdam †1882 Herrnhut)

– 1858 from Europe, 1863 to Lichtenfels.

**Starick**, Martin (\*1836 Werben †1921 Herrnhut)

– 1859 from Friedrichsthal, 1861 to Friedrichsthal, 1867 from Lichtenfels to Illorpaat, 1868 to Friedrichsthal.

**Gericke**, Carl August & Marie Emilie

– 1861 from Europe, 1867 to Friedrichsthal.

**Warmow**, Matthäus & Emma Renata, b. **Hallbeck** (†1897 Herrnhut)

– 1864 from Lichtenfels, 1864 to Illorpaat, 1883 to Europe.

**Arnstadt**, Carl Louis Christian

– 1863 from Europe, 1868 to Lichtenfels, 1873 in Neu Herrnhut, 1874 to Friedrichsthal.

**Hilbig**, Joh. Carl August & Hermine Louise (†1866 Friedrichsthal)

– 1864 from Friedrichsthal, 1867 to Europe, 1869 from Europe via Paamiut to Illorpaat, 1877 to Friedrichsthal, 1883 from Friedrichsthal, 1886 to Europe.

**Kögel**, Heinrich August (\*1834 Lichtenau †1918 Niesky) & Charlotte Matilda, b. **Kersten**

– 1867 from Europe, 1875 to Neu Herrnhut, 1876 from Neu Herrnhut, 1879 to Friedrichsthal, 1880 from Friedrichsthal, 1883 to Friedrichsthal, 1896 to Europe.

**Spindler**, Carl Julius (\*1838 Einsiedel †1918 Kleinwelka)

– 1868 from Friedrichsthal, 1873 to Neu Herrnhut.

**Bindschedler**, Caroline Luise (†1908 Kleinwelka), married **Spindler** 1869

– 1868–69 from Europe via Paamiut, 1873 to Neu Herrnhut.

**Lauritzen**, Charlotte Theodora, married 1869 to J. C. A. **Hilbig**

– 1869 from Europe via Paamiut to Illorpaat, 1877 to Friedrichsthal, 1883 from Friedrichsthal, 1886 to Europe.

**Winkler**, Anna Marie, married 1873 to C. L. C. **Arnstadt**

– 1873 from Neu Herrnhut, 1874 to Friedrichsthal.

**Bindschedler**, Johann Heinrich (\*1835 Königsfeld †1918 Herrnhut) & Ernestine Emilie, b. **Leupold**

– 1874 from Europe, 1876 to Europe.

**Brodbeck**, Jacob (†1884 off Shetland Islands)

– 1877 from Europe, 1878 to Friedrichsthal (married here in 1880 to A. F. **Götz**), 1884 departure.

**Gericke**, Carl August (†1881 Illorpaat) & Marie Emilie, b. **Tietzen**

– 1877 to Illorpaat from Friedrichsthal, 1881 Marie Emilie to Europe.

**Gysin**, Gustav Rudolf (†1888 Illorpaat) & Berta Elisabet Augusta, b.

**Wandrey** – 1879 from Europe, 1889 Berta Elisabet Augusta to Europe.

**Heinke**, Otto Hermann

- 1882 from Europe, 1884 to Friedrichsthal (married 1885 in Lichtenau to Amalie Friedericke **Brodbeck**), 1885 to Lichtenfels.

**Götz**, Amalie Friedericke, married **Brodbeck** 1880, married **Heinke** 1885

- 1884 from Friedrichsthal, 1885 to Lichtenfels.

**Schärf**, Emil Albert (\*1855 South Africa †1917 South Africa)

- 1886 from Europe, 1888 to Illorpaat (married here in 1888 to Anna Marie **Schütz**), 1896 to Friedrichsthal.

**Zucher**, Ernst Paul (\*1859 Berthelsdorf †1934 Gnadenfrei)

- 1888 from Europe (married 1892 to Johanna Elisabeth **Arnstadt**), 1899 to Friedrichsthal.

**Schütz**, Anna Marie (\*1864 †1946 Bad-Boll)

- 1888 from Europe to Illorpaat (married in 1888 to E. A. **Schärf**), 1896 to Friedrichsthal.

**Bohlmann**, Ernst Adolf Karl Heinrich (\*1864 Katern †1945 Kleinwelka)

- 1892 from Europe (married 1894 to Marie **Herzog**), 1894 to Friedrichsthal.

**Arnstadt**, Johanna Elisabeth

- 1892 from Europe (married 1892 to E. P. **Zucher**), 1894 to Friedrichsthal.

**Hinz**, Johannes Ludwig (\*1866 Lindenwald †1964 Minnesota)

- 1894 from Europe (married 1895 to Hansine Christine **Fogdal**), 1900 to Europe.

**Fogdal**, Hansine Christine (\*1867 Braabæk †1896 Lichtenau)

- 1895 from Europe (married to J. L. **Hinz** 1895).

**Henzel**, Marie Johanne Wilhelmine

- 1898 from Europe (married 1898 to J. L. **Hinz**).

In the index for volume two of the church register, here reproduced *in extenso*, there are several names which can be identified in the museum register.

Missionaries and their spouses in Friedrichsthal 1824–1900 (*Kirchen=Buch; Register der europäischen Geschwister*):

**Kleinschmidt**, Johan Conrad (\*1768 Mühlhausen †1832 Friedrichsthal) &

Christina, b. **Petersen**

- 1824 from Europe via Neuherrnhut, 1835 Christina to Europe.

**de Fries**, J. Arnold

- 1824 from Europe, 1834 to South Africa via Europe.

**Baus**, J. Friedrich

- 1824 from Lichtenau, 1825 to Lichtenau (married here in 1834 to S. Ph. **Baus**), 1834 from Lichtenau, 1841 to Lichtenau.

**Popp, M. W.**

– 1825 from Lichtenau, 1826 to Europe, 1830 to Virgin Islands.

**Mehlhose, Johann Friedrich** (\*1788 Königsau †1856 Gnadau) & Christina (\*1789 Gesing), b. **Christens**

– 1827 from Lichtenfels, 1829 to Lichtenfels.

**Ihrer, Georg Michael** & Marie Louise, b. **Kleinschmidt**

– 1829 from Lichtenau, 1834 to Lichtenau, 1841 from Lichtenau, 1858 to Europe.

**Müller, Valentin** & Johanna Dorothea, b. **Glafe**

– 1834 from Lichtenau, 1841 to Lichtenau.

**Baus, S. Ph.** (married 1834 in Lichtenau to J. F. **Baus**)

– 1834 from Lichtenau, 1841 to Lichtenau.

**Asboe, Michael Andersen**

– 1834 from Europe, 1837 to Lichtenau, 1846 to Europe (married here 1847 to Ingeborg Christine **Hansen** (†1851 Lichtenau)), 1849 from Lichtenau, 1851 to Europe (married here to Anna Sophie **Jensen** (†1909)) and Lichtenau and 1855 Lichtenfels, 1858 from Lichtenfels, 1859 in Pamialluk, 1867 to Europe.

**Paulsen Lund, Jørgen**

– 1835 from Lichtenau, 1840 to Europe (married here 1841 to A. Maria), 1841 from Europe, 1849 to Europe.

**Uellner, Johann Wilhelm**

– 1840 from Lichtenau, 1850 to Europe (married here 1851 to Anna Mar. (†1862 Lichtenfels)), 1851 from Europe, 1858 to Lichtenfels (married here 1863 to Susanna **Meili** (†1864 Lichtenfels)), and 1866 to Friederike **Arnstadt**), 1876 to Europe.

**Kruth, Ferdinand**

– 1845 from Lichtenau, 1846 to Hoffenthal in Labrador via Europe.

**Schneider, Immanuel Gottlob** (\*1822 Zaberfeld †1885 Görlitz)

– 1851 from Europe, 1854 to Lichtenau.

**Gericke, Carl August**

– 1854 from Neu Herrnhut, 1859 to Europe, 1860 to Lichtenau, 1867 from Lichtenau with Marie Emilie **Gericke**.

**Hilbig, Joh. Carl August**

– 1858 from Lichtenfels, 1864 to Lichtenau, 1867 to Europe, 1877 from Illorpaat, 1878 to Europe with wife and child.

**Starick, Martin**

– 1859 from Europe via Friedrichsthal to Lichtenau, 1861 from Lichtenau.

**Hilbig, Hermine Louise** (†1866 Friedrichsthal), b. **Fleig**, married to J.C.A. **Hilbig**

– 1861 from Europe, 1864 to Lichtenau.

**Spindler**, Carl Julius

– 1864 from Europe, 1868 to Lichtenau.

**Starick**, Sophie Augusta, b. **Pfeiffer**, married 1865 to M. **Starick**

– 1865 from Europe.

**Drexler**, Joh. Friedrich & Joh. Amalia

– 1870 from Lichtenfels, 1874 to Labrador via Europe.

**Arnstadt**, Carl Louis Christian & Anna Marie

– 1874 from Lichtenau, 1879 to Europe.

**Brodbeck**, Jacob

– 1875 from Lichtenau, 1876 to Europe.

**Hilbig**, Charlotte Theodora

– 1877 from Illorpaat, 1878 to Europe, 1879 to Lichtenfels.

**Kögel**, Heinrich August & Charlotte Matilde

– 1879 from Lichtenau, 1880 to Lichtenau, 1883 from Lichtenau.

**Brodbeck**, Amalie Friedrike, b. **Götz**

– 1880 from Europe.

**Zucher**, Traug. Wilhelm & Ida Bertha, b. **Pathe**

– 1883 from Lichtenfels.

**Riegel**, Johann Gottlieb Adolf (\*1845 Stettin †1918 Christiansfeld) & Kathrine, b. **Stemm**

– 1885 from Lichtenfels, 1892 to Europe, 1893 from Europe, 1896 to Illorpaat.

**Bohlmann**, Ernst & Marie, b. **Herzog**

– 1894 from Lichtenau, 1900 to Europe via Lichtenau.

**Schärf**, Emil Albert & Anna Marie, b. **Schütz**

– 1896 from Illorpaat, 1899 to Europe.

**Zucher**, Ernst Paul & Johanna Elisabeth, b. **Arnstadt**

– 1899 from Lichtenau, 1900 to Europe.

In the list of Europeans in Friedrichsthal, which is reproduced here *in extenso*, there are also several names which can be identified in the museum register.

On this basis we now have sufficient information for us to trace the persons' activities in the missionary field in Greenland, and to add information which can supplement our knowledge of the objects' provenance.



## The donors and the collected objects

Items of South and East Greenlandic origin are underlined.

### Ludwig Becker

- 78071 model of peat house (donated 2001).

This is **Ludwig** John Leonhard **Becker** (\*1923), author of the pamphlet "Herrnhut 1945," Herrnhut 1997, and the son of Christoph Ludwig Bronson Becker (\*1894 †1964), who from 1949 to 1964 was director of the museum in Herrnhut. He has not been in Greenland.

### Th. Bechler

- 57420 model of women's boat with sail, four oarswomen and a male steersman.

This is presumably **Bechler**, **Theodor** (\*1862 †1944), who as one of the Moravian Brethren's historians has written "Samuel Kleinschmidt, der Sprachmeister Grönlands," Herrnhut 1930. He has not been in Greenland.

### Bindschedler

- 67995 sperm whale tooth (donated 1878).

Brother Joh. Heinrich **Bindschedler** (\*1835 †1918) was the brother-in-law of Carl Julius Spindler and lived in Greenland for eleven years. 1863–72 Neuherrehut; 1872–74 Germany; 1874–76 Lichtenau. The object has probably been donated to the museum in connection with its establishment.

### Boas

- 67818 violin with bow (Unitäts-Archiv deposit 1878, purchased 1973).

In the register it says "**Boas** im Hoffenthal 1828," which must be Hopedale in Labrador. The object was donated to the museum on its establishment, but is probably not from Greenland.

### Br. Bohlmann

- 67856 baleen fishing line.

Brother Ernst Adolf Karl Heinrich **Bohlmann** (\*1864 †1945) lived for eight years in Greenland and then twenty years in Labrador. 1892–94 Lichtenau; 1894–1900 Friedrichsthal; 1900 Lichtenau. The object is from South Greenland.

### Schw. Carol-Lemerz

- 67789 dish made of baleen with sealskin strap (donated).

It has not been possible to find information about this donor.

### M. Clemens

- 67902 doll with clothes (deposit 1878, acquired 1912).

It has not been possible to find information about this person, whose gift came to the museum in connection with its establishment.

### David Cranz

- 57418 soapstone lamp (purchased 1969).
- 67820 soapstone lamp (deposit 1878, donated 1973).

Brother **David Cranz** (\*1723 †1777) was the Moravian Brethren's historian and secretary for Zinzendorf until the latter's death in 1760. He was in Greenland for a winter. 1761–62 Neuherrehut. The objects have been owned by the family, and have come to the museum from there (Israel 1982: 477–478, 2003: 111).

### Grillich

- 67960 strap for kayak half-jacket (donated).

It has not been possible to find information about this person, whose donation was transferred from Museum Niesky, presumably in 1947. **Grillich** is a family name, and an ancestor, Johann Georg **Grillich**, went to Greenland in 1786 (Israel 1969: 203).

### F. A. Hagenauer

- 67904 kayak with equipment (purchased 1899–1901).
- 67988 doll with clothes.
- 68022 doll with clothes (purchased).

Friedrich August **Hagenauer** (\*1829 †1909) travelled as a missionary to Australia in 1858 and died out there, so he can hardly have handed in the objects in question. The complete kayak with its flat deck appears to be of South Greenlandic origin.

### O. Heinke

- 57412 shooting screen for kayak (purchased).
- 67837 women's trousers with embroidery (deposit 1901, acquired 1910).
- 67845 kayak paddle (property of EBU Herrnhut).
- 67959 soapstone lamp from Uummanaq (Museum Niesky, donated).
- 67962 model of kayak skeleton (taken over 1973).
- 68145 wooden "snowshoe stick" (deposit).
- 69605 letter to Br. Heinke written by a Greenlander from Kangeq in 1899 (gift from Kleinwelka 1926).

Brother **Otto Hermann Heinke** (\*1854 †19??) lived in Greenland for eighteen years. 1882–84 Lichtenau; 1884–85 Friedrichsthal; 1885–1900 Lichtenfels-Neuherrehut. The women's trousers, which are a model, have

an East Greenlandic cut, and can originate from the donor's time in South Greenland.

### **Br. Hirt**

- 67934 model of a lance (donated).

It has not been possible to find information about this person, who comes from Kleinwelka. The object appears to be of South Greenlandic origin.

### **Schw. Koch**

- 68004 skin shoe with embroidery (donated 1911).

Sister (**Schwester**) **Koch** (\*18?? †19??) must be the wife of Ferdinand W. Schmiedecke, who in 1866 in Kleinwelka was married to Auguste **Koch** (†1869 in Neu Herrnhut) and in 1870 in Neu Herrnhut to Johanne **Koch**. The latter lived for five years in Greenland. 1870–72 Neu Herrnhut; 1872–75 Ummannaq.

### **Leden**

- 28272 female wooden doll with dress of depilated sealskin (purchased 1910).

Christian **Leden** (\*1882 †1957) is a Norwegian music ethnologist, who in 1910 travelled to East Greenland (Leden 1954: 5). The doll is from Leden's time in Ammassalik in 1910, i.e. ten years after the Moravian Brethren's activities in Greenland had stopped.

### **Br. Lehmann**

- 57403 gut skin anorak (donated 1878).

It has not been possible to find information about the donor, whose name in the register is associated with Sarepta, the Moravian mission near Volgograd in Russia. The long anorak, which was donated to the museum on its establishment, is probably not Greenlandic but could come from Labrador.

### **D. Lorez**

- 67964 drum with text "18tes Jahrhundert".

It has not been possible to find information about the collector of this 18th-century drum, which in 1947 was transferred from Museum Niesky.

### **Mehlhose**

- 67932 soapstone beaker (Unitäts-Archiv deposit 1878, purchased 1973). Brother Johann Friedrich **Mehlhose** (\*1788 †1856) lived twenty-nine years in Greenland. 1819–27 Lichtenfels; 1827–29 Friedrichsthal; 1829–35 Lichtenfels; 1835–37 Germany; 1837–42 Neu Herrnhut; 1842–49 Lichtenfels-

Neuherrnhut. The object was handed over to the archive by the Greenland missionary Herbach, Neuherrnhut, in connection with the establishment of the museum.

### **Schw. Menzel**

- 67756 sealskin desk pad with skin embroidery around the edge (donated).

It has not been possible to find information about the donor. **Menzel** is a family name, and an ancestor, Heinrich **Menzel**, went to Greenland in 1783 (Israel 1969: 203). However, it can also be a mistake for Marie Johanne Wilhelmine **Henzel**, who in 1898 went to Lichtenau, where she got married to Brother Johannes Ludwig Hinz.

### **Curt Möschler**

- 57421 soapstone paperweight (collected 1879, donated 1969).
- 67909 part of a Norse cloth (Mönschler-Kronförstchen, donated 1878).

It has not been possible to find information about the collector who presumably donated the objects in connection with the establishment of the museum.

### **Eugen Reichel**

- 67824 woven grass basket (purchased 1879).
- 67844 goat's horn powder horn (purchased 1879).

It has not been possible to find information about the donor, who is from Berthelsdorf (Herrnhut), or about the objects, which came to the museum in connection with its establishment. A presumed relation, the inspector Ernst **Reichel**, travelled to Neuherrnhut in 1859 as a member of the mission department, in order to dismiss Samuel Kleinschmidt.

### **Schw. Th. Reichel**

- 67819 embroidered textile (donated).

It has not been possible to find information about the donor or the object, which has presumably been given to the museum in connection with its establishment.

### **A. Riegel**

- 57402 gut skin anorak (purchased).
- 57410 model of women's boat with four oarswomen and a male steersman (purchased).
- 57413 wooden models of seals, bladder floats and blubber bags (purchased 1969).

- 57414 wood and skin models of furniture for tents and houses (acquired 1969).
- 57415 model of wing harpoon with throwing board (purchased).
- 57416 snow goggles (purchased 1969).
- 57425 strap for kayak half-jacket (purchased).
- 57426 ring and pin game – *ajagaq* (purchased 1969).
- 67785 model of summer tent (acquired 1894) (purchased).
- 67786 two sealskin finger protectors with six sewing needles (purchased).
- 67790 soapstone bowl (originally gift from David Cranz) (purchased).
- 67791 *kammiut* stick (purchased).
- 67792 bone comb (purchased).
- 67806 child's gut skin anorak (purchased).
- 67807 model of peat house with loose roof (purchased).
- 67822 skin tablemat with embroidery (purchased).
- 67823 skin tablemat with embroidery (purchased).
- 67833 wooden model of water bucket with ladle (purchased).
- 67834 knife sheath with skin embroidery (purchased).
- 67840 metal earrings with glass beads (purchased).
- 67843 model of soapstone lamp (purchased).
- 67846 yoke puzzle – *pulaartut* (purchased).
- 67851 bone thimble holder with three thimbles (purchased).
- 67852 wooden model of a flensing scene with three women, five children, a dog and a bucket (purchased).
- 67853 wooden top (purchased).
- 67854 two wooden buzzers (purchased).
- 67910 three glass beads (purchased).
- 67936 model of ladle (purchased).
- 67938 models of women's implements and small wooden spoon (purchased).
- 67939 model of lamp stand (purchased).
- 67996 model of summer tent (purchased).
- 68011 snow goggles (purchased).
- 68021 woman's indoor trousers (purchased).
- 68240 metal earrings with glass beads (purchased).
- 69171 model of ladle (acquired 1893) (purchased).

Brother Johann Gottlieb Adolf **Riegel** (\*1845 †1918) lived a total of twenty-six years in Greenland. 1873–85 Neuherrenhut-Lichtenfels-Ummannaq; 1885–92 Friedrichsthal; 1892–93 Germany; 1893–96 Friedrichsthal; 1896–1900 Lichtenau-Illorpaat. In addition to the thirty-five objects listed here, of which most come from South and East Greenland, it must be mentioned that **Riegel** received a little hand drawn booklet made by Isak the



goatherd at Illorpaat, which tells about daily life at the mission station. In 1899, **Riegel** gave the booklet to the colonial manager, Konrad Olsen Bugge, Nanortalik (Bugge 1977: 51).

#### **A. Röderer**

- 67832 woven grass basket.

It has not been possible to find information about the donor.

#### **Br. Schmiedecke**

- 57408 skin belt with skin embroidery (acquired 1878, donated 1911).
- 67973 skin tablemat with embroidery (deposit 1878, donated 1911).

**Brother Ferdinand Wilhelm Schmiedecke** (\*1832 †1882) lived sixteen years in Greenland. 1858–63 Lichtenau; 1863–65 Lichtenfels; 1865–66 Germany; 1866–68 Neuherrnhut; 1868–69 Uummannaq; 1869–72 Neuherrnhut; 1872–75 Uummannaq. The objects were transferred to the museum in connection with its establishment, and we must assume that it was his wife Johanne, b. Koch, who in 1911 donated them to the museum.

#### **Br. Schneider**

- 67855 model of women's boat with sail (Kleinwelka, donated 1875).

**Brother Immanuel Gottlob Schneider** (\*1822 †1885) lived a total of twenty-two years in Greenland. 1851–54 Friedrichsthal; 1854–58 Lichtenau; 1858–59 Germany; 1859–63 Neuherrnhut; 1863–68 Uummannaq; 1868–69 Germany; 1869–72 Uummannaq; 1872–75 Neuherrnhut. Immediately after he came back, the object was donated to Kleinwelka, from where it has been transferred to the museum in Herrnhut.

#### **Br. Seidel**

- 69585 two mounted drawings made by Greenlandic children (donated).

It has not been possible to find information about the donor.

#### **Spindler**

- 57411 model of peat house (donated 1882).
- 67784 *ulu*, stamped "Raadh & Winther, Efte...Staal" (donated).
- 67942 Palaeo-Eskimo stone implements (donated 1882).

**Brother Carl Julius Spindler** (\*1838 †1918) was the brother-in-law of Joh. Heinrich Bindschedler and lived in Greenland for twenty-two years. 1864–68 Friedrichsthal; 1868–73 Lichtenau; 1873–75 Neuherrnhut; 1875–76 Uummannaq; 1876–82 Neuherrnhut; 1882–83 Germany; 1883–88 Neuherrnhut. The objects have probably been donated to the museum in connection with his trip home in 1882. From **Spindler** we also have five watercolours (78324, 78328, 78329, 78330, 78331) and eighteen drawings (Israel 1984).

**Starik(?)**

- 57419 soapstone lamp (acquired).

This is probably Brother Martin **Starick** (\*1836 †1921), who lived a total of thirty-eight years in Greenland. 1859–61 Lichtenau; 1861–65 Friedrichsthal; 1865–67 Lichtenfels; 1867–68 Illorpaat; 1868–70 Friedrichsthal; 1870–84 Lichtenfels; 1884–85 Germany; 1885–92 Lichtenfels; 1892–98 Neuherrenhut. We must assume that Starick after his long stay in Greenland could have delivered more objects than the single one he is noted down for.

**Br. Warmow**

- 68012 walking stick with handle of goat's horn (donated).
- 68024 model of women's boat with sail (purchased).

Brother Matthäus **Warmow** (\*1818 †1898) lived a total of thirty-five years in Greenland. 1846–52 Lichtenau; 1852–56 Lichtenfels; 1856–58 Europe and Baffin Island; 1858–59 Neuherrenhut; 1859–61 Lichtenfels; 1861–62 Neuherrenhut; 1862–64 Lichtenfels; 1864–67 Illorpaat; 1867–81 Lichtenau; 1881–83 Illorpaat. After thirty-five years in the country, of which the last nineteen were spent in South Greenland, we might assume that there could exist more objects than the two he is noted down for.

**Schw. Weiler**

- 67903 wing harpoon (acquired 1889, donated).

A missionary couple, Friedrich Thomas and Sofie Rudolfine **Weiler**, lived in 1865–67 and 1874–86 in Hoffenthal, Labrador (Brice-Bennett 2003: 140). It has not however been possible to find more information about the donor, but the object seems to come from South Greenland.

## Other objects in the museum register

To the seventy-nine objects listed above, of which thirty-four are assumed to come from South and East Greenland, we can add twenty-six further objects with this provenance. These are, however, without personal information and are reproduced here in number order, together with a short description and appropriate information about their acquisition:

57404 hair band; 57405 hair band; 67787 wooden eyeshade with bone ornaments riveted on (transferred from Museum Niesky 1947); 67788 thimble holder with five thimbles; 67821 woven grass basket (Illorpaat?); 67836 model of kamiks; 67838 model of cap in red woven material; 67839 model of cap in red woven material; 67841 two hair bands (a) and an amulet harness (b); 67842 model of water bucket; 67905 bladder dart; 67906 lance and throwing board; 67940 model of kamiks; 67941 hair band; 67944 harpoon for hunting at breathing hole; 67972 model of kamiks; 67986 boot creaser; 67998 male doll in east coast dress and kamiks; 68000 child's anorak in white material with red edging; 68001 child's anorak in white material with red edging around the face opening; 68134 boot creaser; 68149 kamiks; 68150 kamiks; 68242 model of dog sledge with four dogs, man and seal on the sledge (Unitäts-Archiv deposit 1878); 68243 model of kayak with hunter; 68244 model of kayak with hunter.

Thus a total of sixty objects come from the very south of Greenland, the majority of them collected during the last years that the Moravian mission was active in the country, i.e. before 1900, and where the population on the southeast coast primarily moved to Friedrichsthal (Israel 1978: 131).

There are a further fifty-six objects about which we can assume that most of them come from Greenland, whereas five seem to originate from Labrador. They are listed here in number order, with a brief description and appropriate information about their acquisition:

57400 women's trousers; 57401 child's kamiks; 57406 model of kamiks; 57407 model of kamiks; 57409 skin belt with skin embroidery; 57417 model of kayak with hunter (transferred from Kleinwelka); 57422 model of women's boat; 57423 gut skin window pane ; 57424 doll with clothes – bead collar was lost in 1945; 57427 jar with lid, turned out of bone (purchased 1969); 57428 bone spoon (possibly for 57427) (purchased 1969); 66071 strap for kayak half-jacket; 67805 doll with clothes; 67817 Christian cross carved in ivory; 67825 model of two oars for women's boat; 67826 model of women's trousers; 67827 no information (resembles an embroidery); 67829 soapstone Christmas tree foot, engraved "1900" (at Christmas 1900 they had left Greenland!); 67830 soapstone paperweight; 67831 soapstone paperweight made in 1877; 67835 model of kamiks;

67847 model of kayak – *probably not Greenlandic type* (Labrador?); 67848 no information (wooden plate with eleven ducks and a dog); 67849 no information (illustration of caribou); 67850 no information (illustration (of carving) of sledge with kayak lashed on, pulled by four dogs, with a free-standing male figure – *kayak probably not Greenlandic type* (Labrador?)); 67907 stuffed seal (from Museum Niesky 1947); 67908 bow – *probably not Greenlandic type* (Labrador?); 67911 Norse bell metal (from Museum Niesky 1947); 67933 model of soapstone lamp; 67935 model of soapstone vessel with suspension (Unitäts-Archiv deposit, purchased 1973); 67937 harpoon line; 67943 bird dart with throwing board; 67966 pair of skis (donated); 67969 *ulu* (from Brüdermuseum Neudietendorf, purchased 1961); 67985 model of lamp stand (Unitäts-Archiv, Herrnhut, deposit 1878, returned EBU 1973); 67987 model of two persons hunting at breathing hole – *the pointed anorak hoods are probably not Greenlandic* (Labrador?); 67989 model of kayak with hunter (Neudietendorf, purchased 1961) – *kayak and the hunter's pointed anorak hood are probably not Greenlandic* (Labrador?); 67997 doll with clothes; 67999 ringed seal anorak; 68002 model of kamiks; 68005 kamiks; 68006 model of bag embroidered with beads; 68007 depilated skin bag with appliqué; 68008 skin tablemat with embroidery; 68009 skin tablemat with embroidery; 68010 woven grass tablemat; 68013 depilated skin letter bag; 68014 male figure in coloured soapstone; 68023 gut skin anorak (from Museum Niesky); 68025 woven grass tablemat; 68026 woven grass basket; 68036 walrus tusk snuffbox (from Museum Niesky (1962?)); 68066 soapstone net sinker (from Museum Niesky); 68113 model of kayak with hunter; 68127 model of women's boat with oars and sail; 68241 bone model of knife or paper knife (Unitäts-Archiv, deposit 1878).

From the museum register we must add two watercolours by C. Rudolph (69153, 69154), five by C. J. Spindler (78324, 78328, 78329, 78330, 78331) and a plastic bag from Brugsen in Greenland with motifs from the East Greenland collection at Greenland's National Museum, "Tunuamiut" (69704).

Thus the collection preserved at Herrnhut consists of 169 objects or catalogue numbers, each of which may cover more than one item.

## **Division of the objects from Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut into functional groups**

This classification has been performed in relation to the ethnographic and social categories which are most often used in descriptions of ethnographic and archaeological museum collections (cf. Gulløv 1997: 100–109). The groups chosen are as follows:

**A. Hunting and fishing** (16 items); **B. Transport** (17 items); **C. Housing** (7 items); **D. Men's tools** (no items); **E. Women's equipment** (16 items); **F. Household equipment** (10 items); **G. Clothes and personal equipment** (38 items); **H. Religious objects** (4 items); **I. Toys, games, dolls etc.**, (13 items); **J. Objects for European purposes** (25 items); **K. Other, including objects outside Greenland** (24 items).

This makes a total of 170 items, as one of the original 169 museum objects contains two items, which have been put into different categories. Several items are models; but we have chosen to let these represent the functional groups, which thus have the following contents, where items of South and East Greenlandic origin are underlined:

**A. Hunting and fishing** (incl. models)

Wing harpoon (67903);  
 Model of wing harpoon with throwing board (57415);  
 Harpoon for hunting at breathing hole (67944);  
 Harpoon line (67937);  
 Lance and throwing board (67906);  
 Model of lance (67934);  
 Bladder dart (67905);  
 Bird dart with throwing board (67943);  
 Snow goggles (57416, 68011);  
 Eye shade with ornamentation (67787);  
 Knife sheath with skin embroidery (67834);  
 Goat's horn powder horn (67844);  
 Baleen fishing line (67856);  
 Soapstone net sinker (68066);  
 Wooden models of seals, bladder floats and blubber bags (57413).

**B. Transport** (incl. models)

Complete kayak with equipment (67904);  
 Kayak paddle (67845);  
 Shooting screen for kayak (57412);  
 Models of kayaks (68243, 68244, 57417, 68113);  
 Model of kayak skeleton (67962);  
 Models of women's boats (57410, 57420, 57422, 67855, 68024, 68127);  
 Model of two oars for women's boat (67825);  
 Model of dog sledge with dogs, man and seal on sledge (68242);  
 Pair of skis (67966);

**C. Housing** (models)

Peat houses (57411, 67807, 78071);



Gut skin window pane (57423);  
 Summer tents (67785, 67996);  
 Wood and skin models of furniture for tents and houses (57414).

#### **D. Men's tools**

None.

#### **E. Women's equipment** (incl. models)

Soapstone lamps (57418, 57419, 67820, 67959);  
 Models of soapstone lamps (67843, 67933);  
 Models of lamp stands (67939, 67985);  
*Ulus* (67784, 67969);  
 Bone thimble holders (67788 (with five thimbles), 67851 (with three thimbles));  
 Skin finger protectors with six sewing needles, five of bone, one of iron (67786);  
 Boot creasers (67986, 68134);  
 Models of women's implements and small wooden spoon (67938).

#### **F. Household equipment** (incl. models)

Baleen dish (67789);  
 Models of water buckets (67833 (with ladle), 67842);  
 Models of ladles (67936, 69171);  
 Model of soapstone vessel with suspension (67935);  
 Woven grass baskets (67821, 68026, 67824, 67832).

#### **G. Clothes and personal equipment** (incl. models)

Women's trousers (57400);  
 Models of women's trousers (67826, 67837);  
 Indoor trousers – *naatsit* (68021);  
 Kamiks (68005, 68149, 68150);  
 Models of kamiks (57406, 57407, 67835, 67836, 67940, 67972, 68002);  
 Children's kamiks (57401);  
*Kammiut* stick (67791);  
 Skin shoe with embroidery (68004);  
 Ringed seal anorak (67999);  
 Children's anoraks in white cloth (68000, 68001);  
 Gut skin anoraks (57402, 67806 (for child), 68023);  
 Strap for kayak half-jacket (57425, 66071, 67960);  
 Models of caps in red woven material (67838, 67839);  
 Hair bands (57404, 57405, 67841a (two sets), 67941);  
 Metal earrings with glass beads (67840, 68240);

Bone comb (67792);  
 Skin belts with embroidery (57408, 57409);  
 Three glass beads (67910).

#### **H. Religious objects**

Drum "18tes Jahrhundert" (67964);  
 Two wooden buzzers (67854);  
 Amulet harness (67841b);  
 Christian cross carved in ivory (walrus tooth?) (67817).

#### **I. Toys, games, dolls etc.**

Dolls (♀) with clothes (57424, 67805, 67902, 67988, 67997, 68022);  
 Wooden doll (♀) with skin clothes (28272);  
 Doll (♂) with clothes (67998);  
 Male figure in coloured soapstone (68014);  
 Ring and pin game (57426);  
 Yoke puzzle (67846);  
 Wooden top (67853);  
 Wooden model of flensing scene with women, children, dog and bucket (67852).

#### **J. Items for European purposes**

Skin tablemats (67822, 67823, 67973, 68008, 68009);  
 Woven grass tablemats (68010, 68025);  
 Skin desk pad (67756);  
 Soapstone paperweight (57421, 67830, 67831);  
 Depilated skin letter bag (68013);  
 Bone model of knife or paper knife (68241);  
 Letter to Br. Heinke (69605);  
 Soapstone beaker (67932);  
 Soapstone bowl (67790);  
 Pot with lid turned in bone (57427);  
 Bone spoon (57428);  
 Embroidered textile (67819);  
 Embroidery (67827);  
 Depilated skin bag (68007);  
 Model of bag embroidered with beads (68006);  
 Walking stick with goat's horn handle (68012);  
 Mounted children's drawings (69585);  
 Soapstone Christmas tree foot (67829).

**K. Other, including objects from outside Greenland**

Sperm whale tooth (67995);  
 Wooden plate with 11 ducks and a dog (67848);  
 Illustration or carving of caribous (67849);  
 Stuffed seal (67907);  
 Walrus tusk snuffbox (68036);  
 Carrier bag from Brugsen marked Tunuamiut (69704);  
 Watercolours by C. J. Spindler (78324, 78328, 78329, 78330, 78331);  
 Watercolours by C. Rudolph (69153, 69154);  
 Part of a Norse cloth (67909);  
 Norse bell metal (67911);  
 Palaeo-Eskimo stone tools (67942);  
 Violin from Hoffenthal in Labrador (67818);  
 Wooden object "snowshoe stick" (68145);  
 Gut skin anorak from Labrador(?) (57403);  
 Models of kayaks from Labrador(?) (67847, 67989);  
 Sledge with kayak lashed on, pulled by dogs, with free-standing male figure, from Labrador(?) (67850);  
 Model of two persons hunting at breathing hole, from Labrador(?) (67987);  
 Bow, from Labrador(?) (67908).

**Descriptions**

Of the 121 items which are included in the groups from hunting (A) to toys (I), half of them in all probability come from the southernmost part of Greenland.

The group of tools used for hunting and fishing (A) shows the distinct orientation towards the sea which is characteristic of the Greenlandic hunter culture.

The wing harpoon (67903) is 207 cm long and has been used for hunting seals from a kayak. The preserved example has after being collected had its harpoon line wound around its shaft. Between the wings can be seen the hollow into which the peg of the throwing board must fit. This technological feature is peculiar to South Greenland, where it has been introduced from the east coast at an early stage (Birket-Smith 1917: 27).

The harpoon for hunting at breathing holes (67944) is 107 cm long and has been used for hunting seals from the solid winter ice. This takes place at the seal's breathing hole, or by sneaking up on the sleeping animal on the ice, so-called "stalking." Both methods are known from the northerly part of the west coast and from the east coast, where this example comes from (GHS 1985: 60f.) (Figs. 104a and b and 105).

**Figs. 104a and b.**

Wing harpoon.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67903.

**Fig. 105.** Harpoonfor hunting at  
breathing hole.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67944.

**Figs. 106a, b and c.**Lance and throwing  
board.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67906a-b.



The lance (67906) is 190 cm long and furnished with a throwing board. It has been used for hunting from a kayak and is well-known from the east coast, where this example comes from (GHS 1985: 58f.). The model (67934) is 80 cm long and has an ice chisel at the rear. It has presumably been used for hunting at breathing holes (Figs. 106a, b and c).

The bladder dart (67905) is 170 cm long and has been used for hunting seals and small whales from a kayak. A bladder dart usually has a throwing board (which is lost?). This type is well-known from the whole of West Greenland and from the east coast (cf. Birket-Smith 1924: 303) (Figs. 107a and b).

**Figs. 107a and b.**

Bladder dart.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67905.



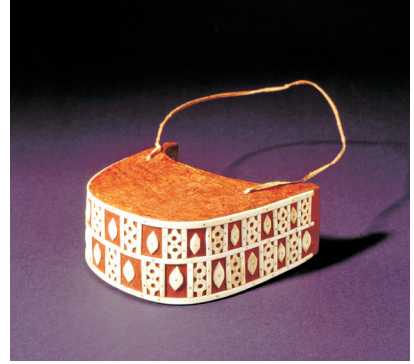
The bird dart (67943) is 190 cm long and furnished with a throwing board. It is common all over Greenland, where the side prongs can be fixed onto the shaft with either one or two lashings. The one in question has the side prongs attached to the shaft with two lashings. The throwing board's rear peg sits before the throw in the back end of the shaft, which is a South Greenlandic characteristic (Birket-Smith 1924: 354).

The wooden snow goggles (57416 and 68011), which have been used in large parts of Greenland, both appear to be from South Greenland, where hunting out in the East Greenland Drift Ice requires this form of protection for the hunter's eyes (cf. GHS 1985: 236; Norn 1996) (Fig. 108).

The wooden eye shield (67787) has been used in large parts of Greenland; but with bone seals riveted on as ornaments it is a peculiarity of Ammassalik, from where it became known to the world outside in the 1880s (Birket-Smith 1924: 191f.; GHS 1985: 232ff.) (Fig. 109).



**Fig. 108.** Snow goggles.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 68011.



**Fig. 109.** Eyeshade.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67787.

The sealskin knife sheath (67834), 21 cm long, is with its embroidery of narrow skin strips well-known from East Greenland and probably comes from there (GHS 1985: 121f.) (Fig. 110).

The powder horn (67844) and soapstone net sinker (68066) are widely used accoutrements for hunting and fishing, whereas the baleen fishing line (67856), which was used for deep water fishing, has a special history in South Greenland where this line has been in use. There, there are none of the big baleen whales and the material for the long lines had for generations to be acquired by trading with the Greenlanders who went whaling and who lived further north on the west coast of the country (Gulløv 1997: 403f.).

The models of seals and blubber bags (57413) come from South Greenland and give us an idea of how the catch was stored.

The group of means of transport (**B**) covers the whole spectrum of possible forms of transport, which in the summer consists of the kayak and the women's boat and in the winter the dog sledge and the ski, which was introduced from Europe (67966), and which only has a strap for the toes and not around the heel (Birket-Smith 1924: 252).

**Fig. 110.** Sheath for hunting knife.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67834.





**Fig. 111.** Kayak with equipment. Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67904.

The complete kayak (67904), 565 cm long, does not have the upward curved forward and aft parts which characterise the West Greenlandic kayak, but has a flatter deck and more vertical sides, and is covered with pale skin, all of these features being characteristics introduced into the Cape Farewell area with the immigrant East Greenlanders (Birket-Smith 1924: 271; Petersen 1986: 52). The models of kayaks (68243 and 68244) have the same characteristics (Figs. 111 and 112).

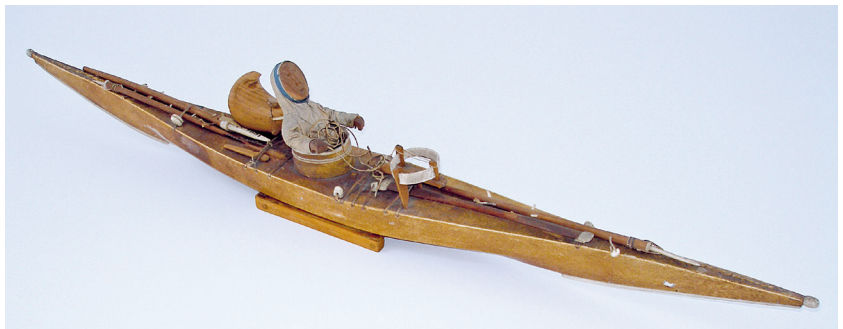
The shooting screen (57412), which the hunter in the kayak can hide behind, is a North Greenlandic invention and was introduced relatively late to South Greenland (Birket-Smith 1924: 317f.; Petersen 1986: 109f.).

The model of a women's boat (57410) could, like the other models, represent South Greenlandic vessels. However it is not possible to distinguish them from the other West Greenlandic types (Fig. 113).

**Fig. 112.**

Kayak model.

Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 68243.



**Fig. 113.** Women's boat model.

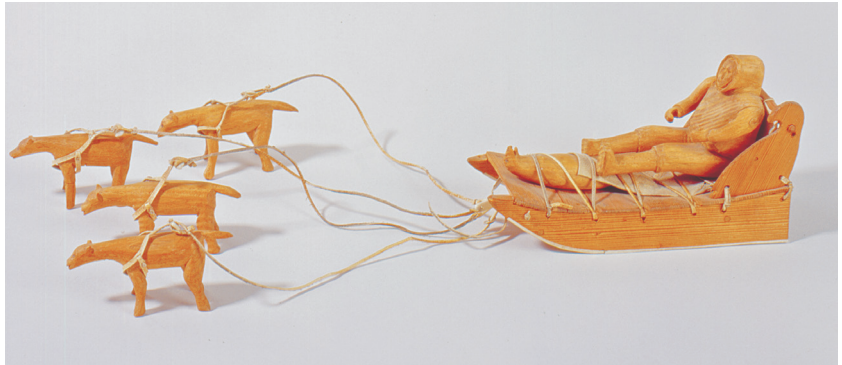
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 57410.



The model of the dog sledge ([68242](#)) is with its broad and relatively low uprights an East Greenlandic type (GHS 1985: 100, 108). The sledge could be used by the population of the time from Ammassalik and further south to Lindenow Fjord somewhat north of Cape Farewell (Thalbitzer 1912: 370) (Fig. 114).

**Fig. 114.** Model of dog sledge.

Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 68242.



The housing group (C) shows models of houses and tents and the furniture which was used ([57414](#)).

The Greenlandic winter house which was common at the time ([67807](#)) was built of stones and peat; and on the model shown one can under the skin covered roof catch a glimpse of the internal arrangement, where two women and a man sit on the platforms. The women's topknots are tied up with coloured bands – blue for married and red for unmarried women – by which one could distinguish the female members' status in the Moravian congregation.

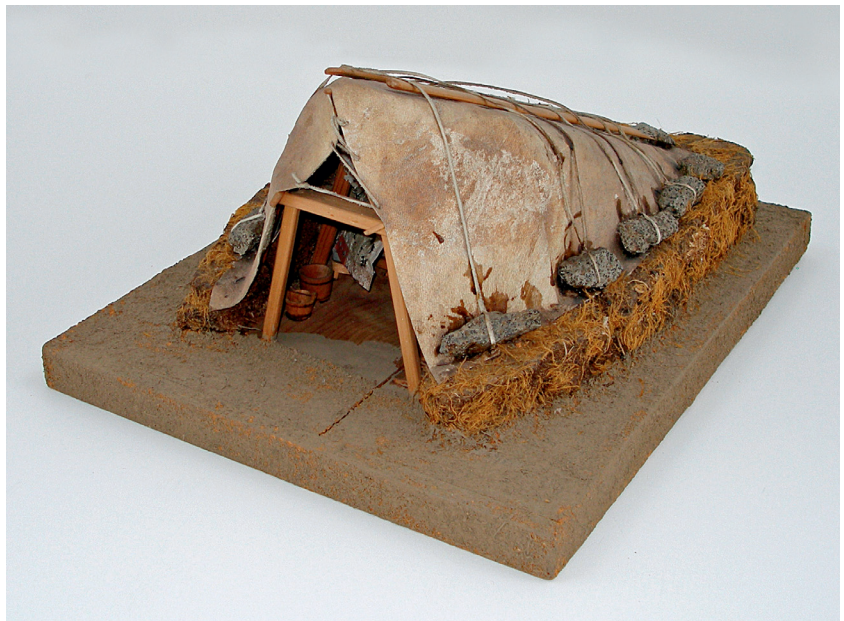


The summer tent (67785) is in South Greenland, which is commonly exposed to high winds and violent precipitation, often surrounded by an earth bank (Birket-Smith 1924: 156f.) (Figs. 115 and 116).

**Fig. 115.** Model of Greenlandic winter house.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67807.



**Fig. 116.** Model of South Greenlandic summer tent.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67785.

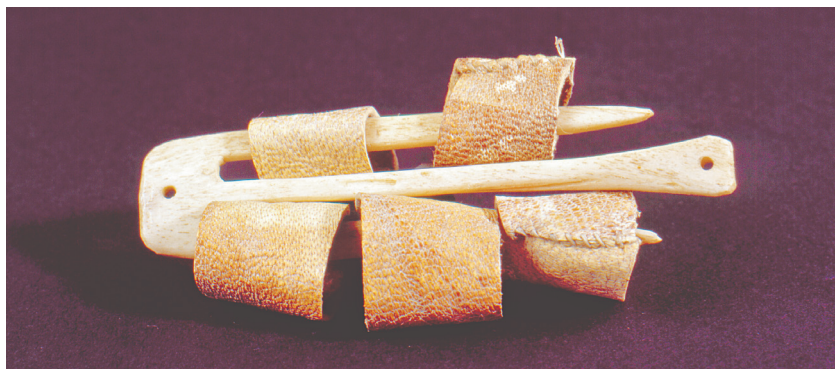


The group of men's tools (**D**) consists of wood carvers' knives, grinding and hammer stones, cutting boards, drills, axes, wedges, shovels and saws, among other things; but as none of these tools are represented in the collection we must assume that at the time when the collection was made they had long ago been replaced by European tools.

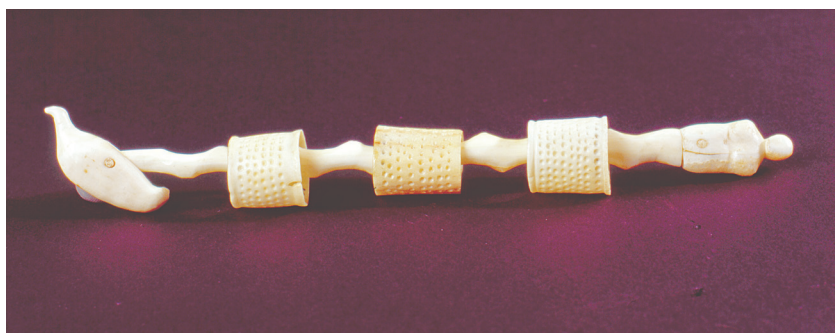
The group of women's equipment (**E**) consists principally of soapstone lamps, a material which must be assumed to have come from the good quarries in the fjord behind Neuherrehut and on the island of Uummanaq (67820 and 67959), which has been intensively used by the Moravian community's members (Gulløv 1997: 404). The women's knife, the crescent formed *ulu*, also known as the European sail maker's knife, had been in demand as a tool long before the start of colonisation (Gulløv & Kapel 1979: 125).

The thimble holders (67788 and 67851), 9 cm and 16 cm long, the finger protectors (67786) and the so-called boot creasers (67986 and 68134), 10 cm and 8 cm long, which are used to ruffle the edge of the kamik sole before it is sewn onto the leg, are all known from all over Greenland, but the examples in the collection are from South Greenland and probably East Greenlandic types (cf. GHS 1985: 156ff., 193f.) (Figs. 117, 118, 119 and 120).

**Fig. 117.** Bone thimble holder with skin thimbles.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67788.



**Fig. 118.** Bone thimble holder with skin thimbles.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67851.





**Fig. 119.** Skin finger protectors with bone needles.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67786.



**Fig. 120.** Boot creasers.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67986.



Of South Greenlandic origin is the little wooden box with its contents of models of women's knives and tools for softening kamiks, the so-called *kammiut sticks* (67938).

The group of household apparatus (F) consists of various types of container. The dish with sides of baleen (67789) could well come from the east coast, where similar dishes were used to store blubber (cf. GHS 1985: 177ff.). The model of a soapstone vessel with suspension (67935), which presumably comes from a model of a house, is a commonly appearing type which is also known from the east coast (cf. *ibid.*: 176).

The two models of water buckets (67833 and 67842) and of ladles (67936 and 69171) are manufactured in South Greenland and are East Greenlandic types (*ibid.*: 170, 173ff.) (Figs. 121 and 122).

Particular interest attaches to the woven grass baskets (67821), length 20 cm, which are made of twisted grass using a technique which is also known in archaeological finds from Greenland's earliest and latest Thule cultures (Holtved 1944: 266; Mathiasen & Holtved 1936: 106ff.). The tradition behind these ancient ways of plaiting grass was revived in the Moravian Brethren's mission stations, especially in Uummannaq in the fjord behind Neuherrnhut and in the southernmost part of Greenland at

**Fig. 121.** Models of water buckets with ladle.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67833 and 67842.



**Fig. 122.** Models of ladles for water buckets.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67936 and 69171.



**Fig. 123.** Woven grass basket.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67821.



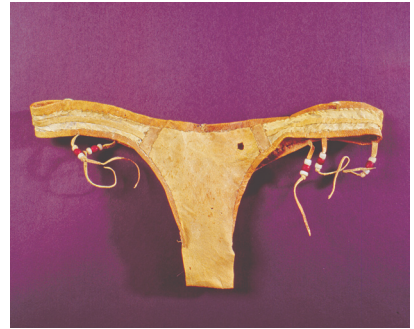


Illorpaat near Lichtenau (Birket-Smith 1924: 115), where in the latter place the strongest grass in the country, which could also be plaited into fishing lines, was to be found (Gulløv 1997: 404). The tradition of basket weaving also appeared at the stations in Labrador (Taylor 1984: 519), and was continued in Greenland long after the Moravian mission stopped its work in the country (cf. Haagen 2007) (Fig. 123).

**Fig. 124.** Model of women's trousers.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67837.



**Fig. 125.** Indoor trousers.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 68021.



The group of clothes and personal equipment (G) also includes a number of diminutive objects. The model of women's trousers (67837) is of depilated sealskin with appliqué, which is also known from the east coast (cf. GHS 1985: 209); this is also where the small inner trousers, *naatsit* (68021), 28.5 cm wide, hung with glass beads, come from (ibid.: 210) (Figs. 124 and 125).

**Fig. 126.** Kamiks.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 68149.



**Fig. 127.** Model of kamiks.  
Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67836.



The kamiks (68149 and 68150), 50 cm and 56 cm high, and the models (67836, 67940 and 67972) are all East Greenlandic types and characterised by the turned-up soles, which are fixed higher up on the leg of the kamik than the West Greenlandic (*ibid.*: 210f., 213, 222ff.). The soles are kept soft by the use of the *kammiut* stick (67791), 21 cm long (Figs. 126, 127 and 128).

**Fig. 128.**

*Kammiut* stick.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67791.



The anoraks of white cloth (68000 and 68001) and of gut skin (57402 and 67806) are, together with the models of caps (67838 and 67839), from South Greenland, from where caps, which were used by the Greenlandic members of the political councils, the boards of guardians, spread to the east coast and became fashionable in Ammassalik (*cf. ibid.*: 223, 230) (Figs. 129, 130 and 131).

**Fig. 129.** Anorak.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 68000.





**Fig. 130.**

Gut skin anorak.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67806.

**Fig. 131.** Models of caps.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum,  
Herrnhut, 67838 and  
67839.

**Fig. 132.** Strap for

kayak half-jacket.

Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 57425.



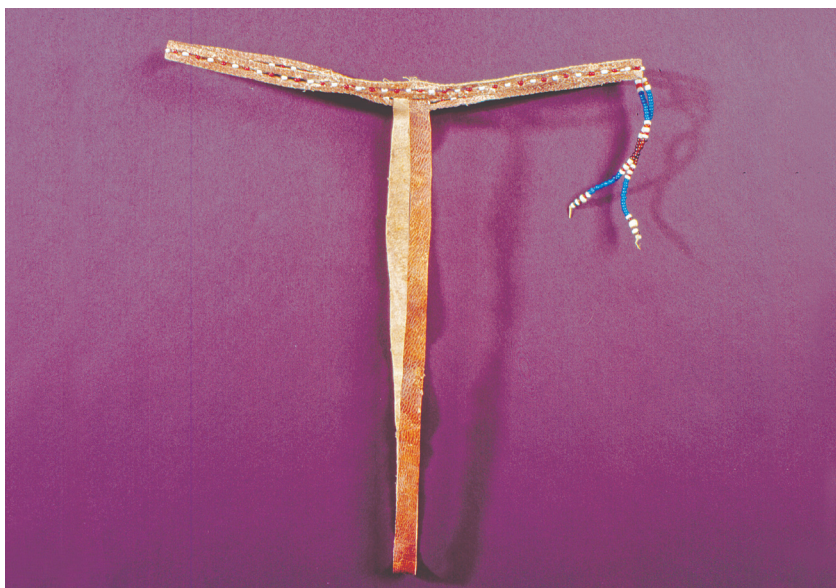


The strap (57425), 145 cm long, which attaches the hunter's anorak to the half-jacket, which is tied onto the kayak's manhole, is well-known in the whole of West Greenland and on the east coast (*ibid.*: 229) (Fig. 132).

The hair bands (57404, 57405 and 67941), earrings made of triangular metal plates with glass beads (67840 and 68240) and the bone comb (67792), length 7.5 cm, all come from immigrant East Greenlanders (*cf. ibid.*: 152ff., 218ff.) (Figs. 133, 134 and 135).

The belts with skin embroidery (57408 and 57409) are manufactured from a European pattern by Greenlanders at the mission stations (or the

**Fig. 133.** Hair band.  
Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 57404.



**Fig. 134.** Earrings.  
Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 68240.



**Fig. 135.** Comb.  
Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67792.



colonies), while the glass beads (67910) have been a fixed element in the dress and personal equipment since the Dutch whalers bartered along the west coast (Gulløv 1997: 278–291).

The group of religious objects (**H**) includes both the Christian symbol (67817) and objects which are associated with the original Eskimo religion.

The drum (67964) is stated to be from the 18th century and probably comes from the region around Neuherrenhut, where great efforts to abolish its use were made in the early years of the mission (Gulløv 1997: 211f.; Israel 1969: 50); the possibility cannot therefore be excluded that the example could come from the immigrant East Greenlanders in the Cape Farewell region (cf. GHS 1985: 112).

Buzzers (67854), length 26 cm, which are to create an illusion of the helper spirits' sounds during the shaman's winter séances in the dark communal house, have most recently been in use on the east coast (Thalbitzer 1912: 653) (Fig. 136).

**Fig. 136.** Buzzers.  
Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67854.



The arm bands (67841a) and amulet harness (67841b), which are of East Greenlandic origins, were, with their sewn-in amulets to ensure luck in hunting, worn by men (GHS 1985: 46; Rosing 1994) (Fig. 137).

The group of toys, games and dolls (**I**) includes a number of dolls with clothes, which were a favourite farewell gift to European families. The provenance of the clothing cannot be unambiguously determined, but in most cases it comes from the colonised West Greenland. On two of the

**Fig. 137.** Arm band and amulet harness. Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67841a-c.



female dolls (57424 and 67805), the topknot is held with a red band, the symbol for unmarried women. The small wooden doll (28272), height 8 cm, with a topknot, in a skin anorak and women's trousers, has been collected in Ammassalik a short time after the Moravian mission had left Greenland; but it is identical to several of the dolls which Gustav Holm collected in the 1880s (GHS 1985: 204f.). The male doll (67998), height 28 cm, has kamiks of an East Greenlandic type and must therefore have been

**Fig. 138.** Wooden female doll. Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 28272.



**Fig. 139.** Male doll. Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67998.





collected in the Cape Farewell area, while the provenance of the small figure of a man (68014) in soapstone which has been coloured cannot be determined (Figs. 138 and 139).

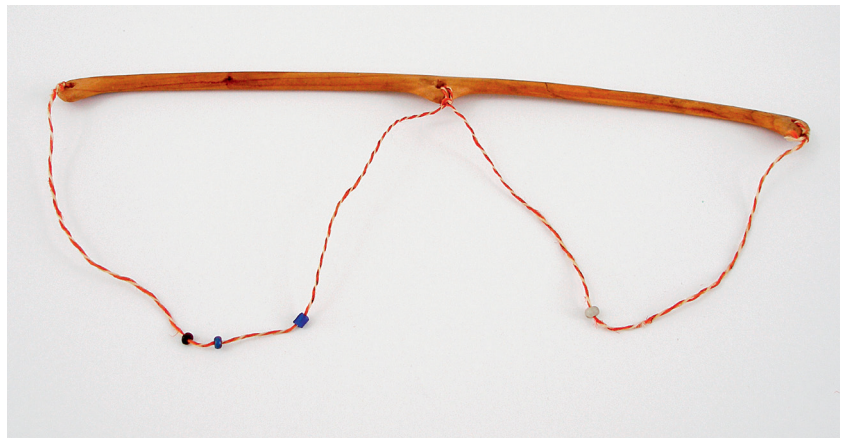
Both the ring and pin game, *ajagaq* (57426), length 16 cm, the yoke puzzle, *pulaartut* (67846), length 28.5 cm, and the top, *kaavitiaaq* (67853), height 10 cm, are known all over Greenland; but the collected objects have certainly been used in the South Greenlandic congregations and are known in almost identical designs from the east coast (cf. GHS 1985: 142f.) (Figs. 140, 141 and 142).

The model of the flensing scene (67852), where the women's trousers – as on the east coast – do not reach the kamiks, is from the Cape Farewell region. The carving technique is similar to the model of the dog sledge (68242) and could thus have been done by the same person (Fig. 143).

**Fig. 140.** Ring and pin game.  
Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 57426.



**Fig. 141.** Yoke puzzle.  
Photo: Staatliche  
Ethnographische  
Sammlungen Sachsen,  
Völkerkundemuseum  
Herrnhut, 67846.



**Fig. 142.** Spinning top. Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67853.



**Fig. 143.** Flensing scene. Photo: Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, 67852.





Among the objects for European purposes (J) we find articles for everyday use made of local materials, which were used in the missionary families' living quarters.

In the final group (K) we find a series of objects which cannot immediately be related to the overall aim of this investigation, that is to say the East Greenlandic cultural element in South Greenland.

The Greenlandic provenance of the final six objects is from a typological viewpoint hard to determine; instead, we tentatively propose that their origin may be Labrador, with reservations for new information which may solve the problem.

## Conclusion

Half of the non-European objects probably come from the southernmost part of Greenland, from where they have been brought to Europe. It is especially the missionary Riegel's collection which, with its many fine items of clearly East Greenlandic origin, gives us some insight into the material culture among the immigrant East Greenlanders. These were in many respects markedly different from the Europeanised Greenlanders whom they were now to share their way of life with.

Firstly they had before baptism to give up the symbols of heathenism which they had brought with them on arrival. The amulet belts (and thus also the amulets), the hair bands for the long, untrimmed hair and the women's indecently small indoor trousers were among the symbols which had never belonged in the Christian congregation in Greenland.

On the other hand we must assume that the Europeans have asked with curiosity about the new arrivals' way of life and have had a reply in the form of the large selection of models which are to be found in Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut. Here the situation is no different from Gustav Holm's women's boat expedition, which after overwintering on the east coast 1884–85 was unable to take with them the complete documentation for the little society's material culture in the women's boat, which was the expedition's only vessel, but chose instead to replace large parts of it by models, so the collection appeared anyway as an almost complete description of the material culture (GHS 1985: 28).

The East Greenlandic collection from 1885 consists of 464 items, and seen in relation to this the preserved part of the original collection at Herrnhut, with its roughly sixty items of South and East Greenlandic origins, is a very valuable reference material to supplement our knowledge of the material culture in the Cape Farewell region before the year 1900.

# Appendix: Censuses in Greenland

Settlement	1834	1840	1845	1855	1860	1870	1901
Illukasik		16		21	33	48	96
Papikitsaq					1 <sup>x)</sup>		
Ikigaat	18			8			
Ippimmiut		6					
Friedrichsthal	255	242	259	173	277	164	160
Nunarsuaq				27			
Illussat			10	12			
Ikerasak		21					
Ilua			57	106			
Pamialluk	32	44	18		84	118	61
Utoqqarmiut			42				
Uukkat	48	19	18		12		
Kuummiut			25		6	23	
Qeqertatsiaq	13						
Kuuaqqat	25	46					
Anorliuitsoq				22		21	37
Nuuk				10	17	26	56
Issortusut				11			
Aappilattoq				12	13	22	25
Ujarasussuit				20			
Nigertuut				28	25		
Illorsuatsiaat				8	37	50	30
Saqqarmiut							20
Itilleq				12			39
Tinuteqisaaq							14
Qernertoq							43
Total	391	394	429	470	505	472	581

x) One of the persons is named Christopher. According to the information in the list of inhabitants, his family belongs to the Danish congregation.

Sources: Rigsarkivet, Folketællinger i Grønland.

The material is collected in volumes for the individual years and divided into districts or separate areas with their own codes, e.g.:

Nanortalik Distrikt, Frederiksdal Herrnhuttermision, A 22.01.01

Julianehåb Distrikt, A 57.02.00

Source references are rendered as follows: RA Folketællinger i Grønland + year + numeric code + district + title of the individual list or table.

- 1834 A 22.01.01 Nanortalik Distrikt, Frederiksdal Herrnhuttermision: (without title).
- 1840 A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blanding ved Colonien Julianehaab med District, den 31te December 1840. (Added in another hand: Den danske Menighed, saavelsom Brødre-Menighederne ved Lichtenau og Friedrichsthal).
- 1845 A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger ved Colonien Julianehaab med District, den 31te December 1845.
- 1855 A 22.01.01 Nanortalik Distrikt, Frederiksdal Herrnhuttermision: Designation over Grønlændere og Blandinger under Fredriksthals Missions Station 1855 af Missionsforstander Ihrer.
- 1860 A 22.01.01 Nanortalik Distrikt Frederiksdal Herrnhuttermision: Optællingsliste over samtlige Befolkning ved Brødre-Missionen Friedrichsthal i Julianehaab District den 1te October 1860.
- 1870 A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Navnlig Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger i Julianehaab District den 1ste December 1870. Note: The lists are registered in a large register with each district in Greenland separately. However, Frederiksdal and Lichtenau are under the Julianehåb District.
- 1901 A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Navnlig Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger i Kolonien Julianehaabs Distrikt den 1. Oktober 1901.

In the table, current place names in the new orthography are used, except that Narsarmijit appears under the mission station's German name. The names of the individual settlements are in the original materials spelt in many different ways. The spelling and order in the individual lists are as follows:

- 1834: Frederiksdal, Ikkigeit, Pamiudlek, Okket, Kikkertaitsiak, Koarak.
- 1840: Igdlokasik, Ipimiut, Friedrichsthal, Ikkeraisak, Koaraq, Pamiadlek, Okket.
- 1845: Friedrichsthal, Idluksak, Illua, Uttokait, Okket, Pamiadlek, Kongmiut.

- 1855: Friedrichsthal, Østprøven, Iglokasik, Nunarsoak, Illoa, Iglorsoatsiak, Etiblik, Annorluitsok, Nôk, Ujaraksuksuk, Nigertout, Ivsortoursok, Aukpillartok, Idluksak.
- 1860: Friedrichsthal, Igdlorkasik, Papikaitsok, Pamiædluk, Okæt, Igdlorsoaitsiak, Kûngmiut, Nôûk, Nigertôût, Aukpilartok.
- 1870: Pamiagdluk, Igdlorssuatsiak, Kungmiut, Anordluitsok, Nuk, Augpilagtuk, Frederiksdal, Igdlukasik.
- 1901: Frederiksdal, Igdlukasik, Pamiagdluk, Igdlorssuatsiaq, Anordliuitsoq, Augpilagtoq, Nûk, Sarqarmiut, Itivdleq, Tiniteqisâq, Qernertoq.



# Notes

- 1 *Atuagagdliutit* 1861: no. 1: Amerikarmiup Kanimik atigdlup nâpitsineranik kalâtdlinik avangnardlerpainik; no. 2: Nunat kalâtdlit najugait; no. 5: Tusagagssat Kalâtdlit nunânit tusagkat upernâme 1861.
- 2 *Atuagagdliutit* 1861: no. 5: Tusagagssat Kalâtdlit nunânit tusagkat upernâme 1861; 1863: no.15: Kujatâliarnermik; 1864: nos. 26–27: Qaqortup kujatâmiuvînik; nos. 27–28: Kujâmukarnermik; nos. 36–37: Lars Møller: Kujatâliarnermik aussautitdlugo 1864; 1886: nos. 2, 4–10: Umiamik Tunuliarneq; 1891: no. 3: 1884-me 1885-milo Tunuliarnermik agdlagkat.
- 3 *Atuagagdliutit* 1864, nos. 36–37: Kujatâliarnermik aussautitdlugo 1864.
- 4 *Atuagagdliutit* 1864, nos. 36–37: L. Møller: Kujatâliarnermik aussautitdlugo 1864.
- 5 *Atuagagdliutit* 1877, nos. 3–5, 7: Tusagagssat.
- 6 *Atuagagdliutit* 1872: no. 171: C. Hagen: Qavângarnitsat (imâipoq tunumiut) Pamiagd-lungme nungussut aussaq 1872; 1881: no. 11: Gideon Igdlorssuatsiarmio: Oqualârutit; 1891: nos. 3–12: 1884-me 1885-milo Tunuliarnermik agdlagkat; 1901: no. 3: Pavia Lynge: Narssame Kujatdlerme (Frederiksdal-ime) qavângarnitsat kuisînerânik ukioq 1901, Aprîlip 14-ne.
- 7 One Danish mile = 7.532 km.
- 8 Original texts: “Sydlænderne, d.e. dem, som boe omtrent 20 Mile Syden for Colonien og videre indtil Cap Discord” and “Østlænderne, som boe paa den anden Side af Landet.”
- 9 RA 1775-1819: Letter of 14 July 1796 from Mørch to the board; RA 1774-1916: Dagbog fra Colonien Julianeshaab for Handelsaaret 1822 ført af Jacob A: A: Arø; Journal 1824 af Imanuel Arø; Assistent Im. Arøes Dagbog for 1827.
- 10 Original text: “i bygden eller i de nordlige sommeropholdssteder til lige under Nordstjernen.”
- 11 Original texts: “sydgrønlænderne bytter sig til hvalbarder til brug for fiskeliner, fordi der ingen hvalfangst er i den sydlige del af landet” and “nogle familier skiftevis hvert andet år rejser nord på til kolonierne for at handle og skaffe sig de sager de behøver, som er fedtsten til gryder og lamper, men de rejser sædvanligvis tilbage til deres hjemsteder mod efteråret.”
- 12 When colonisation started in 1721, Denmark and Norway formed a double kingdom and Greenland was considered together with the Faroe Islands and Iceland as a Norwegian dependency. The colonisation process was managed from the central administration in Copenhagen, but many Norwegians went to Greenland in the service of the Trading Company or the mission. In 1814, the double monarchy was dissolved, and Norway passed to the Swedish king, but Denmark retained the Norwegian dependencies and colonisation therefore continued under Denmark. In this book we will therefore speak of “the Danish colonisation.”

- 13 Original text: "de ved denne Aarsens Tid sædvanlige nord efter farende Sørlændinger med 54 Konebaade."
- 14 Original text: "Sprog-Dialecten eller Udtalen er her noget forskellig fra den Norden for."
- 15 "Die Grönländer in Süden sind wohlgebildeter, munterer ü. gefälliger als die im Westen, und die Heiden oder Wilden sind uneigenüzziger als die Christen. Woher kommt das?"
- 16 RA 1775-1819: Letter of 11 August 1795 from the colonial manager Mørch to the board; Letter of 14 July 1796 from Mørch to the board. Original texts: "kun nogle Miile syden for Itiblik begyndte de saa kaldte Sydenlændere at boe" and "det sydenske eller længst bortliggende her langende Bostæd er 1 á 2 Miile paa hiin side Cap Diskord."
- 17 Original text: "for imod Ræve og andre Skind Vahre at tilhandle sig gamle Piile, Knive, Sye Naale, og saadant Snurrepiberi."
- 18 Original text: "betales imellem med Baade, og Livs Tilsættelse; hvorpaa i Aar hørtes Beviis, da 2de Baade bleve udj Issen knusede, men Folkene bærget."
- 19 *Atuagagdliutit* 1882: no. 11: Tunumit tusagkat.
- 20 Original text: "i Vinter har der ligeledes paa 19de Vinterboplads der boet 60 Fangere, hvorover jeg nok kunne hoslægge en speciell Liste, men som kun vilde være at bebyrde mine høie Herrer med en Hoben uforstaaelige Navne."
- 21 Original text: "Efter deres Yttring og de lagttagelser, jeg siden gjorde, kunde Antallet af de i denne Egn boende Hedninger vel regnes for 500."
- 22 Original text: "saa vilde og galne, at de slaae andre Folch ihjell og æder dem op."
- 23 Original text: "Communicationen imellem vidt adskildte var yderst sielden. Man frygtede hinanden, tiltroede hinanden de allerværste Hensigter, ansaae hinanden for Kannibaler. Tusinde og tusinde Rygter om Folk af saadan Art, som her og der skulde findes kom i Omløb. De voxede iblandt det lettroende Folk, ved at forplantes fra Sted til Sted."
- 24 Original text: "I sexten Aar har jeg været her ved Julianæhaab, i hvis sydlige District Grønlænderne kunne ansees næsten udenfor Europæernes Indflydelse; Men, i al denne Tid er ikke hørt et Mord, hverken blandt Sydlændingerne, d.e. dem, som boe omtrent 20 Mile Syden for Colonien og videre indtil Cap Discord, eller blandt Østlændingerne, som boe paa den anden Side af Landet. Jeg har lært at kende nogle af de Sidste, endog indtil Holsteinsborgs Høide. Disse, som forhen ansaaes for Kannibaler, vare de frommeste Folk, man kan tænke sig. Man ved at tale om Folk indtil Jakobshavns Høide, men har ingen synderlig Omgang med dem; og de staae derfor endnu i hiint Rygte."
- 25 RA 1775-1819: Letter of 3 September 1783 from Anders Olsen to the board.
- 26 RA 1775-1819: Letter of 11 August 1795 from the merchant Mørch to the board.
- 27 RA 1775-1819: Letter of 11 August 1795 from the merchant Mørch to the board.
- 28 RA 1775-1819: Letter of 24 August 1795 from Heiberg to the board. Original text: "kun dette alene vil jeg underdanigst erindre, at jo længere dette Anlæg eller hvad jeg skal kalde det, kunde mod sønden blive anlagt, jo fordelagtigere ville det være i henseende

til de Grønlændere som boe ved den østre Side af Landet, da disse som hidtil skal være temmelig vilde, eller frygtsomme for fangerne, kan de ogsaa ved denne Mulighed blive mere folkevante, og hvor ville da ikke Handelen profitere, naar ogsaa disse kunde blive tillokket at levere sine Wahre som vist er af større Betydenhed end mange forestiller sig.”

- 29 RA 1775-1819: Letter of 30 July 1798 from Mørch to the board.
- 30 Original text: “Spørgsmaalet er ikke uvigtigt, da Anlægget Nennortelik og underliggende Udsteders Produktion vel allerede nu er større end mange Coloniers og kan forvente at tiltage i Forhold til som Østkystens Grønlændere flytte om paa Vestkysten eller Grønlænderne her i Egnen vænnes til Luxusvarer.”
- 31 RA 1774-1916: Kauffeldt: Dagbog over Arbejder i Handelsaaret 1847. Original text: “en Postmand ankom fra Østprøven [Ikigaat] for herfra at afhente endeel tiltrængende Handelsvarer, efterspurgt af en stor Deel til Østprøven tilreiste Hedninge.”
- 32 RA 1820-1873 Extracts of Captain lieutn: Holbøll’s letters from 1841: No. 38 Main report, 1841.
- 33 The trading station of Pamialluk (in the old spelling Pamiagdluk) was established on the island of the same name, but is often called Ilua (Illoa, Iloa etc.) in Danish sources of the time, and the two names are used more or less at random in the sources to denote the trading station. This is, however, incorrect, as pointed out by the Danish missionary Vesterboe: “wrongly called Illoa by the Trading Company’s employees” (RA 1828-1858: Diary kept in the years 1850–51 by Vesterboe, Julianehaab. 1 October). Ilua is the name of the fjord in whose mouth the island of Pamialluk lies, and where settlements such as Nuuk, Nigertuut, Aappilattoq, Anorliutsoq and others lay. In addition to dealing with the travelling East Greenlanders, Pamialluk was to carry out trade with the population of precisely these settlements. Thus the custom may have arisen of using the same name for the district and the trading station which serviced the area (Raahauge & Appelt 2005: 7, 37).
- 34 RA 1774-1916: Motzfeldt: Dagbog afholden ved Anlægget Nennortalik fra 17. juli 1848 til 30. juni 1849. Original text: “Først i dag naaede jeg Illoa, og Storbåden ankom ogsaa; henimod Aften kom 2de Hedninge Baade og Mængde Kajakker. Konebaadene var lastede med Skind dog lidet Tran og Spæk havde de med, meget havde de efterladt eller smidt væk, da de formedelst Veiens besværlighed ikke kunde føre det med sig nemlig: Spæk og Tran. Henimod 100 Skind.”
- 35 RA 1774-1916: Journal ført af Fartøjsfører I. Andersen. Aar 1857: 19. juli. Original text: “I dag kom tvende Konebaade med Hedninger fra Østkysten og opslog deres telte ved Handelsstedet.”
- 36 RA 1874-1898: File Julianehaaab 1876, no. 28: E. Hansen: Report on Production, 22 September 1877. Original text: “2 hedenske Konebaade fra Østkysten havde i Slutningen af August gjæstet Udstedet Ilua og der indleveret 5 Bjørneskind og c 300 Sælskin.”
- 37 RA 1874-1898: File Julianehaab 1881, no. 15: Carl Lytzen: Report, 8 August 1881. Original text: “Efter private Meddelelser skulle 4 Hedningebaade fra Østkysten være ankommet til Pamiagdluk i de sidste Dage af forrige Maaned.”

- 38 RA 1795-1901: letter no. 41 of 15-3-1894; letter no. 27 of 1-5-1895. The trading post was moved in 1909 to the nearby Sammisøq (Raahauge & Appelt 2005: 116).
- 39 Oral information from Hendrik Kielsen in Nanortalik.
- 40 *Atuagagdliutit* 1897: no. 8: Vittus Nielsen: Misigissat; 1893–94: Nanortalingme ukineq.
- 41 RA1874-98: Letter from Carl Lytzen, dated Julianehaab 23 September 1887. *Ulu* is the word used to denote the original knife with the short curved blade and transverse handle, which Europeans often call a women's knife. At one time, the Trading Company imported steel blades for *ulus* from Europe.
- 42 RA 1820-73: Letter from the merchant Lassen, dated Julianehaab 10 July 1835; Kielsen to the board, dated 31 July 1847; RA 1874-1898: Lytzen, dated Julianehaab 23 September 1887.
- 43 RA 1820-1874: Report to the Directorate given by Rink, dated p.t. Ivigtout 19 July 1866.
- 44 RA 1874-1898: Report from Carl Lytzen dated 30 September 1882, with appendix: Produktionsliste for Kolonien Julianehaab i H-A. 1882-83.
- 45 RA 1774-1916: Without title. (Diary kept by Arø, manager of the establishment at Nanortalik, from 1 May 1821 to 30 April 1822).
- 46 RA 1811-1829: Letter to the king from Johannes Reufs, Copenhagen, 16 October 1821.
- 47 RA 1811-1829: *ibid.* Fabritius' evaluation is written on the actual file.
- 48 RA 1811-1829: Letter from the Chancellory to the Mission College, dated 5 March 1822.
- 49 RA 1811-1829: Johannes Reufs to the Mission College 22 March 1824; Johannes Reufs to the Mission College 24 March 1825.
- 50 The name Narsaq (the flatland) appears on Arctander's map of the Julianehåb district from 1779, amongst other sources (Ostermann 1944). It is not unusual in Greenlandic that inhabited places have the suffix *-miut/* or in South Greenlandic *-mijit* (those who come from/the inhabitants of), for example Narsarmijit (the inhabitants of the plain). In the 18th century, both names seem to have been used. After the Moravian Brethren left Greenland in 1900, the Danish name Frederiksdal was used. Later, the West Greenlandic name Narsaq Kujalleq was used as the official name, but today the original local name Narsarmijit has been taken back into use.
- 51 RA 1811-1829: Reufs' report 10 May 1826.
- 52 *Atuagagdliutit* 1901, nos. 4, 5: Nalunaerut erqaisissutitguitdlo.
- 53 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 204: Asboe to the Missionary Department 16 March 1860; letter no. 240: Asboe, Starick and Spindler to the Missionary Department, July 1865; letter no. 249: Asboe, Starick and Spindler to the Missionary Department, 18 July 1866; letter no. 259: Gericke and Spindler to the Missionary Department, 15 August 1867; letter no. 11a: Hilbig to Reichel, 6 September 1880.
- 54 UA R.15.J.b.VI.13b: ikiortutdlo merdlertunigdlo iliniartitsissutdlo suliaqssainik agdlagkat (undated).
- 55 A black band around a woman's hair indicated that she was a widow, a blue one that she was married, a red one that she was unmarried and a green one that she was unmarried but had had a child. The use of such hair bands spread out from the Moravians to



- the whole of West Greenland (Gulløv & Rasmussen 1987: 170–171; Kjærgaard & Kjærgaard 2003: 48).
- 56 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 277: Gericke and Drexler to the Mission Department, 27 July 1870; letter no. 18a: Hilbig and Brodbeck to the Mission Department, 14 June 1882.
  - 57 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 252: Spindler to Reichel, 3 September 1866; letter no. 282: Gericke and Drexler to the Mission Department, 24 August 1871; UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b: letter no. 48: Riegel and Zucker to the Mission Department, 20 August 1887; letter no. 68: Riegel and Zucker to the Mission Department, 1 August 1890.
  - 58 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 277: Gericke and Drexler to the Mission Department, 27 July 1870; UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b: Letter no. 18a: Hilbig and Brodbeck to the Mission Department, 14 June 1882; letter no. 23: Zucker to the Mission Department, 22 July 1884; letter no. 54: Riegel and Zucker to the Mission Department, 24 July 1888.
  - 59 RA 1828-1858: Report to the Mission College, dated 30 June 1852, signed by Janssen.
  - 60 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 204: Asboe to the Mission Department, 16 March 1860; UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b: Bohlmann to Podel, 10 March 1899.
  - 61 KB NKS 826, 8: Tagebuch von I.A. de Fries. 1830.
  - 62 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 204: Asboe to the Mission Department, 16 March 1860; letter no. 249: Asboe, Starick and Spindler to the Mission Department, 18 July 1866; UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b: Letter no. 23: Zucker to the Mission Department, 22 July 1884.
  - 63 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 300: Gericke and Armstadt to the Mission Department, 24 July 1875; UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b: Letter no. 13: Hilbig and Brodbeck to the Mission Department, 15 June 1881; letter no. 18a: Hilbig and Brodbeck to the Mission Department, 14 June 1882.
  - 64 Evangelisk Missions-Tidende 1901: 4–12, 28–38: Grønland. Tallenes sprog: 37. Original text: “Herren vil vistnok maale Grønlænderne med et heelt andet Maal end vi Europæere saa let ere tilbøielige til, for saa bagefter alt for ofte at maatte erkjende, at vi havde taget Feil.”
  - 65 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 184: Gericke til Wulschlagek, 22 July 1857; letter no. 259: Gericke and Spindler to the Mission Department, 15 August 1867; UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b: Letter no. 52: Zucker to Burkhardt, 17 juni 1888; letter no. 53: Riegel to Burkhardt, 28 July 1888.
  - 66 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 150: Ihrer and Asboe to the Mission Department, 22 July 1850; letter no. 277: Gericke and Drexler to the Mission Department, 27 July 1870; UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b: Letter no. 47: Riegel to Burkhardt, 29 August 1887; letter no. 53: Riegel to Burkhardt, 28 July 1888.
  - 67 RA 1774-1916: Journal holden af Johan Christian Mørch ved Colonien Julianehaab i Grønland fra 28de April til 31te December 1812. Original text: “de sydre Grøn: komme saare sielden til Anlægget, da ingen Tobak er at faa.”
  - 68 RA 1774-1916: Mørch op. cit.
  - 69 Amdrup et al. (1921) write in the section with biographical information that Arøe (in the first diaries just: Arø) in 1817 became the assistant in Julianehåb and moved

- to Nanortalik in 1820, but from the diaries it appears that he already took over the management of Nanortalik in September 1817.
- 70 RA 1774-1916: Journal fra 11te Junii 1818 til 21te Maii 1819 (Diary by Arø, written in Nanortalik from 19 May 1820 to 30 April 1821); Dag-Bog ved Anlægget Nennortalik 1823 holdt af I. Arø; Journal 1824 af Imanuel Arø; Assistent Im. Arø's Dagbog for 1827.
- 71 RA 1774-1916: op. cit.: 24 June 1823.
- 72 Amdrup et al. (1921) give the number as 725, and this has been repeated in later literature. This number was arrived at on the basis of information for the period up to 1884 provided by the missionaries in Friedrichsthal to Gustav Holm and Johannes Hansen (Hansen 1888: 202, tabel 1), but comparison with the church register in Friedrichsthal shows that these numbers contain small inaccuracies.
- 73 RA 1811-1829 File 1823: The merchant Monrad to the managing director, dated Julianehaab 10 July 1822. The document is an extract of Monrad's letter and was sent to the Mission College with a following note of 21 March 1823, signed by the managing directors.
- 74 R.15.J.b.VI.12.a: letter no. 11: Kleinschmidt, Popp and de Fries to the Mission Department, 15 June 1826. The thirty-eighth persons are denoted as "belonging here" (German: "hierher gehörige").
- 75 R.15.J.b.VI.12.a: letter no. 17: Kleinschmidt and de Fries to the Mission Department, 9 May 1827.
- 76 Dansk Missionsblad 1836: Grønland: 8.
- 77 RA 1774-1916 Dagbog fra Colonien Julianehaab ved J. Mathiesen. Undated, but from 1824–25. Original text: "Allerede har et stort Antal Mennesker taget Bopæl ved Friedrichsthal, fornemlig henflytted hertil fra Egnen om Statenhuk, og uden tvivl vil i Tiiden, efter Dhrr: mæhriske Brødres Forventning, endnu Flere drage derhen. At der blandt de nu ved Stedet sig opholdende Grønlændere, er mange gode Fangere, beviser disses, efter grønlandsk Maade, særdeles gode Forfatning, men endnu mere dette: at jeg ikke talte mindre end 21 Konebaade liggende paa Landet."
- 78 RA 1811-1829: Reufs' report, dated Copenhagen 10 May 1826; RA 1828-1858: Indberetning angl. De Herrnhutiske Menigheder i Sydgrønland 1831: Johannes Reufs' report, dated Copenhagen, 5 October 1831.
- 79 Dansk Missionsblad 1836: 8.
- 80 Original text: "Her forefandt vi nogle grønlandske Huusmure, Tæltepladse og Grave, Beviis for at øen har været beboet, men siden Friedrichsthals Anlæg er denne Øe, som mange andre steder i Egnen, forladt af de Indfødte, der alle ere dragne til hiint Sted, for at nyde Undervisning af de derboende evangeliske Brødre."
- 81 RA1828-1858: op. cit. Original text: "fra Østkysten kom 80 Hedninger til Stedet til henimod 100 Mile fra."
- 82 *Qallunaaq*: the Greenlandic term for a white man/Dane.
- 83 RA1828-1858: Report from Johannes Reufs, dated Copenhagen, 22 April 1830. Original text: "Nach Aussage von Heiden, die im Sommer 1829 Friedrichsthal besucht haben,

hatten diese noch viele Landsleute, aber Weit oben in Osten, wo, wie sie behaupteten, die Menschen sehr zahlreich seyen.”

- 84 RA 1828-1858: Report from Janssen to the Mission College, dated 30 June 1852. Original text: “Hedningene komme som oftest temmelig tidligt paa Sommeren, savne et opholdssted til længere Forbliven, og maae ile tilbage, for om muligt et eller andet Sted at finde Vinterquarter.”
- 85 RA 1874-1898: Fra Inspecteur Stephensen: Indberetning om Sundhedstilstand, Veirberetning og Produktionen, dated 23 March 1878. Original text: “efter et kort Ophold, tiltraadte de alle Tilbagereisen til Østkysten, hvorfra de meldte at et talrigt Besøg kunde ventes adaare.”
- 86 RA 1828-1858: Report from the missionary P. Nissen, dated Julianehaab 13 September 1854. Original text: “Ved Pamiædluk traf jeg tvende Konebaade med Hedninge fra Østkysten, som iaar have gjæstet os for at handle. Da jeg ved Østprøven [Ikigaat] hørte om deres Nærværelse sendte jeg en Kajak til dem med Anmodning om at [varsko] mit Komme. Det skal have hændt sig, M[enne]sker fra Østkystens Nordland – altsaa meget langveis fra – maaske paa samme Bredegrad som Jacobshavn i Nordgrønland – have gjæstet os Sydpaa og til deres Reise brugt o. 3 aar. – Dette er imidlertid ikke sædvanligt. Det sædvanlige er, at de nærmeste, de som bo hen ved en 9 Dagsreiser fra Pamiædluk, komme dertil engang om Aaret, sædvanligt i Slutn. af Juli eller i August – de blive der i 1 el. 2 eller 3 Dage – men have altid stort Hastværk, da de sagtens er bange for at blive afskaaren ved Isen eller Efteraarsstormene – og maaske ogsaa haste for at komme tilbage med deres tiltuskede Varer, som de saa alle [ulæseligt] til deres Landsmen, som i dette Nordfra komme til dem eller deres Bopæl. Der synes ikke at være nogen Trang hos dem til at modtage [ulæseligt] Oplysning, men desto større at være i Handelsvarer, især Tobak – og naar jeg spurgte dem, naar de kom igjen, syntes de at falde i Forundring over dette Spørgsmaal. De svarede: naar tobakken begynder at mindske, og med et Udtryk som [ulæseligt], at det var en naturlig Sag, at de kom [ulæseligt] naar de begynder at mangle Tobak og kun da.”
- 87 RA 1820-1874: Report from Carl Hagen to the Directorate, dated Pamiagdluk 20 July 1872. Original text: “Ved min Ankomst til Syddistriktet var Sygdommen endnu ikke ophørt, men var dog i Aftagende, og er den nu ophørt. Besætningen paa en Hedningebaad fra Østkysten, som var kommen til Pamiagdluk for at handle, var bleven smittet af Sygdommen, og næsten uddød, da Underassistent Holm, (der skulle aflevere mig Udstedet) og jeg ankom til Stedet. De Døde laa rundt omkring paa Marken, og 2 paa Brixen mellem de endnu levende, thi der var ingen til at begrave dem førend vi kom. 11 Personer var døde og ikkun 2 voxne Fruentimmer og 4 Børn bleve tilbage.”
- 88 RA 1820-1874: Report from Hansen, dated 15 Sept. 1873. Original text: “Udstedet Ilua har i Sommer været besøgt af et Selskab af 6 Konebaade med Østgrønlændere som der have afsat 9 Bjørneskind og omtrent 600 Stk diverse Sælskind. Desværre bleve disse Grønlændere alt under deres Ophold her i Distriktet [ulæseligt] af Sygdom og inden de havde begivet dem paa Hjemreisen døde 8 Individer, mens 2 Konebaadsbesætninger

- kun naaede 1 Dags Reise fra Østkysten, hvor de fandtes døde henliggende paa Marken af nogle af Iluas Grønlændere som vare tagen dertil paa Fangst.”
- 89 RA 1774-1916: Dagbog ført af Lægen i Julianehaab District i Handelsaaret 1856.
- 90 RA 1858-1867: Undated letter from Nissen (file: Julianehaab 1859/1860).
- 91 RA 1774-1916: Journal for Anlæget Nanortalik, fra den 30. Juli til den 30. September 1892, ført af Jakob Lund, pens. Assistant.
- 92 Original text: “Fangsten i Forvejen er slet, saa de kun gaa Armod og Sygdom i møde.”
- 93 Original text: “forhindre, at Østlændingerne kom alt for hovedkuld ind i Civilisationen og den frie Handel.”
- 94 Original text: “mødte frem som det uberørte Folk, vi havde haabet at finde.”
- 95 Original text: “Om den Misundelse, deres glimrende Haarbaand, kostbare perler og prægtige Halstørklæder vilde opvække hos deres fattige Landsmændinder paa østkysten.”
- 96 Original text: “Kablunakkernes Land, hvorom han af mine Roerskers Fortælling havde hørt vidunderlige Ting.”
- 97 Dansk Missionsblad 1836: 8: Greenland. Original text: “de, der boede dem nærmest, skulle efter Grønlændernes Udsagn alle være sultede ihjel!”
- 98 RA 1858-1867: Undated letter from Nissen (file Julianehaab 1859/1860). Original text: “ogsaa synes de at være mere haardføre og dygtige i Fangst end Vestkystens Grønlændere er nu – alligevel er Østkysten neppe særdeles rig paa grønlandske Producter, thi i afvigte Vinter skal Hungersnøden have været saa stor, at de have et Sted fortæret [...] Lig af Personer som først var sultede ihjel.”
- 99 Evangelisk Missionsblad 1888: 145–147: Fra Grønland.
- 100 Evangelisk Missions-Tidende: 1854: 184–185: Grønland; 1880: 189–190: Grønland; 1881: 81–83: Grønland.
- 101 Every registered person is listed with a number which is referred to from other places in the register, and which we shall specify here the first time that a person is mentioned in relation to the church register, e.g. (174) Tittus.
- 102 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12.b: Letter no. 116: Friedrichsthal, 13 August 1898, from A. Schärf to Podel.
- 103 UAR 15 J b VI b: Letter no. 41: From Riegel to Bechler, 16 September 1886; Evangelisk Missions-Tidende 1849: 161–167: Skrivelse fra Missionær J.P. Lund i Grønland til den Nordslesvigske Missionsforening.
- 104 Evangelisk Missions-Tidende 1865: 71–73: Et besøg hos hedenske Grønlændere. Original text: “Naar jeg har Tobak, er jeg tilfreds. Jeg behøver ingen Omvendelse.”
- 105 UAR 15 J b VI b: Letter no. 50: Riegel to Burkhardt, 5 March 1888.
- 106 *Atuagagdliutit* 1901: no. 1: Pavia Lynge: Narssame Kujatdlerme (Frederiksdal-ime) qavángarnitsat kuisínéránik ukioq 1901, Aprílíp 14-ne.
- 107 RA 1811-1829: Letter from Johannes Reufs to the Mission College 24 March 1825. With a copy of: Conrad Kleinsmidt, Baus and de Fries: Schrift von der Anlegung der neuen Missions-Postens und der Gemeinde zu Friedrichsthal bey Statenhuk in Grönland im Julii u. Aug. 1824.



- 108 RA 1820-1873: Letter from assistant J Arøe, dated 12 July 1822. Original text: “de fleste Hedninger har nu forlangt at indlemmes deels i Brødre Menigheden deels i den danske Missions Samfund.”
- 109 RA 1820-1873: Letter from Holbøll to the board, dated Godthaab, 30 June 1824; Letter from Holbøll to the board, dated Godthaab, 21 July 1824. Original text(s): “Kraftige Forholdsregler ere især nødvendige med Hensyn til Frederiksthal, hvor Sammenhobningen er for stor og alene foraarsaget ved Missionairerne især Hr. Kleinschmidt.”; “undtagen Hr Kleinschmidt, som har besvaret Inspts: brev med Grovheder.”
- 110 UA R.15,J.b.VI.14: Letter no. 3: Inspektør Holbøll to missionary Kleinschmidt, dated 24 March 1830.
- 111 Original text: “at vi, der er missionærer, udsendt med kongelig tilladelse, gerne overlader handelsaffærerne til de ærede herrer handelsbetjente som det sømmer sig for os, og ved at vi må forkynde Guds ord for de grønlændere der som et frit folk vil høre os for derved at lede dem til en kristelig opførsel; det er det, som vi *kan* og *vil* gøre.”
- 112 RA 1820-1873: Letter from Holbøll to the board, dated Holsteinsborg 20 July 1831. Original text: “Tvangsmidler kunde Directionen aldrig tilvende, og den kan derfor heller ikke bifalde at de tydske Grønlændere nægtes de Ting for Handelen med deres Producter som var tilstaaede Grønlænderne under den danske Mission.”
- 113 RA 1820-1874: Letter from Lytzen to the board, dated Nanortalik 31 July 1845.
- 114 RA 1820-1874: Letter from Jakob Lund to the board, signed 21 September 1848. Original text: “Jeg skal da efter Evne søge at opfylde Handelens Interesse med at faa saa mange som muligt friedrichsthalske Grønlændere udflyttede til mig og andre bedre Fangststeder; thi der er en sand Overbeviisning som de nu staae sammenpakkede ved Friedrichsthal er en stor Skade baade for Handelen og selve Nationen.”
- 115 RA 1820-1874: Letter from Holbøll to the board, dated Copenhagen 30 December 1850. In the letter there is enclosed a copy of Holbøll's report to the Ministry of the Interior, dated 30 December 1850. The underlining has been added by the receiver. The catechist mentioned in the letter was Jakob Lund, who was educated in Denmark so that he later could work in the mission and school. When Pamialluk was established, he was however employed as manager of the outpost, and in addition to this was supposed to try to perform his task as catechist. Original text: “Jeg har tilskrevet den kongelige Handelsdirektion, hvad jeg troede der endnu bør foranstaltes for at fremme denne Udflytning, kun maatte jeg her tilføie, at jeg antager det ville være rigtigt aldeles at forbyde Missionairerne ved Friedrichsthal at optage tilreisende Hedninger i deres Menighed, hvilket Forbud ikke strider mod deres Bevilling, ifølge hvilken de ingen Hindring maa gjøre den danske Mission, men dette vil nu skee, naar Friedrichsthal optager reisende Hedninger, da der syden for dette Sted er ansat en Katechet, som i Dygtighed og Oplysning dristig kan maale sig med Brødremissionairerne, og er Sproget fuldkommen mægtig, da han er indfødt, men uddannet i Danmark.” The underlining appears in the original.

- 116 RA 1774-1916: Journal for Julianehaab Sept: 1853 – Marts 1854. Af Rink som Inspektør og Bestyrer af Distriktet Julianehaab. Original text: “[har] søgt at forklare Missionairerne Nødvendigheden af at Grønlænderne flytte ud, hvortil de ved deres Indflydelse kunne bidrage meget, ligesom de ogsaa paa den anden Side var i stand til at modarbejde det. For øvrigt har Udflytningen i de senere Aar tiltaget, og saavidt mig bekendt, ville endnu i indeværende Aar et Par Familier flytte fra Friedrichsthal.”
- 117 Original text: “de mange Hedninger, ....., vare blevne sammenhobede paa et sted som Frederiksdal, der om Vinteren er en daarlig Fangstplads, hvilket havde haft meget Nød til følge, ogsaa blandt den der boende Befolkning.” RA 1882-1899: Minutes from Spring meeting, 1 May 1888.
- 118 RA 1882-1899: Minutes from Spring meeting, 1 May 1888.
- 119 RA 1795-1901: Letter book 1889-90, letter no. 57 of 30-4-1889: From the inspector to Julianehaab’s management; letter no. 58 of 30-4-89: Cirkulaire til Dhrr Missionairer i den herrnhutiske Brødre-Unitets Tjeneste i Julianehaab Distrikt. Original text: “forhindre en Gjentakelse af det i 1887 forekomne uheldige Forhold, at de fra Østkysten s.A. ankomne Hedninge bleve sammenhobede ved Frederiksdal.”
- 120 RA 1882-1899: Minutes of the Spring meeting 25 April 1893; RA 1795-1901: Letter no. 67 of 26-09-1893 from the inspector to Julianehaab’s management. Original text: “Det billiges, som foreslaaet af Forstanderskabet, at de til Frederiksdal fra Østkysten ankomne Grønlændere, betydes, at de kun interimistisk forbliver ved nævnte Plads, men at de, naar Qernertoq er oprettet, helst tage Boplads derstedes. Ligeledes approberes det, at en Forstander vælges, naar Qernertoq er besat.”
- 121 RA 1811-1829: Letter from Chancellery to the Mission College, dated 5 March 1822. Original text: “saaledes at det danske Missionsdistrict derved bliver uberørt.”
- 122 UA R.15.J.b.VI.14: Letter no. 5: Esmann to Kleinschmidt, 8 July 1830; Letter no. 6 (draft): Kleinschmidt to Esmann, 30 June 1830; Letter no. 8: Esmann to Kleinschmidt, 12 April 1831; Letter no. 9 (draft): Kleinschmidt to Esmann, 20 April 1831.
- 123 Mathiasen and Vahl took part in parts of Graah’s expedition (1828–31), were in 1829 with him on the east coast, but returned to Nanortalik when Graah with a small part of the expedition overwintered in East Greenland.
- 124 RA 1828-1858: Letter from Esmann to the Mission College, dated 4 August 1829. Original text: “Til Anlægget Nennortelik kan jeg vente circa 40re Hedninge endnu fra Østerboigden. Dhrr. Mathiesen og Vahl [participants on the expedition] er nemlig tilbagevendte og have bragt mig denne Efterretning, at omtrent en 80ne M:sker attraaede Daaben, men Halvparten gik nok til den tydske Menighed. Det glæder mig, at jeg har fremme Lærere ved Tuapeit, ved hvilket sidste Sted Mængden nok vil fæste Bolig. – Naar i dette Efteraar mine Reiser nordpaa ere endte, begiver jeg mig strax til Nennortelik, hvor min Nærværelse vist vil være meget fornøden.”
- 125 RA 1828-1858: Report from Esmann to the Mission College, dated 31 July 1829; Secretariatets Indstilling til Det Kongelige Missions-Kollegium betræffende Missions-Efterretninger fra Grønland for Aaret 1829/1830. (About Julianehåb: 39.)

- 126 RA 1828-1858: Lector Pastor Wolff's Erklæringer om Missionærernes Dagbøger m.m. 1829/1830. Original text: "Da det aller naadigst er tilladt Brødre-Unitetet at oprette en Missionsplads ved Friedrichsthal, kan det vel neppe forbydes dem at indlemme ved Daabens [ulæseligt] Hedninger i deres Menighed, skjøndt det vist nok baade for Handelens Tarv og for den sande oplysnings Skyld er ønskeligt, at det kunne naas." The underlining appears in the original.
- 127 Original text: "har lovet ved Daaben at gaae over til Christendommen, og ønske at vorde indlemmede i den danske Menighed."
- 128 RA 1828-1858: Letter to the Mission College from Vesterboe, dated Julianehaab 23 September 1848; Dagbog i Aaret 1848-49 skreven af Vesterboe.
- 129 Original text: "at reise ned til Hedningene og hjemmedøbe Hedningebørnene samt holde Bøn for og læse med de voxne Hedninger, saa at jeg, naar jeg til Foraaret kom her end kunde bekræfte Hjemmedåben paa Børnene og døbe de Voxne."
- 130 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog ført fra 1ste Juli 1849 til 30te Juni 1850 af Vesterboe. Original text: "at dels Forældrene blive villigere til at antage Christendommen naar deres Børn ere døbte, som jo kan skee uden Underviisning med Umyndige, dels at de Herrnhuttske Brødre fra den i Nærheden ikkun ½ Dags Reise Norden for Katechet Lund beliggende Brødremission Friedrichsthal, da ikke, som de gjerne ville, kan overtale Hedningerne, der først have lovet Katechet Lund efter hans lange Overtalelse og efter at han ifølge mit indstændige Paalæg har mange Gange holdt Bøn for dem, medens de stode ved Pladsen, hvor han boe, at afsværge Hedenskabet og indgaae i den dansk-grønlandske christne Menighed."
- 131 Messenger in a kayak, often denoted kayak post. For safety reasons, two kayaks usually sailed together.
- 132 Missionary at the mission station of Friedrichsthal.
- 133 Original text: "hvor jeg endelig traf Hedningerne og med Forstander Ihrers Tilladelse, som jeg venskabeligst udbad mig, bekræftede jeg den af Catechet Lund forrettede Hdaab [hjemmedåb] paa disse 2 Børn i Friedrichsthals Kirke i Overværelse af en deel Grønlændere saavel af den danske som Tydske Menighed." RA 1828-1858: Dagbog holdt i Aaret 1850-1851 af Vesterboe, Julianehaab.
- 134 RA 1828-1858: Report to The Mission College, dated 30 June 1852, signed by Janssen; Lektor Wandall's comments, 30 December 1852. Original text: "Jeg traf ved Nenortalik den tidligere saavel af Collegiet som af Handelsdirectionen ansatte Katechet og Handelsbetjent Jakob Lund: han havde i det forløbne Aar intet Samquem haft med Hedningene, og saaledes ikke udøvet nogen Virksomhed i denne Retning. Til ubestemte Tider komme Hedningene, ofte flere Baade Ifølge fra Landets Østkyst, for at drive Handel: naar nævnte Jakob Lund da havde en Menighed, med hvilken han kunde holde Gudstjeneste i Hedningenes Overværelse, da ville disse visseligen langt snarere og lettere kunde paavirkes; men han er aldeles uden Menighed: Hedningene komme som oftest temmelig tidligt paa Sommeren, savne et opholdssted til længere Forbliven, og maae ile tilbage, for om muligt et eller andet Sted at finde Vinterquarter: jeg vover derfor underdanigst, efterat have raadført mig med den ved Nennortalik

ansatte Læge og Handelsbetjent, Hr: Lytzen, at foreslaae det høie Collegium Opførelsen af et eller tvende Grønlænderhuse, der under nævnte Jakob Lunds Opsigt kunde henstaae til Hedningenes Modtagelse; det er da at haabe, at én eller flere Familier maatte finde Lyst til at fæste Boe dersteds; der vilde da dannes en Menighed, og der fandtes da bosiddende Folk, hos hvem Efterfølgende kunde finde Tilhold, medens de opførte sig vinterboliger og samlede Træværk dertil. Udgifterne ved et saadant Huses Opførelse ville omtrent beløbe sig til 59 rbdl 15 sk, som vedlagte Overslag udviser.”

- 135 Dansk Missionsblad 1853: Brevvexling med Grønland, pp. 81–83.
- 136 Dansk Missionsblad 1856: Meddelelser fra Grønland, p. 16.
- 137 Directly contrary to the current policy, the Mission College later supported an application from a Danish catechist, Lauritz Olsen, in Narsalik near Paamiut to make a journey to East Greenland with the aim, amongst other things, of investigating the possibilities of setting up a mission station there. Olsen did not, however, get further than Pamialluk, where he overwintered 1861–62, after which he returned to Narsalik (Thuesen 2001). This must in this context be seen as a solitary fruitless initiative from the Danish side.
- 138 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12.b: Letter no. 49: Friedrichsthal 30 August 1887, From Zucher to Burkhardt. Original text: “Wir waren aber recht froh, als wir Tags darauf hörten, dass jene 2 Männer wegen Eis nicht nach Pamiagdhluk hatten kommen können, sondern halbwegs hatten umkehren müssen – doch in Grund genommen ist das ein unnäher Kummer, denn wenn der Herr wird wollen, so wird es kommen.”
- 139 For example in an evaluation of the missionary Vesterboe it is noted that he has done what he could and his paperwork is in order. But the language and content of his sermons is “far from being excellent.” RA 1828-1858: Remarks by Wandall to reports etc. from the missionaries, Strø Præstegård 30 Dec. 1851.
- 140 RA 1811-1829: Sketch of letter to Wanning, March 1824 (GM 1824 No 8). Original text: “Man indser hvor ubehagelig enhver Kollision med Brødre Missionairerne maa være; men man tvivler ikke paa, at disse jo holde dem indenfor de dem foreskrevne Grændser. Til fornøden Efterretning tjener, at det ikke bør formenes Grønlænderne fra det nye District, som Brødrene have besat, endag at træde over til de tyske Missioner, naar de frivilligen attraae det.”
- 141 RA 1858-1867: Letter from H. Martensen to the Ministry of Culture, dated Copenhagen 28 February 1860. Original text: “Det maa formentlig erkiendes, at enhver af de tvende Methoder – den omreisende og den coloniserende – har sine Fortrin og Mangler, ligesom det for øvrigt ogsaa bør erkiendes, at forskellige locale Forhold her i betydelig Grad kunne komme til at udøve en modificerende Indflydelse. Men hvor ikke den mest trængende Nødvendighed maatte være tilstede, hvad her ikke paa nogen Maade sees at være Tilfældet, vilde det formentligen være Saare urigtigt, dersom man vilde skride ind og forhindre et fremmed Missionariat, som dog har virket til ikke ringe Velsignelse.”

- 142 UA R.15.J.b.VI.14: Letter no. 35: The Danish Mission Company to the Ministry (copy), 12 March 1868. It should be noted that in an introduction to the copy of the letter it is stressed that the recipients must not show the letter or pass its content on to the Danish employees. People were plainly aware of the latent potential conflict between the parties in Greenland.
- 143 “Greenlandic *lektor*” was the term for someone, usually a previous missionary, who was attached to the central administration in Copenhagen as a special expert, and as such should amongst other things be consulted in cases concerning the mission.
- 144 RA 1828-1858: Lektor Wandall’s recommendation, 2 January 1856. Original text: “Hr Nissen har gjort det Forslag, at det for Kolonien fjernet liggende, folkerige Udsted Nennortalik maatte blive oprettet til et eget Missionariat. Men hvor ønskeligt dette end i sig maatte være, især med Hensyn til de i Nærheden boende Hedninger, der have en temmelig stadig Handelsforbindelse med dette Sted, og hvor nødvendigt det end til sidst maa blive, at Julianehaabs alt for vidtløftige [dvs. udstrakte] Missionariat deles, skal jeg dog her ikke indlade mig paa at gøre dette Forslag til mit, da der vel for Tiden ikke kan være Udsigt til at faa en saa kostbar Foranstaltning imødeset.”
- 145 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog ført fra 10de August 1843 til 1ste September 1844 Vesterboe. Original text: “Imorges Kl. 6 gik jeg herfra, men Brødrene havde ladet bringe 3 Geder i min Konebaad som en Foræring og Beviis paa stor Velvillie mod mig.”
- 146 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog for 1844-1845 ført af Vesterboe. Original text: “Kom der en anden Hedning fra Østkysten til mig, en høi smuk velvoxen Mand med store Knebelsbarter og en Skjorte syet af Sælhundetarme, men da han har opholdt sig i Vinter med Familie ved Friedrichsthal og Brødremissionen altsaa have i sinde at døbe denne Familie, talte jeg ikke til ham om at gaee over til min Menighed, for ikke at modarbejde ovennævnte Missionærer.”
- 147 UA R.15.J.b.VI.14: Letter no. 13: Esmann to Kleinschmidt, 20 May 1831.
- 148 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog ført fra 10de August 1843 til 1ste September 1844 Vesterboe; Dagbog holdt i Aaret 1850-1851 af Vesterboe, Julianehaab.
- 149 UA R.15.J.b.VI.14: Letter no. 24: Janssen to all the missionaries of the Society of Brethren, Godthaab Teachers’ Training College 8 June 1855.
- 150 UA R.15.J.b.VI.14: Letter no. 25: Nissen to Ihrer, Julianehaab 5 February 1857; Letter no. 32: Rosen to Asboe, Nanortalik 29 September 1862; Letter no. 38: Skårup to Hillig, 1 October 1882.
- 151 Original text: “siger man, er aftaget meget. Undertiden finder man om foråret døde sæler på isen med skind og spæk aftaget.”
- 152 Original text: “Da klapmydserne senere blev meget sparsomme, blev denne mand uglest af de andre, fordi han ved sin adfærd havde bevirket, at sælerne var blevet vrede og derfor var gået bort fra kysten.”
- 153 Original text: “disse to stykker (Lc 267 og Lc 268), hvortil ingen grønlandere havde set mage, var bragt til Julianehaab af en familie, som kom fra Ammassalik, et sted på østkysten, der angives at være meget nordligere, end kaptajn Graah var.”
- 154 Original text: “disse mennesker aldrig tidligere havde set europæere iblandt sig.”



- 155 Original text: "nogle foretager endog længere rejser til Illuluarsuk [Bernstorffs Isfjord] og Akorninarmiut [Skjoldungen] for at komme i handelsforbindelse med de sydligere boende østlændinge."
- 156 Original text: "*han var i slægt med Jakob* (dvs. assistent Lund) i Sydprøven. Den gang Jakob, efter at have været i Danmark, var kateket i Pamialluk, havde *hans far (Maja) som en slægtning af ham* handlet med ham flere gange, når han var omme på vestkysten; det havde han (faderen) ofte fortalt om. Men det var, før han selv blev født [ca. 1844], at hans far drog om at handle ... Han bød mig hilse Jakob med tilføjelse: at han gerne ville have sendt ham i foræring et stykke bjørneskind til at sidde på, hvis han havde haft et."
- 157 Original text: "deres fangstredskaber er ikke kønne, kun deres kajakårer er smukke."
- 158 Original text: "sammenholdes angmagsalikernes kunstsans med vestgrønlandernes, vil man se, at disse står langt tilbage for hine."
- 159 Original text: "udskæres som lidt ophøjede relieffigurer af tand og ben og hæftes med bennagler på fangstredskaber, øjenskærme, skygger og bødkerarbejde. På nogle genstande ses fuldstændig udskårne sæler, narhvaler, bjørne, fugle, fisk, mennesker og kajaker. Det overvejende antal figurer er imidlertid sæler."
- 160 Original text: "hvis de nationer, som driver sælfangst, ikke snart sætter en grænse for deres hensynsløse jagt på de, for de polare folk så vigtige sælarter, ville det vist ikke vare hundrede år, førend klapmydsen og sortsiden vil være en sjældenhed hér. Efter alle østlændinges udsagn har disse to sælarter aftaget meget i den sidste menneskealder, og det har for en væsentlig del været skyld i de af Gustav Holm omtalte hungersår her i distriktet."
- 161 Original text: "mændenes kajakudstyr som kastetræ, kajakstol, skygger og øjenskærme er ofte prydet med mange, små, flade relieffigurer ... vandkar og bægre kan være pålagt relieffigurer ligesom de ovennævnte på kajakudstyr."
- 162 Original text: "En af dem, en angakkoq ved navn Ingmulukutsuk, havde [...sin] egen hekseånd [...] Arrûssaq, der er en i havet levende vingesnegl (clione borealis), og som de kalder *den hvide trolldånd* (toornaarsuk). [...]H]ans med-angakkoq [...] Sanimuinnaq's hoved-ånd er Arrûssaq (vingesneglen), som fordum havde været ånd for en kvindelig angakkoq, efter hvem han havde arvet den [...]."
- 163 Original text: "hver angakkoq har sin toornaarsuk og aperketeq [hjælpeånd], der også fungerer som hans ånder."
- 164 Original text: "god, fordi, sagde han, den var i slægt med ham, som de kristne kalder toornaarsuk (i.e. djævelen) ... Han skulle netop til at fortælle noget om angakkojerne i det hele taget, men ... holdt inde, og da han blev spurgt, ville han ikke sige mere. Jeg bad ham også på et lille stykke papir at aftegne sin trolldånd Arrûssaq (den omtalte vingesnegl), men han ville ikke tegne den, fordi han havde medlidenhed med den, da den jo dog var hans trolldånd, sagde han."
- 165 Original text: "nægtede rent ud at være angakkoq og ville slet ikke kende noget til toornaarsuk (trolldåndernes øverste). Da fremtog jeg de bibelske billeder og viste ham det om Frelserens fristelse, og forklarede ham, at det var den samme djævel, der havde

gjort alle mennesker onde, og den samme djævel (toornaarsuk) ... har også fået dig til at nægte og lade, som om du ikke er angakkoq, for at du ikke skulle tale om ham selv. Dette gjorde indtryk på ham, og han troede det: han erklærede at være angakkoq og at have en lille alk (dværgalk) til ånd ... Da han havde forstået og opfattet det rigtigt, sagde han, at når han så mulighed derfor, ville han komme om til vestkysten og omvende sig – men det var vist ikke hans alvor.”

166 Original text: “En angakkoq, som Hansêrak havde talt indtrængende til, sagde, at han følte sin uvidenhed, troede på Vorherre og havde megen lyst til at blive døbt. Da Hansêrak foreholdt ham, at hvis han troede, måtte han holde op med de hedenske skikke og angakkoq-væsenet, svarede hedningen: ‘Da jeg er vant til det, kan jeg ikke slippe det’. Hansêrak sagde, at når han ikke ophørte dermed, var han ikke troende, thi en troende måtte slippe alle urigtige vaner. Herpå svarede hedningen: ‘Ja, når jeg efterhånden kommer til at forstå Dig noget bedre, vil jeg vel også komme til at slippe dem’.”

167 Original text: “dog forbinde den tanke dermed, at de bringer god fangst til huset.”

168 Original text: “Man mener nemlig, at fangstdyrenes sjæle atter bliver til sæler, når knoglerne tidligst tre dage efter at sælens kød er fortæret, bliver bragt ud og kastet i havet.”

169 Original text: “hver gang der tages en sæl ind i huset for at flænses.”

170 Original text: “Utuaq kom hjem og havde fanget, dyppede han sine fingre ned i urinaljen og smurte sit fangne dyr med urin på hovedet.”

171 Original text: “Vor ven Ajukutôq fortalte mig i dag, at når de heroppe fangede en sælhund, tog de altid deres kastetræ ind i huset, for at sælerne ikke skulle blive fortørnede. Hovederne af de dræbte fangstdyr, hvad enten det nu er bjørn eller sæl, kunne ikke koges og spises førend den tredje dag efter at dyrene er dræbt. Så snart dyret er flænset, tages hovedet ind i huset og lægges ved siden af lampen, hvor det får lov at ligge, indtil det skal i gryden. Ved siden af bjørnehovederne [eller sælhovederne] lægger man forskellige kostbarheder såsom perler, harpunspidser og knive, men disse får ejermændene tilbage, når hovedet er spist.”

172 Original text: “udskåret i former, som skal forestille sæler ... Håndtag og tværstykker på alle slags remme til at binde det fangne dyr med, og hvori det slæbes, er udskåret i form af sæler.”

173 Original text: “enhver selv udfører ornamenterne på sine genstande.”

174 Original text: “tror man dog på dem [i.e. shamanerne] af frygt for den skade, som de kunne gøre ved deres kunster.”

175 Original text: “drengene som piger på tretten til femten års alderen kunne udføre disse arbejder.”

176 Original text: “bliver til pædagogiske redskaber for shamanen, som ved hjælp af disse kan illustrere sine teknikker og oplevelser under udøvelse af sin gerning.”

177 Original text: “du kan ikke stå dig ved at blive døbt; det vil blot gå dig ilde. For *ingnerssuit* har fortalt os, at når han, som de døbte kalder Jesus, viser sig ved Verdens undergang for at holde dom over døbte og hedninger, så vil *timersit*, store indlandsboer,

- og *ingnerssuit* og *akilinermiut* slå sig sammen i kamp mod denne Jesus og dræbe ham; og da skal de døbte blive efterladt i kløfter og afgrunde, mens hedningerne selv vil bane sig vej op til himlen. – Og Ingersia bestemte sig derfor til ikke at lade sig døbe.”
- 178 Original text: “da jeg er vant til det, kan jeg ikke slippe det.”
- 179 RA: Folketællinger i Grønland. A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger ved Colonien Julianehaab med District, den 31te December 1845.
- 180 UA R.15.J.b.5.b: Tabelle über die Volksmenge bei der Brüder-Mission Friedrichsthal mit District dem 31. December 1840.
- 181 “De Personer, ved hvis Alder er sat et Spørgsmaalstegn, ere alle forhenværende Hedninger fra Østkysten.”
- 182 RA 1882-1899: Minutes from autumn meeting, 25 September 1895. Original text: “Anlægget Itivdleq er vel oprindelig anlagt særlig med Hedningene for Øje, men Omegnen er faktisk kun beboet af Vesterlændinge der er vant til europæiske Fødemidler.”
- 183 RA Folketællinger i Grønland: 1850: A 22.01.01 Nanortalik Distrikt, Frederiksdal Herrnhutermision: Designation over Grønlændere og Blandinger under Frerikthals Missions Station 1855 af Missionsforstander Ihrer; 1870: A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Navnlige Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger i Julianehaab District den 1ste December 1870; 1901: A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Navnlige Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger i Julianehaabs Distrikt den 1. Oktober 1901. UA R.15.J.b.5.b.: 1896: Designation over Missionariatet Frederiksdal 31. December 1896.
- 184 RA Folketællinger i Grønland: 1834: A 22.01.01 Nanortalik Distrikt, Frederiksdal Herrnhutermision. In a note to this census result, it is stated that where there is an x next to a person's age, the age is approximate.
- 185 RA: Folketællinger i Grønland: 1840: A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger ved Colonien Julianehaab med District, den 31te December 1840; 1845: A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger ved Colonien Julianehaab med District, den 31te December 1845.
- 186 UA R.15.J.b.5.b.: Mandtalsliste over den grønlandske Befolkning i Friedrichsthal Missionariat indtil 31te Dec. 1870.
- 187 UA R.15.J.b.5.b.: Designation over Missionariatet Frederiksdal den 31. December 1890; Designation over Missionariatet Frederiksdal den 31. December 1896.
- 188 RA: Folketællinger i Grønland: 1845: A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger ved Colonien Julianehaab med District, den 31te December 1845.
- 189 Elisa is here a boy's name. In Greenland today there are still examples of this use of the name.
- 190 RA: Folketællinger i Grønland: 1834: A 22.01.01 Nanortalik Distrikt, Frederiksdal Herrnhutermision: (untitled).

- 191 RA: Folketællinger i Grønland: 1840: A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinge ved Colonien Julianehaab med District, 31 December 1840.
- 192 Original text: "Underholdes med Sine af Familien og Nationen."
- 193 RA Folketællinger i Grønland: 1855: A 22.01.01 Nanortalik Distrikt, Frederiksdal Herrnhuttermision: Designation over Grønlændere og Blandinger under Fredriksthals Missions Station 1855 af Missionsforstander Ihrer.
- 194 UA R.15.J.b.5.b.: Optællingsliste den 1. oktbr 1855.
- 195 RA: Folketællinger i Grønland: 1860: A 22.01.01 Nanortalik Distrikt Frederiksdal Herrnhuttermision: Optællingsliste over samtlige Befolkning ved Brødre-Missionen Friedrichsthal i Julianehaab District den 1te October 1860.
- 196 UA R.15.J.b.5.b.: 1855: Optællingsliste, 1 October 1855; 1866: Mandtalsliste over den grønlandske Befolkning i Friedrichsthals Missionariat indtil 31te Dec. 1866.
- 197 RA: Folketællinger i Grønland: 1870: A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Navnlig Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger i Julianehaab District den 1ste December 1870.
- 198 RA: Folketællinger i Grønland: 1901: A 57.02.00 Julianehåb Distrikt: Navnlig Optællingsliste over Grønlændere og Blandinger i Kolonien Julianehaabs Distrikt den 1. Oktober 1901.
- 199 UA R.15.J.b.5.b.: Designation over Missionariatet Frederiksdal den 31. December 1890.
- 200 Dansk Missionsblad 1901: 369–380: Beretning fra pastor Balle i Grønland.
- 201 RA 1828-1858: Indberetning af 22 Octb: 1832 om Brødremenighederne i Grønland (signed by Johannes Reufs). Original text: "Fordi Grønlændernes Erhverv og de fornødne Øvelser i at fare med Kajak lægger nogen Hindring i Veien for Drengébørnene, saa er deres Skole mindre besøgt end Pigebørnenes."
- 202 UA R.15.J.b.VI.12a: Letter no. 215: Hilbig to Reichel, 2 August 1861; letter no. 240: Asboe, Starick and Spindler to the Mission Department, July 1865; letter no. 259: Gericke and Spindler to the Mission Department, 15 August 1867; letter no. 264: Gericke to the Mission Department, 24 august 1868; UA R.15.J.b.VI.12b: Letter no. 18a: Hilbig and Brodbeck to the Mission Department, 14 June 1882.
- 203 RA 1811-1829: Conrad Kleinsmidt, Baus and de Fries: Schrift von der Anlegung der neuen Missions-Postens und der Gemeinde zu Friedrichsthal bey Statenhuk in Grönland im Julii u. Aug. 1824. (Enclosure in letter from Johannes Reufs to the Mission College 24 March 1825.)
- 204 Original text: "Grønlænderne have af Naturen et afgjort musikalsk medfødt Talent, hvilket ogsaa mine Venner de evangeliske Brødre ved Lichtenau og Friedrichsthal have end bemærket og lægge af den Grund megen Vind paa en smuk Kirkemusik thi de have Orgler i deres respective Kirker og disse ledsages paa Helligdagene af blæsende Instrumenter, Violiner og Basser, som spilles af halvvoxne Grønlændere, der i meget kort Tid ere indøvet af Brødrene."
- 205 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog for 1844-45 ført af Vesterboe. Original text: [Det er så] "smukt,

at jeg Ret i mit Hjerter maatte beklage, at vi intet Orgel har i Julianehaabs skjønn Kirke.”

206 Dansk Missionsblad 1898: 87–89: Smertens Barn.; 1899: 280–281: Hvor er kvinden?

207 RA 1795-1901: No. 72: 27-5-1890: Til de herrnhutiske missionærer.

208 Original text: “Den yngste derværende Missionær Hr. Schneider synes at være driftig i at reise omkring til de beboede Pladser for at undervise Børnene og har i den Anledning endog øvet sig i Kajakroning. Han yttrede det Ønske at Missionen kunne erholde noget Huusmateriale til at bygge et simpelt Skolehuus ved det meget beboede Sted Illoa, for at han kunne sættes i stand til at opholde sig der midlertidigt nogle Maaneder af Aaret.” RA 1774-1916: Journal for Julianehaab Sept: 1853 – Marts 1854. Af Rink som Inspektør og Bestyrer af Distriktet Julianehaab.

209 Original text: “Paa den ydre Plads Pamiadluk, ved Friedrichsthal, bleve i det nyopbyggede og den 20. October høitidelig indviede Huus regelmæssig Skole og Forsamlinger holdte, til stor Nytte og Velsignelse for denne temmelig talrigt beboede Plads, som ogsaa besøges af Hedninger fra Østkysten.”

210 RA 1882-1889. Minutes from the Julianehaab Board of Guardians: Spring meeting, 3 May 1899.

211 RA 1882-1889: Minutes of the Julianehaab Board of Guardians; Spring meeting, 25 April 1893 and extract of a letter from the Inspectorate in South Greenland, dated Godthaab 12 september 1894. Original text: “de til Friedrichstahl fra Østkysten kommende Grønlændere betydes, at de kun interimistisk forblive ved samme Plads, men at de, naar det nye Udsted paa Østkysten er oprettet, helst tage Boplads der, ligesom ogsaa, at en Forstander vælges, naar Stedet er oprettet.”

212 RA 1774-1916: Dagbog ført af Lægen i Julianehaab District i Handelsaaret 1856: 5. sept.; RA 1820-1874: Fra Lytzen til Direktionen, Nanortalik den 17. sept. 1844. Original text: “et blot nogenlunde tarveligt Lægevaesen.”

213 RA 1774-1916: Dagbog ført ved Anlægget Nennortalik fra 18de November 1854, til 25de Marts 1855, begge inklusive. Rosing, Volontair.; Journal ført ved Anlægget Nanortalik fra den 20de Aug. 1885 til den 31te Marts 1886 (underskrevet: Simony); RA 1820-1874: Letter no. 1, Report from the colonial manager Larsen, dated Julianehaab 15 April 1867.

214 RA 1828-1858: Report and letter to the Mission College. Esmann, Julianehaab 30 June 1833.

215 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog holdt i Aaret 1850-1851 af Vesterboe, Julianehaab.: RA 1774-1916: Journal ført af H Rink som Inspektør over Distriktet Julianehaab 14 April til 25 August 1854. Original text: “Til min store Glæde saa jeg tillige, at alle Grønlænderne vare flyttede ud paa Klapmydseøerne [Kitsissut]. Der var ganske tomt paa dette om Vinteren saa beboede Sted.”

216 Original text: “Skoleundervisningen er nu og da dreven med de faae tilstedeværende Børn, som endda ikke befinde sig stadigen ved Kolonien: endnu tydeligere end nordpaa mærker man grant i Sommertiden, hvorlunde Grønlænderne hermed endnu aldeles ere et nomadiserende Jagtfolk.”



- 217 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog over Missionærens Forretninger i Missionariatet Julianehaab for Aaret 1852-53; RA 1858-1867: Dagbog ført af Missionairen ved Julianehaab fra 1ste July 1862 til 31te Juni 1863. Original text: "Da Grønlænderne nu alle trække ud paa Udhavsøerne paa Klapmydsefangst og ingen ordentlig Skolegang selvfølgelig kan finde Sted, idet Forældrene som bortrejste medbringer deres hele Familie og saaledes kun Colonisterne blive tilbage her ved Stedet har jeg i dag den 1ste Juni givet Skolen fri indtil videre."
- 218 RA: 1820-1874: Oversigt. Biilmann, Julianehaab 30. juni 1852.
- 219 Original text: "De herskende sygdomme have en ikke ufølelig Indflydelse paa Fangsten og paa Grønlændernes oeconomiske Tilstand. – Da flere Fangere, som Sygdommen har hjemsogt, enten direct eller indirect – deres Nærmeste – der hvert Øieblik maatte ansees for Døden Hjemfaldne, maatte tvunget forsømme deres daglige Erhverv, og det har ladet til, at Grønlænderne for Tiden ere temmelig blottede for frisk Kjød og Spæk, men af tørret Kjød haves der endnu noget Forraad. – De familier, som mistede deres Forsørgere, have saagodtsom intet Forraad af Fødemidler og Spæk. Dette er navnlig tilfældet med Enkerne Amalia, Christiane og Ester, hvilke jeg har tilladt mig paa en sparsommelig Maade at understøtte gratis paa Handelens Regning. – Ananias's Efterladte ved Ujarasuksuit, som jeg tidligere havde Anledning til at berøre, ere ved Moderens Død komne til en ret god Familie, som nok vil forsørge dem paa en ordentlig Maade. – Men jeg har dog til Dato ikke haft den sørgelige Nødvendighed, at udborge Spæk, eller Proviant, hvad i indeværende Maaned, efter Fangstens Beskaffenhed fortiden, om der ikke sker Forandring til det Bedre, bliver muligt uundgaelig i det Smaa og til enkelte Familieforsørgere."
- 220 RA 1820-1874: (no title) Report to Rink, signed by Jacob Lund 15 March 1855. Original text: "Jeg har, i Henhold til ergangne Bestemmelser, i Efteraaret taget mig den Frihed at tildele Udflytterne Christian, til Kekkertaittiak [Qeqertatsiaq], og Abea, til Anordliuittik [Anorliuitsoq], en gratis Understøttelse af Huusmaterialer; men af sidstnævnte havde Handelen desværre ingen betydelig Gavn, da han, ved Forliis i Kajak, som foroven berørt, saa tidligt maatte forlade det Jordiske. – Denne forulykkede Mand var Handelen Skyldig for en Kommisriffel, men da Riffelen heldigvis var efterladt ved Stedet, har jeg, efter Tilbageholdelsen, anbragt samme til Fanger Ludvig hersteds i Haab om gunstigt Bifald."
- 221 RA 1874-1898: Report of 31 March 1876, E. Hansen. Original text: "Jeg tror at kunde fremsætte som et i mange Aar bekræftet Fakta, at under Epidemier har disse Stationer været værst medtagne, og som maaske har sin Grund deri, at der ved Anlæggelsen af disse er taget formeget Hensyn til gode Græsgange og forliden Hensyn til Valget af gunstige Fangesteder, at Befolkningen er for sammenpakket og i det Hele synes at leve under et mindre heldig geistlig Tryk og under ugunstige sanitære Betingelser."
- 222 RA 1820-1874: Rink: Om Manglerne ved de til Grønlændernes Understøttelse i Trang and Sygdom sigtende Foranstaltninger: 8. Dateret Julianehaab 22. februar 1855. Original text: "For imidlertid at komme tilbage paa Trangstiden, da maa vi betænke, at ogsaa den i Regeln producerer den nødvendigste Føde, hvilket man ogsaa let vil

- kunne indse deraf, at Befolkningen ikke allerede for lang Tid siden er uddød, det være sig enten før eller efter Handelens Etablering.”
- 223 RA 1820-1874: Letter from Holbøll to the board, dated 31 December 1850. In the letter is inserted a copy of Holbøll's report, dated 30 December 1850. Original text: “De udsendte forbedrede Huse, eller Materialer til samme vedbliver at have en velgjørende Indflydelse i Sydgrønland, dog maaske meest i Julianehaabs District, hvor det er lettest for Grønlænderne af forskaffe sig Brændsel. I Julianehaabs District har Glasruder havt en gavnlig indflydelse paa den blandt Grønlænderne til visse Aarstider saa almindelige Sneblindhed, hvilken Sygdom tildeels maa hidrøre fra den egne Belysning Tarmvinduerne giver, da der er en paafaldende Forskjæl mellem Antallet paa de Grønlændere, der angribes af Sneblindhed, boende i Huse med Tarmvinduer og de som beboe Huse med Glasvinduer.”
- 224 This information was provided by Mette Rønsager, Ph.D., in connection with her work on the thesis: “Imellem læger og landsmænd. Den vestgrønlandske jordemoderinstitution 1820-1920” (unpublished, University of Copenhagen 2006).
- 225 NKA 1824-1900: Kirchen-Buch der Gemeinde in Friedrichsthal vom ersten Anfangen 1824.
- 226 UA R.15.J.b.5.b: Designation over Missionariatet Frederiksdal den 31. December 1890; Designation over Missionariatet Frederiksdal den 31. December 1896; Mandtalsliste over den grønlandske Befolkning i Friedrichsthal's Missionariat indtil 31te Dec. 1870. Numbers in brackets give the number in the relevant list of inhabitants.
- 227 Optællingsliste den 1. oktbr 1855.
- 228 Original text: “d. 17. juli ist von Kajakfahren krank zu Hause gekommen u. nach 2 Tagen gestorben in Süden auf Nunatsuk”.
- 229 NKA 1824-1900; UA R.15.J.b.5.b: Mandtalsliste over Grønlænderne som opholder sig ved Friedrichsthal's Missions-District ved Slutningen af Aar 1850; Optællingsliste den 1. oktbr 1855.
- 230 NKA 1824-1900; UA R.15.J.b.5.b: Mandtalsliste over den grønlandske Befolkning i Friedrichsthal's Missionariat indtil 31te Dec. 1866; Mandtalsliste over den grønlandske Befolkning i Friedrichsthal's Missionariat indtil 31te Dec. 1870; Designation over Missionariatet Frederiksdal den 31. December 1890; Designation over Missionariatet Frederiksdal den 31. December 1896.
- 231 Original text: “i Friedrichsthal, paa Sydspidsen af Landet, indfinde sig aarlig for Handelens Skyld, flere hedenske Familier fra den østre Deel af Landet. Vore Missionærer benytte denne Foranledning til at gjøre dem bekendte med Evangeliet, og søge at formaae dem til at blive her, og om Fleere, som for et Aar siden ankom her, have vi Grund til at nære det bedste Haab.”
- 232 Original text: “I denne Sommer have 16 Personer meldt sig hos os, for at optages i Menigheden. Flere Selskaber af Hedninger kom for nylig hertil for at handle. Desværre havde de ikke Forlængsel efter at købe den eene kostelige Perle.”
- 233 Original texts: “At anstrænge deres Tanker og Hukommelse, for at erhverve sig Kundskab om Ting, der strække sig ud over det daglige Liv, eller endog ind i

- Evigheden, er kun sjelden Grønlændernes Sag” and “især naar Talen er om aandelige Ting, kun lidet eller intet Indtryk paa Grønlændernes dorske og kolde Hjerter.”
- 234 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog for missionariatet Julianehaab 1851-1852. Original text: “stor Forvildelse hersker i denne til Hedenskabets saa nær grænsende Menighed, og det er ikke uden dyb Smerte, at jeg drager bort herfra, thi her er saa meget at arbeide og virke i Kirkens og Skolens Gjerning.”
- 235 *Atuagagdliutit* 1889: Tamardlisit: 10. januar (no. 8): 125–128; 23. januar (no. 9): 143–144.
- 236 RA 1820-1874: Besvarelse af const Inspectør og Colonibestyrer Rinks Breve 1854. Breve mærket: no. 3 a-f Bilag til Formandsindberetning fra Julianehaab.
- 237 RA 1828-1858: Dagbog over Missionærens Forretninger i Missionariatet Julianehaab for Aaret 1852-53.
- 238 RA 1820-1874: Besvarelse af const Inspectør og Colonibestyrer Rinks Breve 1854: letter no. 3-a. Bilag til Formandsindberetning fra Julianehaab. Dated Østprøven 12 Martch 1854, signed by Chemnitz. Original text: “hente en Pige fra Komiut, til sig, paa hedenske Maade som Kone.”
- 239 RA 1828-1858: Julianehaabs Missionariat 1855-56.
- 240 Original text: “Skriger ravnene stærkt, idet de flyver over en boplads, betyder det held.”
- 241 Original text: “Amuletdrenge,” *piârquasiat*, med dragter, der er splittet op i ryggen, må nøje overholde, at den første sæl, de fanger, også bliver skåret op i ryggen og ikke i bugen, således som man ellers plejer.”
- 242 *Paarsisoq* (new orthography) is the Greenlandic term for a Greenlandic member of the Board of Guardians. It really means “One who takes care.”
- 243 RA 1877-1879: Julianehaab Board of Guardians: Minutes from Autumn meeting, 25 September 1873. Original text: “Formanden forespurte, hvorledes Grønlænderne, som fra Østkysten vare komne til Pamiagdlok, vare blevne behandlede af Befolkningen dersteds. – pårssisoq erklærede, at saavel Udliggeren som Befolkningen havde været lige gode, om at bedrage Østlændingene. For Udliggerens Vedkommende anstiller Kolonibestyreren den fornødne Undersøgelse, og for Befolkningens Vedkommende har hr. Rosing paataget sig, ved sin forestaaende Reise til Pamiagdlok, at forsøge paa at indhente de nødvendige Oplysninger.”
- 244 *Atuagagdliutit* 1864: Lars Møller: Kujatâliarnermik aussautitdlugo: 12. december (no. 37): 567–569.
- 245 *Atuagagdliutit* 1880: Ulrik Rosing: Pamiagdlungme ukînivnit erqaimassâka: 15. november (no. 4): 49–51; 14. december (no. 6): 81–84; 1881: 25. februar (no. 10): 157–159.
- 246 RA 1774-1916: Dagbøger: Continuations Journal holden ved Colonien Julianehaab fra 1te August 1801 til 15de Junii 1802 af købmand Joh: Chr: Mörch.
- 247 RA 1774-1916: Dagbog for H:A: 1860 ført af Lægen i Julianehaab District.
- 248 RA 1858-1867: Miss. koll. Dagbog ført ved Julianehaab fra min Overtagelse af Embedet i September 1861 til 1ste July 1862. Bilagt Indberetning for Aaret 1861 / 62 af Rosen, underskrevet 23. July 1862.

- 249 Original text: "Qvinderne ere blottede til den Grad, at kun Midien er bedækket med et par muligst korte Beenklæder. Ved Colonierne og i disses Nærhed er Reenligheden i Husene noget bedre, end ved bortliggende Udsteder; ogsaa har Qvindekjønnen her opnaaet saa meget Blussel, at de idetmindste bedække Overkroppen med en Chemisse og Underextremiteterne med de almindelige Beenklæder."
- 250 Original text: "Den hedenske Grædeceremoni finder endnu kun sted syd for Nennortelik og maaske langt under Nord."
- 251 *Atuagagdliutit* 1872: Hagen: Qavângarnitsat (imaípoq tunumiut) Pamiagdlungme nungussut aussaq; 1881 Oqalualârutit. Qideon (qajaitsoq) Igdlorssuatsiarmio, Pamiagdlûp erqânguarmio; 1881 Univkârut Tingmiarmiunik, aussaq 1879-80.
- 252 Hundested Bibliotek: KRA: kasse 52, no. 3: Knud Rasmussen: Lommebog med dagbogsoptegnelser og notater fra Sydøstgrønland. 1 bind. 1904. Original text: "De Mennesker, vi ligger i Lejr med her, – er for største Delen nydøbte hedninger fra østkysten. De er interessante at tale med. Og de gir uden større omsvøb mange ejendommelige og besynderlige Enkeltheder fra deres Hedenskab. De nærer en Forestilling om, at det er nyttigt for deres Sjæle at skrifte – at berette om deres tidligere Vildfarelse. Navnlig tror de, at de hurtigt må skrifte, for at det onde ikke skal blive siddende tilbage i dem og hindre Kristentroen i dens Udvikling.
- En gammel Mand Kuânia, var saaledes i den første Tid syg, – og trods alle Forsøg hjalp intet Middel. Først da han havde lettet sin Samvittighed ved at fortælle om forskellige Synder han havde begaaet under sit Hedenskab, lykkedes det ham at faa Bugt med Ondet.
- En Kone kunde slet ikke lære at læse – eller forstaa, hvad Præsten forklarede hende om kristentroen; – først da hun havde faaet lettet sin Samvittighed med, at hun en Gang havde været ved at blive Angakok, lykkedes det hende at begribe, hvad hun skulle vide og forstaa, for at annamme Daaben o.s.v."
- 253 The name, which means women's boat, turns up in various other spellings, e.g. Autdarida, Autdlârutât, Aallaaridaa and also Aallaarutaat, which is the West Greenlandic spelling in the new orthography. The spelling used here, Aaddaaridaad, is the one which is assumed to lie closest to the Cape Farewell dialect, and therefore to be most authentic. Aaddaaridaad was born around 1872 and died in 1941. On his baptism in 1901 he was baptised Kristian Poulsen. He later took part in the Sixth and Seventh Thule Expeditions to East Greenland in 1931–1933, where Knud Rasmussen used him as a pilot and informant about life before the immigration to West Greenland, and for this he later received the Danish Order of Merit [fortjenstmedaljen] (Ostermann 1938: 130–139; Bak 181: 247–249).
- 254 Original text: "Ja, de Mennesker, jeg dræbte, fortjente den Død, de fik, for de var farlige for os andre. Jeg dræbte dem ikke af Lyst til Mord, men af Pligtfølelse overfor mine Bopladsfæller."
- 255 "Nuannersukuluusimavoq." NKA: C-08: 01-486: Kornelius Jakobsen.
- 256 "Tassa taama nalinnaatigipput, tupinnangtisigipput. Uagut ... tupigusunneq ajorpugut, meeraagama tamakkuningga tusarnermik soqutiginnilakka." Original

Danish text: "Så almindelige var de, de var ikke til at undre sig over. Vi ... undrede os ikke, jeg har hørt om det så mange gange som barn, så jeg tager mig ikke af det."

NKA: C-08: no journal number: Emma Kielsen.

257 NKA: C-08: 01-480: Føbe and Bernhardt Petrussen.

258 Original text: "utrætteligt havde berettet for mig om det at være åndemaner."

259 "uannut qasusuilluni angakkuunilersaartarsimasq" and "ikinngutigigaluannut Aal-laarutaamut eqqaassutissatut suliaaraa."

260 "nuannersumik minguitsumillu ... naak kuisimanngitsuinnaagaluarlutik."

261 Poulsen was baptised Mikiassen, but later changed his name to Poulsen (Poulsen & Lynge 1989: 7).





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This volume offers a comprehensive account of the cultural history of the Cape Farewell area in the 19th century. The dominating factor in this history was the immigration of people to the area from Southeast Greenland. There are no written sources originating from these immigrants, as they could neither read nor write, so the descriptions presented of the immigration are primarily based on material from the Danish colonial authorities and the German Moravian mission. Although one-sided and reflecting a European view and conception of the world, the sources contain valuable information which, when pieced together, give a clear picture of the East Greenlandic immigration to the Cape Farewell area at the time, and of the society which arose in the wake of this immigration, not least of the impending struggle for the souls of the unbaptised East Greenlanders and also for their contribution to colonial trade in the 19th century.

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The present book, drawing on informative archival materials and presenting a rich volume of illustrations, gives for the first time a collected synthesis of the history of the population in the Cape Farewell area in the 19th century.

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