

Seven Eskimo Religious Movements:
Description and Analysis

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by

Paula Lee Holland

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To Ed, Aileen, and Carolyn



ABSTRACT

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Studies of acculturation in the Arctic have not generally considered those forms of culture change, usually termed "revitalization movements", which involve the attempt by members of a culture to establish a new culture in entirety or in substantial part. A number of such attempts have been reported to have occurred among the Eskimos, but they have been neither comprehensively described, except in one case, nor adequately analyzed. Reasonably complete descriptions, based in each case on compilation from several sources, of seven of these movements occurring in Canada and Greenland are presented. The social, economic, political, and cultural characteristics of the history of Eskimo-European contact in each area where a movement developed are then considered within a conceptual framework based primarily on Burridge's analysis of millenarian movements. The social, economic, political, and ideological features of each movement are considered in relation to the specific features of the contact situation in which each occurred. The movements are then considered comparatively in order to identify

regularities in developmental processes, and are found to follow courses of development similar to those identified by Burrige and by Wallace in their studies of such movements. The movements are seen as developing in response to situations in which environmental, social, and cultural changes undermined a traditional or current world view and ethos, and they are interpreted as attempts to establish a new religious system incorporating a more satisfactory world view and ethos.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The two and one half centuries of culture contact in the North American Arctic have resulted in significant changes in Eskimo cultures. These changes have been most rapid and dramatic in the past thirty years, and have coincided with the development of anthropological interest in acculturation. Consequently, much of the anthropological study of the Eskimos has been concerned with change. Studies of acculturation in the Arctic, however, have not generally considered those forms of culture change, usually termed (following Wallace, 1956) "revitalization movements", which involve the attempt by members of a culture to establish a new culture in entirety or in substantial part. A number of such attempts have been reported to have occurred among the Eskimos, but they have been neither comprehensively described, except in one case, nor adequately analyzed. The aim of this thesis is to provide a reasonably complete description of seven of these movements, and more significantly, to provide an analysis of each movement in relation to the socio-cultural and environmental situation in which it occurred, and a comparative analysis of the processes of development of

these movements.

The theoretical orientation of the analysis of the movements is derived primarily from Burridge's (1969) analysis of millenarian movements, and his formulations provide the basis for the development of a conceptual framework to be utilized in identifying significant relationships within and among the movements. While the movements which will be considered here are all religious in nature, the supernaturalist approaches to the study of religion traditionally utilized in anthropology would be of limited analytical productivity in considering them since each involved more than just the relations between humans and the supernatural. Central to the analysis of the movements, then, is a view of religion, based on Burridge (1969) and further developed with reference to Geertz (1957), which avoids such limitations: religion involves a concern with the nature and ordering of power and serves to integrate and validate a people's world view and ethos. Within this framework, movements are viewed as responses to situations in which a group's world view and ethos are brought into question.

In light of this orientation, such movements will be termed here "religious movements" and will be defined as attempts by the members of a culture to establish, in whole or in substantial part, a new religious system

incorporating a new world view and ethos.

The Study of Religious Movements

The study of religious movements has been of interest to anthropologists since at least the late 19th century. Mooney's 1896 study of the Ghost Dance of 1890 and Williams' 1923 work on the Vailala Madness are the earliest major field studies on this subject. Other early works include Chinnery and Haddon's 1917 article, based on Chinnery's observations, which described five new religious cults in British New Guinea, and the studies by Chamberlain (1913) and Wallis (1918) which were based on data gathered by others.

These movements have been identified by numerous terms, including: messianic movement (Barber 1941; Sundkler 1961; Ribeiro 1970), nativistic movement (Linton 1943), revitalization movement (Wallace 1956), millenarian movement (Talmon 1965; Burridge 1969; Cohn 1970), crisis cult (LaBarre 1971), religious movement (Mair 1958-59; Fernandez 1964), accomodative movement (Voget 1956; Worsley 1968), vitalistic movement (Smith 1954), nativistic cult (Nash 1955), archaic form of social movement (Hobsbawm 1965), cult movement (Smith 1959; Voget 1959), redemptive movement (Aberle 1966; Jorgensen 1972) and articulatory movement (Lurie 1971).

Various authors have proposed typologies or classifications for understanding and explaining this form of socio-cultural change. Stating that nativistic movements are concerned "with particular elements of culture, never with cultures as wholes", Linton (1943) classified nativism as either revivalistic or perpetuative. In the former, old elements of a culture are revived, in the latter, present elements are maintained or perpetuated. He further divided movements into rational and magical nativism on the basis of the means used to attain the desired ends. The intersection of these two dimensions resulted in a four-fold classification of movements: rational-revivalistic, magical-revivalistic, rational-perpetuative and magical-perpetuative. In The Peyote Religion among the Navaho, Aberle (1966) proposed a classification based, as was Linton's, on the intersection of two dimensions, the amount of change and the locus of change, for what he termed social movements. Those movements characterized by total change with the locus of change being supra-individual are called transformative movements; with the locus of change being the individual, they are redemptive movements. Partial change with a supra-individual locus results in reformative movements; with an individual locus, it results in alterative movements. Wilson's (1969) classification of sects based on their "response to the world" indicated

seven types: conversionist, revolutionary, introversionist, manipulationist, thaumaturgical, reformist and utopian. He stated that the classification is applicable to non-Western and non-Christian movements as well as to those in the Christian tradition. Hobsbawm (1965) delimited three types of social movements, primarily on the basis of the socio-economic systems in which they occur: primitive movements, associated with pre-capitalist societies; archaic movements (the focus of his study), associated with a rapid transition to capitalist society; and modern movements, associated with established capitalist socio-economic systems. Smith (1959) classified cult movements into three types: nativistic, characterized by the revival or perpetuation of aspects of culture; vitalistic, involving "newly perceived aspects of culture"; and syncretistic, identified by the combination of elements from different cultures. The author further suggested that "movements may be characterized by certain contextual features", viz., messianism, millenarism, revivalism, militancy and reformation. Criticizing typologies of religious movements since they are, in effect, classifications of whole movements on the basis of a few traits, Kopytoff (1964) proposed that, rather than being classified, movements should be compared on the basis of "analytical profiles" which would consider, and treat

equally, all traits found in movements.

Most of the general works on religious movements are not, however, primarily concerned with classification, but are directed at an interpretation of the nature, causes or functions of these movements. Wallace (1956) based his analysis of movements on a psychological model of society. Viewing society as an organismic system, he proposed that when under stress societies will take emergency measures to maintain homeostasis. 'Revitalization movements' are considered such a measure, and are seen as arising under conditions of individual stress. This stress is essentially psychological in nature and results from the inability of individuals' mazeways ("the mazeway is nature, society, culture, personality and body image as seen by one person" [1956:266] and it is the individual's equivalent to the group's 'culture') to prescribe actions which reduce chronic physiological stress. A revitalization movement then is an "...effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956:265). He also attempted to delimit the structure of the revitalization process by identifying stages in the development of movements. Millenarian movements are viewed by Burrige (1969) as arising in situations in which a society's current assumptions about the nature and order of power in the world, and the rules and activities relating to that

power, are unable to account for a changed world or to provide for individual integrity under changed conditions. As responses to such situations, movements represent experiments in constructing more satisfying cultures. Three phases of a movement are identified: the first phase is characterized by doubt concerning the current system, the second involves general millenarian activities and the appearance of the movement and the third entails an attempt to establish new assumptions, rules and activities. Relative deprivation, defined as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality" (Aberle 1970:209) is central to Aberle's (1970) theory of social movements. He viewed movements as responses to such conditions, but indicated that other responses are also possible. He identified four types of deprivations: possessions, status, behavior, and worth, and found that the ideology of any movement will be related to the type of deprivation a group may be experiencing. Mair (1958-59) found a similarity among all the religious movements in North America, Africa and Oceania that she examined, and she saw this to be the result of the same social processes operating in the incorporation of small-scale societies into the industrial economy in each of the three areas. She attributed the differences among the movements to differences in the contact situation and incorporation

process in each area. Lanternari (1963) viewed religious movements as arising out of situations of oppression, which are primarily a result of contact between cultures in different stages of development, but which may also derive from internal sources. The movements themselves are considered to be innovative in character and reformatory in their effect on society.

Rather than focussing on a general theory of movements, however, the majority of studies concern specific movements or the movements in a particular geographical area. These studies are often analytical as well as descriptive, and attempt to identify the significant factors involved in the origin and development of the movements considered. Many of these specific studies also suggest that the explanations put forward have some general applicability.

The rise of separatist churches in Africa has been described by Sundkler (1961) and Daneel (1971). Sundkler identifies two major types in South Africa: Ethiopian, those churches which represent secessions from European mission churches, and Zionist, those which are primarily syncretistic and have no direct connections to any of the mission churches. The Ethiopian churches tend to utilize the traditional Zulu pattern of kingship as an integrative principle; the Zionist churches are focussed primarily on healing. The emphasis in both types of churches is on

African autonomy. Daneel classifies separatist churches in Rhodesia as Ethiopian and 'spirit-type'. In structure and orientation, they are similar to those described by Sundkler. Analyzing and classifying African religious movements in general, Fernandez (1964) proposed a typology based on the intersection of two dimensions, the source of the symbolism found in a movement (acculturated or traditional), and the way in which this symbolism is used (instrumentally or expressively). Utilizing this typology, he discussed the role of religious movements in the socio-political development of modern Africa.

The Oceanian movements are perhaps the most widely known religious movements, and are usually called cargo cults since they often focussed on the arrival of European goods (cargo) destined for the believers. Haddon (Chinnery and Haddon 1917) saw oppression as a causal factor in the rise of religious movements in New Guinea. Williams (1969) found the Taro Cult to be the result of boredom. The introduction of steel tools

...left him [the native gardener] with a good deal of time on his hands. Whereas he must have formerly worked off much of his surplus energy with repeated blows of a stone axe, he now strikes a few blows with a steel axe and his energy remains bottled in his bosom (Williams 1969:92).

Analyzing cargo cults which took place in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, Cochrane (1970:163) proposed that

they were "...attempts to force Europeans (and Melanesians in the 1963 movement) to recognize indigenous concepts of status." On the basis of his experience in Tikopia, Firth (1955) indicated that cargo-cult type activities may occur without the development of an organized movement. He further suggested that cults tended to occur as a result of several factors relating to a disparity between desires and the ability to satisfy them. Burridge's (1970) study of cargo cults in Tangu focussed on the social and moral situation which gave rise to these movements. Worsley (1968) reviewed all recorded cargo cults in Melanesia and identified colonial oppression as the cause of cult formation. He interpreted the cults as pre-political and proto-nationalistic movements which, with sufficient sophistication on the part of Melanesians, would be in large measure replaced by nationalist movements and political parties.

The majority of European movements, and those in the European tradition, have developed within the Christian ambience and have generally been focussed on the imminent Second Coming of Christ or on the establishment of utopian communities. Cohn (1970) viewed medieval European religious movements as extremely varied in social composition and function. His study is focussed on those movements which he considered the most radical, and he

concluded that these revolutionary millenarisms arose among anomic, unorganized populations as a result of disasters or in the midst of wider social unrest. Weinstein (1970) provided an essentially historical analysis of the Savonarola movement. He indicated that it did not have its beginnings in economic crisis among those suffering deprivation, but rather it found supporters among the wealthiest and best educated Florentines of the time. Intellectual and socio-political factors in the Taborite ideology have been discussed by Kaminsky (1970). Cross (1965) has written a history of religious movements (enthusiastic religion) in western New York during the first half of the 19th century. Carden (1971) presented a history of the Oneida community, and offered some reasons for the failure of the original utopian ideals of John Humphrey Noyes. Included within the European millenarian tradition are the various 'space-men' movements, most common in North America, which usually involve the expectation that believers will be rescued from the imminent end of the world by beings from outer space. Festinger, Riecken and Schachter's (1964) socio-psychological analysis, based on participant observation, is a thorough account of such a movement. A number of movements within the Christian ambience have focussed on specific statements from that religion's scriptures. LaBarre (1969) has studied one such

movement in the southern United States, the snake-handling cult, and concluded that it, like other movements, was a psychological response of economically and socially deprived groups to rapid social change.

Most of the literature on South American movements concerns the various Brazilian messianic movements. Ribeiro (1970) has presented a brief summary and classification of these and has emphasized the role of individuals' motivations in the formation of these movements. One of the earliest descriptions of such a movement is provided by da Cunha in his treatment of the Canudos incident (1944; original 1902). It is detailed, but essentially literary and highly colored by the author's psychological and biological beliefs. In her study of the 'Hallelujah' religion among the Carib speaking peoples of Guiana, Venezuela and Brazil, Butt (1967) proposed that one feature, the ambivalent reaction to the white man, was common in the teachings of all the prophets. In the Caribbean, the Ras Tafari movement has been extensively studied. Simpson (1970) described the movement and viewed it as arising out of deprivation.

The numerous 'New Religions' that have occurred in Japan during the last three and one half centuries have been analyzed by McFarland (1970). He interpreted them as "...responses to the endemic recurrently intensified social crisis..." (1970:54) that has been characteristic of

Japanese history. Other movements in Asia have been considered by Boardman (1970) and van der Kroef (1970). Boardman indicated that the Taiping movement occurred at a time of "pre-revolutionary unrest" in China. He explained the origins and content of the ideology of this movement which promised the millenium upon the ouster of the Manchu dynasty. Analyzing three Indonesian movements, van der Kroef identified European colonization and mission activities as the catalytic agents in their formation, and discussed similarities and differences in psychological, cultural and ideological aspects of the movements.

The first field study of a religious movement was of a North American Indian movement. Since Mooney's study of the Ghost Dance, movements in North America have been extensively and intensively researched. In the anthropological literature on religious movements, this area is perhaps the most thoroughly covered. Mooney (1896) attributed the rise of the Ghost Dance to stress brought on by poverty and oppression. Nash (1955) found that acceptance of the 1870 Ghost Dance on Klamath Reservation was due to deprivation and that the particular forms the movement took among the three groups present on the reservation were related to the nature of deprivation experienced by each group. Finding corroborative data in Nash's work, Barber (1941) proposed that the difference

in the spread of the Ghost Dance of 1870 and that of 1890 was due to differences in the degree of deprivation experienced in the areas where it was accepted. Hill (1944) indicated that their fear of the dead and ghosts was the foremost reason for the Navahos' rejection of the Ghost Dance. LaBarre's (1964) monograph on Peyotism included a comparative study of the Peyote Cult on the Plains and a review of Peyote studies. Identifying Peyotism as a redemptive movement, Aberle (1966) interpreted it as a response to deprivation brought about by forced government livestock reduction among the Navahos. Following Aberle (1966), Jorgensen (1972) classified the Sun Dance among the Shoshones and Utes as a redemptive movement and attributed it to deprivation, but absolute rather than relative. He suggested, however, that deprivation alone was insufficient in explaining the acceptance and persistence of the Sun Dance, and proposed that the politico-economic system that caused the deprivation, the aesthetic value of the Sun Dance, and the religious experience it provided for its adherents must also be considered. Howard (1976) described the modern Gourd Dance and discussed the tribal distribution of its traditional antecedents. Once found only on the Plains, it has now spread to other tribes, and in the author's view become an Indian revitalization or (following Lurie,

1971) articulatory movement. Wallace (1969) discussed, in its historical and cultural context, the revitalization movement led by Handsome Lake among the Iroquois.

The Problem of Eskimo Religious Movements

Although most geographical areas, and North America in particular, have been well covered in the anthropological literature on religious movements, one area has been largely ignored: the North American Arctic. A recent comprehensive survey of movements by LaBarre (1971) made no mention of any in Alaska, the Canadian Arctic or Greenland. In his study of culture change among the Eskimos, Hughes (1965:12) indicated that there has been a lack of research on "...the interpenetration of aboriginal religious beliefs with those of Christianity..." in Greenland; such is the case in Canada and Alaska as well.¹ Consideration of religious change in the anthropological literature has been largely limited to noting the replacement of traditional beliefs by Christianity, as in Honigmann (1962:69), or the reinterpretation of traditional religion in a Christian framework, e.g., Vallee (1967:181-182). Some brief descriptions and some very brief analyses comprise the extent of the available anthropological literature on religious movements in the Arctic.

Stefansson (1913:429) reported that there had been

claims of special revelations and births of heralded saviours among the Eskimos for many years. He referred the reader to an unspecified publication by Rasmussen to obtain further information. In addition to this unspecified work, which is Rasmussen (1908), brief accounts have also been provided by Wallis (1943) and Mathiassen (1928). Analyzing the history of Eskimo-European relations in Povungnituk, Balikci (1959:129) commented upon the appearance of "messianic beliefs" during the period 1930-1950; he saw these as reflecting the ecological crisis present at the time. Considering this same period of time in Povungnituk in a later work, Balikci (1960:148) elaborated somewhat on the content of these "messianic beliefs", suggesting that "...such syncretistic processes of change might be of interest" (1960:139). Johnson (1962:67), referring to a religious movement which occurred in the Belcher Islands, related an account which is at variance with the five other accounts of the same movement. Worsley (1968:225), providing no references, reported that a movement took place in Greenland in the 20th century during which people stopped hunting and ate their stores of food, and he noted the occurrence of a movement on Baffin Island in the 20th century. Giving Mathiassen (1928) and Honigmann (1962) as references, Burridge (1969) stated:

in North America the Eskimos seem to have remained immune [from millenarian movements] until, with the economic disaster of the 'thirties which ruined the fur trade on which they had almost entirely depended, some groups decided to mould their lives anew (1969:33).

However, the movement which Mathiassen related occurred in 1920, and the one to which Honigmann referred occurred in 1941 in an area in which trapping had always been a marginal activity. Attributing their occurrence to the conflicting teachings of missionaries, Jenness (1964:67) identified two religious movements in the Canadian Arctic. He (1967:19) offered a similar explanation for the appearance of native reformers in Greenland during the early missionary period, and stated that these were no longer in evidence by the end of the 18th century. This would not appear to be the case, however, since movements were reported in Greenland in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The inadequate treatment of Eskimo religious movements in the anthropological literature has not, however, been entirely a result of lack of data. There are at least seven movements in Greenland and Canada, one of which was observed by an anthropologist, that can be reasonably well documented. These are the subject of this thesis.

In reference to the anthropological study of religious movements, Belshaw has indicated that contributions can be made in two ways:

1 is to add to our corpus of factual knowledge about particular cases.... The 2nd is to analyze the movements comparatively with a view to revealing the processes which contribute to their formation and explaining regularities and significant differences (1965:448).

The present work is an attempt to contribute to the study of religious movements in general and Arctic ethnology in particular in both of the areas indicated by Belshaw.

Descriptions drawn from a number of diverse accounts will be provided of three movements which occurred in Greenland, including Sukkertoppen in 1787, Friedrichstal in 1853-1854 and Godthaab in 1907-1908 and four in Canada, including occurrences in Labrador in 1873-1874, the Melville Peninsula in 1920, southern Baffin Island in 1921 and the Belcher Islands in 1941.

To make a contribution in the second area indicated by Belshaw, that of analysis, requires that these seven movements be considered within some form of interpretive framework. The framework which will be utilized here is based on Burrige (1969), but will also incorporate relevant aspects of the work of other analysts. After reviewing the analytical literature on religious movements, this approach was chosen since it appeared to have the greatest potential productivity, given the nature of the data, in identifying significant factors in

the origin, nature and development of the movements. The information available indicates that each of the movements involved both secular and religious aspects, as these terms are traditionally defined in anthropology. Such a distinction, however, was not apparently made by the participants in the movements, and the imposition of a supernatural-human dichotomy might have, therefore, obscured significant relationships within them. Burrige's approach will be utilized here since it takes into consideration the non-supernatural aspects of the movements while maintaining recognition of the essentially religious nature of the movements. The limitations of religious-secular distinctions in the study of such movements will be reviewed in the following chapter as an introduction to a full presentation of the analytical approach employed here.

Since the analysis of the movements will be directed primarily at revealing relevant factors in the situations in which the movements arose, a consideration of traditional Eskimo world view and ethos and of the nature of Eskimo-European contact is necessary; both of these will be summarized in chapter four. The major part of the analysis will involve individual consideration of the movements in order to identify significant factors in the specific socio-cultural and environmental situations as these relate to the origin, nature and development of each movement.

A comparative analysis of the movements, directed at identifying processual similarities and differences, will be provided in the concluding chapter of this work.

CHAPTER II

ANALYTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Sense of 'Religious' in 'Religious Movements'

Most anthropological definitions of religion are derived from the minimal definitions proposed by Tylor, who found the essential characteristic of religion in "the belief in Spiritual Beings" (1920:424), and Marett, who regarded belief in an intangible, impersonal supernatural power as the basic concept in religion (1914:1-2). Thus Radin viewed religion as including "...a belief in spirits outside of man, conceived of as more powerful than man..." (1937:3) and, more recently, Beattie (1964:238) and Goody (1961:157) have regarded religion as concerning non-human spirits and agencies, respectively. Wallace, suggesting that Tylor's definition of religion remains respectable (1966:5), found religion to be characterized by the premise "...that souls, supernatural beings and supernatural forces exist" (1966:52).

In addition to belief, most authors have included activities or behavior involving the supernatural beings or forces as a necessary aspect of religion. Spiro, for example, has defined religion as "an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally

postulated superhuman beings" (1966:96), and Wallace (1966:Chapter 2) has delimited thirteen "minimal categories of religious behavior", such as prayer, simulation, touching and not touching objects (mana and taboo), congregation, and symbolism, which form the substance of religion.

Such definitions have implied, and in many cases made explicit, a distinction, based on belief in the supernatural, between the religious and the secular. In making such a distinction, Wallace viewed secular action as "...the manipulation of human relationships [and] religious action as the manipulation of relationships between human and supernatural beings" (1956:277), and similarly, Horton defined the religious as concerning "man-to-god" and the secular as "man-to-man relationships" (1960:211). Within the limits of these definitions, then, the movements to be described and analyzed in this thesis are clearly religious: they involve belief in and activities or behavior directed towards supernatural beings and forces such as spirits of the dead, God, Jesus, and the devil. They also include, however, activities and behavior that could be considered secular on the basis of these definitions, such as the distribution of food, the creation of a new settlement, and assistance to the poor.

While recognizing that any movement may contain both secular and religious aspects, Wallace has suggested that they might be distinguished on the basis of the amount of secular or religious activity which takes place in them (1956:277). Other authors (Hobsbawm 1965:65; Shepperson 1970:45) have made distinctions along these lines, identifying movements as religious or secular. Most analysts, however, have indicated that there may be important secular aspects in religious movements and religious aspects in secular movements.

Worsley (1968), in discussing Melanesian cargo cults, has found secular aspects to be of central significance. He emphasized that the movements have a religious form, but a secular function. He saw the religious form as necessary to achieve the integration and unity of separate, mutually hostile groups in opposition to European domination.

In a society split into numerous component units, jealous of each other and seeking to unite on a new basis, a political leader must avoid identification with any particular section of that society. ...He must therefore show that he seeks to establish his movement on the basis of a higher loyalty. By projecting his message on to the supernatural plane, he clearly demonstrates that his authority comes from a higher sphere... (Worsley 1968:237).

He saw these movements as "proto-national" formations

which are succeeded by more secular forms of political expression (1968:255).

In examining "reformative movements" (Gaiwio, Shaker Church, Peyote Church) among North American Indians, Voget (1956) found that they perform important functions in the adjustment of Indians to White society by raising their self-esteem and providing a base for Pan-Indian nationalism. These reformative movements are a necessary phase in the development of the American Indian minorities, which follow "...efforts at reviving the past with ritual and the assistance of a commanding supernatural figure" and which "...pave the way for a more secular, pragmatic, and accomodative adjustment" (1956:259).

Both Talmon (1965) and Wallace (1956) have pointed out some significant religious aspects of secular movements. Reviewing a number of works on millenarian movements, Talmon indicated the "semi-religious character" and affinities with religious millenarism of what she termed secular revolutionary movements. The religious aspects of these political movements are found in their being characterized by a world view which is total, and which "purports to solve basic problems of meaning and trace and interpret the unfolding of world history" (1965:534). They contain an ideology which is "a matter of ultimate concern" and which permeates every aspect of

life, and they reject the existing social order and anticipate that the realization of their ideals is imminent (1965:534-535). Similarly, Wallace, in considering Communist movements, which are usually regarded as secular movements, found that "such things as the development of a Marxist gospel with elaborate exegesis, the embalming of Lenin, and the concern with conversion, confession, and moral purity...have the earmarks of religion" (1956:277). Kluckhohn also found that these movements have religious aspects for "while they repudiate the supernatural, they give allegiance in feeling as well as in thought to a body of doctrine that purports to provide life with a fairly immediate meaning (1965:xi).

While these two forms of movements can be and have been distinguished on the basis of belief--the religious involves a belief in, and dependence on, supernatural being or forces while the secular does not--the two apparently share a number of characteristics. These similarities are found in activities and behavior. In Worsley's and Voget's works, the secular, or purely human, aspects of religious movements, such as political integration, are indicated. In Talmon's and Wallace's discussions, some activities of otherwise secular movements are seen as being similar to religious activities although

they lack the involvement of supernatural beings. That is, secular movements involve ritual and myth making, and sacred figures, places, symbols and texts which are directed at achieving "...some of the very same kinds of goals--ideological, salvational and revitalizational--at which religion is aimed" (Wallace 1966:261-262).

A consideration of such similarities has led Wallace to suggest that, in studying movements, to stress obvious differences may be, in fact, to obscure any fundamental similarities which might exist in the socio-cultural and psychodynamic processes underlying such movements (1956:277). While he, Talmon, Voget and Worsley have pointed out similarities, they see these as generally superficial and they accept the differences as a basis for distinguishing the two forms of movements. Burrige (1969), in his study of millenarian activities, has provided an approach to the identification of basic similarities by questioning the assumptions on which the distinctions are based. Taking a broader view of religion than "a belief in Spiritual Beings", he found that religion is concerned with

the discovery, identification, moral relevance and ordering of different kinds of power whether these manifest themselves as thunder, or lightning, atomic fission, untrammelled desire, arrogance, impulse, apparitions, visions or persuasive words (1969:5).

Such a definition avoids the implication that the categories natural and supernatural, characteristic of Western scientific culture, represent a universally accepted dichotomy. Hallowell's (1969) analysis of the Ojibwa behavioral environment, which includes both spirits and non-spirits, indicated that this distinction is not as clear-cut in other cultures, and as Beattie pointed out: "to an African or Melanesian it is just as 'natural' for a rain maker to make rain, or for a witch to bewitch his enemy, as it is for a woman to bear children, or for a man to harvest the crops he plants" (1964:203). Using a wider definition of religion, then, a sharp distinction between natural and supernatural becomes irrelevant because "all that is meant by a belief in the supernatural is the belief that there do exist kinds of power whose manifestations and effects are observable, but whose natures are not yet fully comprehended" (Burrige 1969:5).

In the context of this broader definition, basic similarities between religious, as traditionally defined, and secular revolutionary movements can be seen: both are concerned with the ordering of power in the world. Secular and religious movements, as Mair (1958-59:119) and Worsley (1968:227ff) have indicated share a concern for the distribution of social, economic and political power. The "total world view" which Talmon (1965) saw

as a religious aspect of revolutionary movements as well as a feature of religious movements also indicates the concern with power and its ordering characteristic of both types of movements. In being total, the world view attempts to order all kinds of power, both those whose natures are known and those not fully comprehended, within a general order for the universe. In that they both exhibit a concern for the nature and distribution of power, the two forms of movements are not distinguished here but are classed together. It is in this sense, then, and not in the sense of "belief in the supernatural", that the Eskimo religious movements to be discussed are termed 'religious movements'.

This fundamental similarity provides the basis for the development of the conceptual framework that will be utilized in considering these religious movements. The approach is based primarily on the framework for the analysis of millenarian activities developed by Burridge (1969:Chapter 2), but also takes into consideration some relevant aspects of the work of other anthropologists. In it, religion is not viewed as peripheral to society, but as centrally significant in that it involves a people's most comprehensive ideas of the order and the moral relevance of different kinds of powers that are manifested in the world. Religious movements are seen

as arising in situations in which the manifestations and effects of different kinds of power can no longer be comprehended by the traditional assumptions about power and no longer controlled by the traditional moral order. In considering the seven Eskimo movements, the focus will be primarily on the situations in which the movements developed and on the movements as responses to these situations. The movements will be viewed as experiments in creating a new world view and ethos, that is, as tests of new hypotheses about the nature of a changed world. Evaluation of their success or failure, then, will be avoided since experiments which falsify hypotheses are as successful as those which verify them. Features such as duration, sect formation, and political effects, which might provide a basis for evaluation, will, however, be taken into consideration in the descriptions and analyses of the movements.

A Framework for the Analysis of Religious Movements

Religion, as viewed here, involves a set of assumptions about power, "particularly those [powers] seen as significantly beneficial or dangerous" (Burridge 1969:5). These assumptions are held to be true representations of the actual state of affairs in the world and are "community truths, truths which command a

consensus" (Burridge 1969:5) and which are passed from generation to generation. From this set of assumptions are derived moral imperatives, rules, and obligations relating to the use and control of power which express the central values of a culture. Since a religion is concerned with the truth of its assumptions, "its rules are grounded in an interplay between experience, working assumptions, and those more deeply rooted assumptions we call faith" (Burridge 1969:5). These moral rules, imperatives, and obligations prescribe activities, and imply a way of life, that are consonant with the values of a culture and with its set of assumptions about power.

The assumptions, then, concern the way in which power is distributed in the universe, the identity and nature of the different kinds of power that are manifested, and the true ordering of these different kinds of power. As such, these are part of a people's "...ways of knowing and identifying the component elements of the world..." (Hoebel 1972:542) and are contained in their world view. The world view is "the way a people characteristically look outward upon the universe" and refers to "the structure of things as man is aware of them" (Redfield 1953:85,86). It includes a people's conceptions of self, nature, and the socio-cultural environment (Wallace 1961:17-19) and "contains

their most comprehensive ideas of order" (Geertz 1957: 421-422).

While the world view of a people concerns the discovery and identification of powers as they are manifested, its conceptions of the general order of these implies a moral and evaluative framework for the use and control of different kinds of powers within which individuals can organize their conduct and interpret their experiences. These moral and evaluative aspects of a culture are generally referred to by the term "ethos", and in a broad sense, "a people's ethos is the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects" (Geertz 1957:421). The ethos represents a people's ideas of how one ought to live; it includes their ethical system, that is, the moral imperatives, obligations, and rules of conduct, derived from the assumptions about the nature and distribution of power, which govern the relations between people. In the ethos are found the values of a culture, that is, the meanings given to human qualities and activities, and its modes of measuring human worth.

The way of life indicated by the ethos is held to be ideally adapted to the way in which the world is

believed to be ordered (Geertz 1966:3) and it enables members of a group to attain to the values of their culture. The activities prescribed in the ethos provide individuals with access to prestige and status, prosperity, and integrity as defined by the culture, and these are gained through success at the prescribed activities and through the demonstration of qualities called for by the moral imperatives, obligations and rules of conduct. "In any community the basic measure of prestige and status must refer either to the activities which all or most undertake in common, or to those assets to which all or most in the community have a common access, or both" (Burridge 1969:43). In subsistence communities, measures of prestige, prosperity, and integrity are based primarily on relative abilities in the major subsistence activities. Besides these basic measures, however, other more specific qualities are usually taken into consideration, and further prestige may be based on the demonstration of qualities such as industriousness, shrewdness, virility, courage, secretiveness, skill, and generosity (Burridge 1969:43). Qualities of integrity or human worth involve self-respect and the approved retention of a particular status (Burridge 1969:11).

The definition of prestige, prosperity, and integrity

differs, of course, from culture to culture. Societies differ in major subsistence activities, and the human qualities needed for successful exploitation of resources are accorded different values in different cultures. Criteria on which esteem was accorded and on which power and influence were based in traditional Maori society, for example, primarily involved war and land. Qualities of courage and skill in fighting were highly valued, and success in waging war, along with virility and sexual prowess, was of major importance in accumulating mana, or power over people and resources. Parcels of land were associated with social groups, ancestors and deities, and "through the industrious and efficient exploitation and conservation of land and its resources a man gained prosperity and prestige, made himself worthy of the ancestors, commanded respect from his fellows" (Burridge 1969:20).

The concern of religion with the truth of both its assumptions about the nature of reality and the way of life it prescribes as being consonant with that reality has been indicated by a number of authors, including Burridge (1969), Geertz (1966) and Lienhardt (1960). Lienhardt, for instance, proposed that religions are, in part, theories of the circumscribing moral and physical conditions within which human life is lived

and the means of adapting to these conditions (1960:329). Whether or not we see these theories or assumptions as true, they indicate a concern for perceiving the truth of things and for guaranteeing that what is perceived does reflect the truth of things (Leinhardt 1960:328-329; Burrige 1969:7). Geertz (1966), in considering the relation between world view (assumptions) and ethos (rules and activities), has indicated that their truth involves mutual confirmation. This mutual confirmation of the truth of a group's world view and ethos is viewed here as being experientially verified by the ability of the world view to satisfactorily account for the nature of reality and by the ability of the ethos to enable members of the group to attain prestige, prosperity, and integrity within the structure of this reality.

Such a view of religion implies that

...despite the conservatism of particular religious orthodoxies, religious activities will change when the assumptions about the nature of power, and hence the rules which govern its use and control, can no longer guarantee the truth of things (Burrige 1969:7).

This change, as part of socio-cultural change in general, may involve gradual chain effects or abrupt changes in cultural Gestalt (Wallace 1956:265; 1961:141-144;

Smith 1959:9). In religious change, these effects may result from changes in experience which can be accounted for within a traditional framework. In accounting for a changed experience, however, other aspects of the religious system may themselves be changed and, eventually, the entire system may be transformed.

Abrupt changes in cultural Gestalt may be occasioned, in Wallace's terms, by the impact of any one or a number of forces which exceed the limits within which a socio-cultural system can maintain equilibrium. Some of these forces, indicated by Wallace, are:

...climatic or faunal changes which destroy the economic basis of its existence; epidemic disease which grossly affects the population structure; wars which exhaust the society's resources of manpower or result in defeat or invasion, internal conflict among interest groups which results in extreme disadvantage for at least one group; and, very commonly, a position of perceived subordination and inferiority with respect to an adjacent society (1961:144).

Under such conditions of stress, individuals' "mazeways" may not provide a way of reducing the stress and, in response, "revitalization" movements may develop. The process of revitalization involves changing the individuals' total Gestalt of values, activities, and the nature of reality in order to adapt to the changed conditions. New conceptions of the nature of reality,

new values, and new activities may be incorporated and changes in "reality" may also be attempted in order to reduce stress (Wallace 1956:266-267; 1961:143-144).

While Wallace's concept of "revitalization movement" refers to much the same phenomena as the concept of "religious movement" presented here, it differs from the latter in a number of respects. In finding the cause of these movements in conditions of socio-cultural disorganization under which individuals experience severe psychological stress, Wallace emphasized socio-cultural equilibrium and individual psychology. The approach taken here, however, focuses on change rather than equilibrium and on socio-cultural features, particularly world view, ethos and prestige, prosperity, and integrity, rather than individual psychology. In these terms, then, the conditions which Wallace saw as pushing a system beyond the limits within which it can maintain equilibrium are viewed as situations of widened or changed experience in which unordered powers, which must be comprehended and controlled, are manifested (Burridge 1969:172).

Burridge (1969:Chapter 11) has summarized the situations in which power may be manifested so as to question the traditional assumptions and rules concerning the nature and distribution of power in the world. He

proposed four distinct, but not mutually exclusive, "primary situations" which may occasion religious movements. The first of these involves simply "the manifestation of a power outside current comprehensions". The second situation involves the question of an appropriate measurement of human worth. Situations characterized by shared values with privileged access to the rewards implied by these values represent the third primary situation. In the fourth, new assumptions and rules may be "elicited by the complete physical defeat of a culture and way of life by another". Burridge viewed the first of the four situations as being contained in all religious movements; the next two are present in most, while the last appears infrequently (1969:143-144).

An example of the fourth situation is provided by the Plains Indian cultures during the second half of the 19th century. White expansion into the West brought with it severe depopulation due to disease and war. The demands of the White economy led to the virtual extermination of the buffalo and, thus, rendered the major subsistence activity of the Indians unviable. Through military subjugation by the Whites, other traditional sources of prestige, prosperity, and integrity, most notably warfare and related activities, were also eliminated. Under these conditions, the truth of the

whole set of traditional assumptions and rules concerning power and its ordering could not be guaranteed.

The first situation, that indicated by the emergence of a new and unordered power, while contained in all religious movements, apparently appears, or is reported, as the sole situation rarely. Burrige offered the case, described by Berndt, of "those New Guinea people who engaged in millenarian type activities on the sighting of an aircraft" (1969:143, 35) as an example of this kind of situation. Any significant (in terms of the group involved) changes in the physical or socio-cultural environment might, in fact, represent the manifestations of powers outside of current comprehensions and thus call for new assumptions about power.

Beyond the problem of identifying and ordering it, the appearance or presence of an unknown power can, and frequently does, affect current values and the activities prescribed in conjunction with them. These changes in experience which affect values and activities, either through introducing new ones or by rendering the traditional ones unviable, indicate the second and third primary situations. Both these situations concern the measurement of human worth and involve conditions of relative deprivation as discussed by Aberle (1970) Such conditions question accepted assumptions and therefore

imply competing possibilities in terms of assumptions about power, measures on which human worth is based, and moral rules and obligations. These situations involving relative deprivation and competing assumptions call for the creation of "a new set of assumptions within terms of which men and women may exploit the resources of their environment and order their relations with one another" (Burridge 1969:141).

In situations of the second type, those involving questions of an appropriate measure of human worth, traditional definitions of these measures, and the criteria on which they are based, may become unattainable or may "seem unimportant when compared to the apparently superior capacities of other peoples" (Burridge 1969:75-76). Occurrences such as natural disasters, epidemics, and climatic, floral, or faunal changes may undermine a society's subsistence system and thereby block access to prestige, prosperity and integrity. These conditions may question the truth of traditional assumptions and values and call for new assumptions that will satisfactorily comprehend the changed experience, new values that will reflect these assumptions, and new activities that will provide access to these values. Changes in the socio-cultural environment may similarly affect traditional assumptions and moral rules concerning power. These

changes frequently involve political and economic processes and can arise internally, from conflicts between groups, for example, and externally from contact with other societies.

Worsley's (1968:Chapter 2 and passim) discussion of cargo cults indicated in general the significance of political and economic processes in the study of religious movements and in particular the forms of political and economic powers and activities that may develop in situations of European contact and domination. In the Melanesian situation, as in others, contact and domination resulted in impediments to gaining traditional measures of worth. The European economic system, supported by technological and military superiority and the political power derived from it, demanded labor and cash crops from the Melanesians. These demands limited the ability of men to gain the traditional prestige, prosperity and integrity that derived from the major agricultural subsistence activities. New possibilities for measuring human worth, involving European power, money, and material goods, came to be valued, but could not be fully realized since access to power, money, and material goods was almost exclusively the privilege of Europeans.

In that it involves competition for, and differential

access to, rewards, the relationship between Melanesians and Europeans as described by Worsley represents part of the third primary situation. As Burridge indicated, however, this situation involves not only the political and economic domination of one social category by another, but also involves a "transmission of power from one category to another" (1969:151). In the Melanesian case, this transmission of power took the form of native education and training in skills useful to Europeans and the access, even though highly limited, to money and material goods that this training brought. "But as the Melanesians begin to share in the same hierarchy of values as the whites...so do they begin to realize that the whites have an exclusive access to the rewards of what are believed to be commonly held assumptions" (Burridge 1969:152). In this situation, those barred from access question the unequal access to rewards and question current assumptions about the nature of the system, the distribution of power within it, and the moral rules relevant to it.

These four "primary situations" represent general guides as to what may be the significant features of the conditions under which a religious movement develops. The situations are not mutually exclusive, but interrelated, and a particular movement may, and generally does, involve

features from more than one of them. Within the general framework, then, the analyses of the movements will take into consideration the particular conditions surrounding a specific movement, including the society's world view and ethos and the changes it has experienced in the physical and socio-cultural environment, particularly as these relate to economic and political processes. Through a consideration of these conditions, it should be possible to identify the competing assumptions about power; the competing criteria on which prestige, prosperity and integrity may be based; and the competing activities, moral rules, and obligations which set the stage for the specific movement.

The movements themselves, rather than "justifying withdrawal" (Aberle 1970:214), are attempts to comprehend and order a changed experience through hypotheses about its nature and the rules relating to it. Rather than being "irrational flights from reality" (linton 1943:233), they, like other types of social behavior, are "rational in the circumstances, given the premises" (Burridge (1969:124). In comprehending change, religious movements postulate a new social order, and as Worsley points out for the colonial situation:

the social order is to be transformed
by radical political and economic
changes. But the new order must also



have a new morality: it cannot continue with the outworn indigenous ethics or the code of its former rulers any more than it can continue with the old tribal structure or with the colonial regime (1968:251).

Religious movements, then, are attempts to resolve the oppositions between competing assumptions, values, and activities in changed socio-cultural and environmental situations through the creation of a new religious system incorporating a more satisfactory world view and ethos.

CHAPTER III

ESKIMO RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: ACCOUNTS

The seven Eskimo religious movements described here represent those for which the most information is available. Although there are references in the literature (Crantz 1820:158-159; Anonymous 1831:225; Ostermann 1929b:306-307,344) to a number of other religious movements, almost no information on them is provided. Data on religious movements which have occurred among the Eskimos is quite scarce and is limited in that it was recorded by untrained observers, generally missionaries and police. For the most part, these observers have primarily noted the more theatrical or bizarre (as they saw it) activities, and they provided little information on the movements in terms of the revelations, beliefs, expectations, goals, or organization of the participants. In order to obtain relatively sufficient information on these seven movements, then, it was necessary to draw data from a number of reports, and each of the following accounts, except the Labrador occurrence, represent such a synthesis of two or more sources.

Sukkertoppen, West Greenland 1787

At Evigheds Fiord in the spring of 1787,² a woman, Mary Magdalene, announced that she had had revelations. She wrote them down and sent them to the missionary "...with an injunction to act according to them, as people, in her opinion, would then learn to 'be better'" (Ostermann 1929b:322). The missionary advised her of the sinfulness of her statements, and urged her to cease any activities. He thought that the incipient movement was ended.

However, the following spring when the people went into the interior to hunt reindeer, Mary Magdalene remained behind at the settlement. On their return, she informed them that she had had more visions and she described to them everything they had done while away at the reindeer hunt. The movement then spread through the entire settlement of Evigheds Fiord (Rink 1877:153). At this same time Mary Magdalene's husband Habakkuk, whom she called Jesus, informed her that he was taking a second wife. She then threatened him by saying that she would take a European for a second husband. Habakkuk became paralyzed and recovered only after his wife reversed her decision. Her change of mind was the result of a vision in which two dead people rebuked her for wanting to have sexual intercourse with someone who was not an Eskimo

(Rink 1877:153-154). About Christmas 1788, a person at Evigheds Fiord reported that he had heard "the sound of singing and instruments in the air and saw a large crowd of souls of departed persons hovering in the air, at some distance from the ground" (Ostermann 1929b:322). Mary Magdalene maintained that the Day of Judgment was near and that God was angry at the lack of faith shown by the people. The movement then began to spread rapidly to many of the surrounding settlements (Ostermann 1929b:322-323).

When the population moved inland to the reindeer hunting areas, in the spring of 1789, the movement became more organized with Mary Magdalene as the prophet and leader. "...A church service was established, where the congregation alternately wept to the singing of hymns and kissed to the tune of wild laughter choruses..." (Ostermann 1929b:323). It was decided that all game should be shared among everyone, so people brought their catch to Habakkuk and he then distributed it (Rasmussen 1908:250-251; Chamberlain 1913:13). On meeting Mary Magdalene or Habakkuk, the people would greet them by shaking hands. Mary Magdalene, however, only offered her little finger to those not considered to be sufficiently holy. When members of the congregation were judged to have been saved, the men would go outside and fire their guns in

salute. Sorcery was forbidden, and those judged to be witches were subject to death (Rink 1877:154-155; Chamberlain 1913:13; Rasmussen 1908:252-253).

By this time the entire population of the Sukkertoppen District, including the catechists, had joined the movement, and everyone decided to move to Evigheds Fiord. This alarmed the missionary and he attempted to stop it. He appealed to the Mission College in Copenhagen and was advised to put an end to it in any manner possible. Outside interference was not really necessary though, since in the autumn of 1789 Habakkuk, "...who had acted officially as a kind of confessor to the women, was proved to have been guilty of adultery with several of them, [and] the movement was shaken to its foundation" (Ostermann 1929b:323). The following year the missionary was sure that it had ended. However in 1803, the trader at Evigheds Fiord reported that the Eskimos "during this winter have recommenced their prophetic teaching...", and in 1813 the missionary at the settlement in a letter to the Danish inspector stated: "I cannot leave these people. I am afraid that when I am not with them, another prophet will soon arise; the false belief has not yet been quite extinguished..." (Ostermann 1929b:329).

Friedrichstal, South Greenland 1853-1854

In the winter of 1853-1854 the Moravian missionaries at Friedrichstal began to notice that the people were not attending daily prayers and were holding unusual meetings in private homes (Rink 1877:157). They soon learned that Matthew, a very intelligent man and a good hunter, whom they were training to be a catechist, had announced that he had had visions and had spoken to Jesus Christ. He said that he was ordered by Christ to form a new community which would not include Europeans. Matthew, calling himself Gabriel, gathered a large number of followers. Regular Moravian services stopped, and Gabriel took over all church duties and performed all religious rites, such as the celebration of marriages. Some members of the new congregation began to have visions and revelations, and "...some even wounded their hands and let others suck the wounds for the purpose of trying the 'sweetness of the Saviour's blood'. The prophet 'imparted the spirit' to his believers, by breathing into their mouths..." (Ostermann 1929b:343). A number of Gabriel's followers were sent out to other settlements in the area in order to gain more converts, and it was decided that in the spring a group would go to East Greenland to convert the people and start a settlement there. This project,

however, was apparently not realized.

After awhile membership in Gabriel's movement began to decline, and he and his remaining followers moved to a place called Komiut. At one point, while at Komiut, Gabriel predicted that the world would come to an end the following night. Everyone destroyed all their property "...in order to be free from worldly riches at the setting in of the catastrophe" (Rink 1877:158), and the following day they climbed a mountain in order to ascend into heaven. With the failure of the prophecy, the movement was at an end by the summer of 1854.

Godthaab, West Greenland 1907-1908

A movement, which has been called a "religious revival" by Danish church historians, began at Godthaab during the winter of 1907-1908 (Balle 1929:263). Ostermann suggested that it had been "...fermenting for several years in various places..." (1929b:347) prior to this time, but it was during that winter that the movement first became organized. It was given its impetus by Stephen Møller, a Greenlander educated in Denmark, who, with the aid of a catechist at Godthaab, formed a congregation, peqatigingniat, which gathered for worship each morning and met for Bible readings once a week. Initially, the movement met with some opposition since it was feared that

it might be another prophetic movement given to "visionary extravagances". Through discussions and meetings, however, this view was dispelled (Balle 1929:264). Gradually most people in the settlement began to take part in the movement, and the members of the congregation worked hard to make conversions wherever they travelled. By the end of the year, all the surrounding settlements had congregations, and in the following years the movement spread along the west coast of Greenland, reaching north Greenland in 1912 (Balle 1929:264).

The new congregations that were formed continued the practice of holding regular meetings for worship and Bible reading, and were gradually organized "...with executive committees (for which also women are qualified) and statutes, which in all essential points are the same everywhere" (Balle 1929:264). Attendance at church services increased, and communion, which had formerly been limited to certain specified days, became a part of every Sunday service. Large meetings, involving a number of congregations, were frequently held during the summer at the major settlements such as Godthaab and Jacobshavn. Often these meetings lasted several days and were attended by congregations located at distances of up to eighty miles from the meeting place. Winter meetings were also held in some areas and were attended by representatives

of the various congregations (Balle 1929:264-265; Ostermann 1929b:347). There was an increase in reading, and New Testaments, in particular, were bought in greater numbers than before. The movement also "...called forth an abundance of hymns, and from the point of view of language gave rise to many new creations, in that appropriate expressions were made for a number of spiritual ideas and phenomena" (Ostermann 1929b:347).

Ostermann noted "the awakening soon became, not only religious, but also national, so much so that there may be a danger of the latter element throwing the spiritual one into the shade" (1929b:348). Balle also reported that the answers he received to a questionnaire all emphasized the "...revival of mutual helpfulness..." as a significant social effect of the movement (1929:265). The congregations concerned themselves with visiting the sick, aiding orphans and providing for those who would otherwise require government welfare. In some settlements, the assistance given by the congregations made public support of the poor unnecessary. The emphasis on mutual helpfulness is expressed in an account of a meeting

where the question was raised as to whether a change ought to be made in the manner of distributing the animals caught so that those who had borne the burden of the hunt might have greater benefit, and where an able and energetic sealer settled

the matter with the following words:
'As the animals I get have been
given me (viz. by God) for the
benefit of all, I rejoice whenever
others get food through me, and
therefore I am of the opinion that
this custom should not be changed'
(Balle 1929:265).

The movement subsided during the 1920s; there were no new congregations and some old ones decreased in membership. The effects of the movement were still apparent during that decade, however, and in the late 1920s there seems to have been a renewal of it, and a new revival began at Nanortalik (Balle 1929:265).

Nain, Labrador 1873-1874

Responding to several thefts of goods, the Moravian mission closed its trading store at Nain in 1873, expecting this action to correct the situation. Instead, a general meeting was requested, which was held on December 22, at which people voiced their complaints about the storekeeper and the missionaries. The missionaries' "native helpers" also lodged complaints, and one of these was the main spokesman for the people. According to the missionary account, the affair was peacefully settled shortly thereafter (P.A. 1874:198).

About the 20th of January though, the missionaries witnessed what appeared to them to be "a general spiritual

awakening" among the people. It seemed to have begun as a result of some meetings held in the home of one of the native helpers, and manifested itself in large numbers of people going to the missionaries to confess their sins. The missionaries reported that "from morning to evening the passage in our house was full of persons waiting for an interview" (P.A. 1874:199). They were uncomfortable about the behavior of a few people, however, and their discomfort was proved to be based on some fact when on the night of the 21st and the morning of the 22nd a meeting was held at the home of one of the native helpers.

Those present held their hands over their heads, in imitation of the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. A post in the house was worshipped as the cross of Christ, and the Eskimos were fetched from the neighboring houses in order that they might kneel before it. The leaders then breathed upon their hands folded on their breasts, thus imparting to them the Holy Spirit. The celebration of the Lord's supper was also travestied (P.A. 1874:199).

While this was happening, those present heard noises near the entrance of the house and decided that it was the devil. One man went out and threw an axe at what turned out to be a dog. The following morning a woman who was said to be possessed was going to be killed, but she ran

to the mission house for safety.

The missionaries reported that many people soon repented of their behavior, and the native helpers who had been leaders of the movement lost their influence with the people (P.A. 1874:199-200).

Iglulik 1920

The movement had its beginnings at Pond Inlet, on the north coast of Baffin Island. Some Bibles, printed in syllabics, were brought there in 1919, and the people read them. One of the men, Uming, acted as preacher and interpreter of the scriptures. In 1920, after his son killed a white man at Pond Inlet, they both went to Iglulik, where Uming continued to preach his new religion. It soon had many adherents.

His followers demonstrated that they were members of his "congregation", and thus Christianized, by flying white flags from poles erected outside their snowhouses and by attaching white flags to their sleds when travelling (Mathiassen 1928:235; RCM Police 1924:36). They abstained from working on Sundays, and whenever anyone arrived at, or departed from, a settlement which followed Uming's teachings, the inhabitants would gather to sing hymns. After the hymn singing, they would shake hands with those arriving or departing. An RCM Police patrol in the area

in 1922-1923 described it:

...they greet all arrivals by the grown population lining up side by side in the most prominent place in front of the igloos, when the arrival is within hearing distance they all join in singing a hymn. The arrival approaches the line-up within a few yards, then stops his komitik and remains standing until the hymn is finished. The singers then advance in single file and greet him with three shakes of the hand (RCM Police 1924:36).

At Iglulik, occasional gatherings for hymn singing took place at Uming's snow house, and, in addition, all game caught by the inhabitants was to be brought to him for distribution.

This movement spread all along the east coast of Melville Peninsula and in the spring of 1922 it reached Repulse Bay (Mathiassen 1928:236).

Home Bay, Baffin Island 1921

Neakuteuk, who was employed at the Sabellum Trading Company's post at Kivitung, Home Bay, declared himself to be Christ in December 1921 (RCM Police 1923:35; Wallis 1943:114). He had a Bible which he attempted to read and understand. He had great difficulty understanding it, however, and became annoyed with himself. In order that he would be able to understand it, he had a friend hit him on the head with a piece of wood (RCM Police 1924:

36-37). Wallis stated:

he simulated the hanging of Jesus from the cross. People clustered about him, knelt and kissed the hem of his robe. He appointed two disciples and selected three messengers, to whom he gave Biblical names, to carry the doctrine to all peoples. After studying the Bible, the messiah proclaimed that henceforth there would be no husbands and wives in Kevetuk: 'You are all to love one another, for so it is written' (1943:114-115).

He announced to the people that the end of the world was coming and that they had to prepare for it by fasting and killing their dogs. They did what he told them (Wallis 1943:115).

A blind man, Munyeuk, asked Neakuteuk for "some wind inside me so that I can go up to Jesus". Some time afterward, Neakuteuk decided that Munyeuk and another man, Lemik, should be killed because at that point they were full of God's spirit, and they might, in the future, behave badly and lose it. At Neakuteuk's urgings, two men, Kautak and Kedluk, killed them. Not long after this, just as Neakuteuk was about to hit Lemik's wife on the head with a hammer, he was shot to death by Kidlappik (RCM Police 1924:37).

It was reported that as Neakuteuk's body was being prepared for burial, some unusual occurrences took place (RCM Police 1924:37). While water was being heated to

wash the body, one of the primus lamps sang a song about its flame being everlasting and unextinguishable. The arms of the frozen body were said to have moved, and Neakuteuk was heard to breathe and laugh. Kidlappik, when in close proximity with the body, fainted and remained in this state for a long time. The RCM Police Sergeant noted that

during the time the aforementioned things were happening, the Eskimo told me, all the people were as if asleep. Their minds were on their own camp only. The sun returned without being noticed, and it was only some time after Neakuteuk was dead that the Eskimo saw that the sun was in sight (RCM Police 1924: 37).

Belcher Islands 1941

On the south end of Flaherty Island in January 1941, Charlie Ouyerack, a shaman, declared that Jesus was coming and that he was Jesus³. An old man, Keytowieack, who had some knowledge of the scriptures, and who had acted as catechist, had been telling the people for a number of years that Jesus would be coming (Sullivan 1944:17; Kinmond 1941c). A meteor falling in the sky, the words from the book of St. Matthew: "...and the stars shall fall from heaven...and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds..." (Kinmond 1941a), and Keytowieack's

teachings, helped to convince the people of the truth of Ouyerack's statements. The next day, when Peter Sala, the most influential and respected man in the band, returned from a hunting trip, the people told him that Jesus was coming. One of the men took Sala's rifle and shot some of his dogs. He then smashed the rifle, saying there was no longer any need for dogs and guns since Jesus was coming. Entering a snow house, Sala found most of the people sitting around and discussing the subject. Ouyerack, wearing a surplice and a cross, declared that Sala was God, and after some hesitation, Sala agreed. The people gathered all the Bibles and hymnals that they had and burned them since there was no longer any need for them.

Not everyone agreed with Ouyerack and Sala, however. A girl, Sarah, refused to believe their claims, and left her father, who was a believer, to live with Keytowieack. In late January she was brought to a religious meeting and was accused of being possessed by the devil. With Ouyerack's consent she was beaten to death by her brother Apawkok, and a woman, Akeenik (RCM Police 1942:14-15). Keytowieack, who had until this time been the authority on religious matters, was also sceptical of what they said. They told him he was possessed and chased him out. The following day, at Sala's urging, and with a bullet

from Ouyerack, Adlaykok shot Keytowieack (Phillips 1956:120; Anonymous 1941:155).

Early in February, while on Tukarak Island, Ouyerack went to the camp of a man, Quarack. Quarack believed what Ouyerack told him about Jesus' coming, but his son-in-law, Alec Ekpuk (Keytowieack's son), did not. So either as a result of his disbelief of Ouyerack's statements (Honigmann 1962:70), or his failure to give Ouyerack his wife (Phillips 1956:121), Alec was accused of being a devil, and was killed by Quarack and Ouyerack.

Toward the end of February, Sala was hired to bring the Hudson Bay Company post manager from Tukarak Island to Great Whale River. When they arrived, Sala related all that had occurred on the Islands to the post interpreter. The latter told the post manager who then wired the news south.

While Sala was away, his sister Mina convinced some of the people that the arrival of Jesus was imminent, and urged them to go out on the ice to meet him. She told them they had to remove all their clothing, and many of them did. Six people froze to death. In April the RCM Police arrived, and the movement apparently came to an end.

In August, a court found Mina insane and unfit to stand trial, and ruled that Apawkok and Akeenik were

not guilty on account of temporary insanity. Adlaykok was given a one year sentence, and Quarack, Ouyerack and Sala received two year sentences (Honigmann 1962:71).

CHAPTER IV

ESKIMO RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: THE MOVEMENTS IN THEIR SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Eskimo Ethos and World View

Inasmuch as religious movements involve competing assumptions about the nature of power, competing moral rules and obligations, and competing activities prescribed in accordance with these assumptions and rules, an analysis of the seven movements must consider Eskimo world view and ethos. While recognizing that differences in specific features exist, both through time and space, a general overview of Eskimo world view and ethos, incorporating data from a number of basic sources, can nevertheless be constructed. The following statement indicates what are perhaps some of the essential features of this world view and ethos.

They [the Eskimos] know only powers or personifications of natural forces, acting upon human life in various ways, and affecting all that lives through fair and foul weather, disease and perils of all kinds. These powers are not evil in themselves, they do not wreak harm of evil intent, but they are nevertheless dangerous owing to their unmerciful severity where men

fail to live in accordance with the wise rules of life decreed by their forefathers. The purpose of the whole system is... 'to keep a right balance between mankind and the rest of the world' (Rasmussen 1930:62).

In a study of Eskimo law, Hoebel (1954) identified a number of postulates which he found to have "jural significance" in Eskimo culture. These postulates, as well as most of the corollaries derived from them, also indicate some of the assumptions about the nature of powers in the universe and the activities and values that are consonant with those assumptions. These postulates are:

- I. Spirit beings, and all animals by virtue of possessing souls, have emotional intelligence similar to that of man.
- II. Man in important aspects of life is subordinate to the wills of animal souls and spirit beings.
- III. Life is hard and the margin of safety small.
- IV. All natural resources are free or common goods.
- V. It is necessary to keep all instruments of production (hunting equipment, etc.) in effective use as much of the time as is possible.
- VI. The self must find its realization through action (1954:69).

These postulates, as well as the ideas contained in Rasmussen's statement, will be utilized here in providing the outline for the overview of Eskimo world view and ethos.

The universe in which the powers were contained consisted of the land, the sea, the upper world and the under world. The earth, and the sea supported by it, rested on either one central (Rink 1875:37), or four pillars (Lantis 1950:326). Above the earth was the upper world, which was either one (Rink 1875:37; Hawkes 1916:153), or more than one, worlds (Boas 1964:180-181; Lantis 1950:326). The upper world was accessible through the air (Rink 1875:38) and through a hole in the sky (Hawkes 1916:153). The under world was below the earth and the sea, and was accessible through crevices in the earth (Lantis 1950:326) or through the sea (Rink 1875:37). In the Central and Eastern regions, the upper world was the better place for souls to go after death. In Greenland, it was the under world, "warm and beautiful with food in abundance" (Birket-Smith 1924:434-435), that was more favorable. Souls of "...men who [perished] while hunting and more especially whaling, [and] women who [died] in childbirth..." (Birket-Smith 1924:435) were believed, in Greenland, to go to the under world, while the destination of such souls was the upper world among the Central and Labrador Eskimos (Boas 1964:181; Hawkes 1916:137).

Central to that part of Eskimo world view and ethos that Hoebel referred to as "spirit beings" and "souls"

and that Rasmussen termed "powers or personifications of natural forces" was the concept of inua. Literally, inua meant "its owner" or "its human being", and was regarded as a being inhabiting and controlling an element of the physical (in our terms) environment (Rink 1875:37; Hawkes 1916:127; Boas 1964:183). Everything had an inua: animals, geographical features, and even various items manufactured by humans. The inua of the atmosphere, silap inua, or sila, was one of the powers of major significance in some areas. In these areas, such as Greenland, it was a "...supporter of the system of taboos, seeing transgressions and punishing them with bad weather, dearth of game, and sickness (Lantis 1950:324).

In Greenland, however, Arnarkuagssak, the old woman who lived under the sea, also punished transgressors. She controlled the sea mammals and withheld them from humans in response to violations of taboos. Among the Central Eskimos, Arnaluk takanaluk, or Sedna, was the most prominent of the powers (Boas 1964:175; Lantis 1950:325). She had command over all food resources. With the inua of the moon she punished taboo violators, and both of them "...[employed] Sila to execute all punishments in any way connected with the weather" (Rasmussen 1930:63). In Labrador, Sedna was also known as the power who lived beneath the sea and controlled sea

mammals, fish and bears (Hawkes 1916:126).

A spirit, or power, Tornarsuk or Torngu'rsoak was recognized in Greenland and Labrador. It had command over other lesser spirits, tornat, which it gave to shamans as guardians or helping spirits (Rink 1875:39).

Besides these major powers, there was an almost infinite number of lesser ones. Many of these powers, although sometimes differentiated from them in the literature, were actually inua. The tornat were the inua of various objects, animals, or humans, e.g., the "master of the dancing house" was qaggim inua (Boas 1964:189).

While some of the lesser powers were seen as being benevolent or malevolent, powers were, in general, as Rasmussen pointed out, inherently neither good nor evil, but severe. In having "an emotional intelligence similar to that of man", the powers were "...sensitive to the rules of life that human beings [endeavored] to follow" (Rasmussen 1930:58) and were affected by human acts. This sensitivity to human behavior was expressed in their control of the elements of the world, and it was in this sense that human life was subordinated to the powers: they could give or withhold food and good weather and could cause illness or death in response to human success, or failure, in adhering to the "rules of life" (Hoebel 1954:69).

The difficulty and danger that characterized human life, indicated in the postulate that "life is hard and the margin of safety small", can be seen as an expression of the severe nature of the powers. As stated by one of Rasmussen's informants:

the greatest peril of life lies in the fact that human food consists entirely of souls. All the creatures that we have to kill and eat, all those that we have to strike down and destroy to make clothes for ourselves, have souls, like we have, souls that do not perish with the body and which must therefore be propitiated lest they should revenge themselves on us for taking away their bodies (1930:56).

Certain rules and customs, therefore, had to be observed to prevent the souls of animals from harming the hunters (Rasmussen 1930:183-184). These rules and customs, the system of taboos, prescribed behavior which would propitiate the inua of the food animals and the other powers that controlled the weather and the food supply. Violations of the taboos angered the powers and "...gave rise to suffering and hardship, not only for the person who [had] offended, but for the whole village (Rasmussen 1930:169). Conversely, those who behaved according to the taboos were successful in hunting (Turquetil 1929:63); animals had no objection to being killed by hunters who observed the rules and they sometimes even approached a particular hunter to be killed (Rasmussen 1930:58).

Humanity's well-being, or proper balance with the rest of the world, then, was dependent on the ability to deal properly with the powers.

Shamans, by virtue of their training and their quality of "...not being unconscious of anything..." (Rink 1875:43) were particularly capable of dealing with the powers, and they therefore worked towards maintaining the proper order in the world through diagnosing and curing illness, finding the cause of misfortunes, fighting sorcerers, and applying taboos where relevant (Birket-Smith 1924:454). They also worked to restore order in the world when human transgressions disrupted it. For example, a shaman would travel to the bottom of the sea to clean Sedna's hair so that she would again send out the sea mammals (Boas 1964:178).

In Eskimo world view and ethos, as the fourth postulate indicates, natural resources were not subject to private ownership, but were "free or common goods".
Land

...[was] not property in any form: communal, joint, nor private. It [was] not even to be thought of as public domain, for it [was]...no-man's land in an absolute and unconditional sense (Hoebel 1954:79).

There were no territorial restrictions on hunting and fishing; "...everyone was at liberty...[to] go hunting

and fishing wherever he chose" (Rink 1875:27-28). Food resources were considered to be available to any and all humans who behaved properly towards them. Personal ownership of goods was limited to those things such as clothing and tools which individuals made for their own use or for members of their immediate family (Jenness 1967:34). Personal ownership was subject, however, to some extent, to further limitations. Some private property, most notably "instruments of production", was subject to use claims by other individuals when it was not being used by its owner (Hoebel 1954:69). Additionally, no one was expected to own more than they could effectively utilize, and prestige and status derived from the "...giving away of food and goods, not the possession of them..." (Hoebel 1954:80).

In general, it can be said that prestige and status, as well as prosperity, derived from human action in relation to basic subsistence activities. In Hoebel's terms, "the self must find its realization through action"⁴ and "the measure of the self for males is success as a foodgetter and in competition for women" (1954:69). Hunting was not only the basic activity to which all males had access, but it was required of all as far as they were able; failure to engage in it was considered reprehensible by the family as well as by the wider community (Rink 1875:

31-32). The importance of engaging in hunting was also indicated in ritual:

the 'life crisis' so prominent in many religions were minor in Eskimo public ritual except those events involving food-getting, notably a young man's first catch of a major food animal (Lantis 1950:333).

Success in hunting was dependent on human behavior in relation to the powers that controlled the environment and its resources, and on human qualities such as skill, physical courage, alertness, and awareness (Lantis 1950:328).

Prestige, and the influence that followed from it, was gained through the demonstration of these qualities and through generosity in the sharing of food and goods. Success in hunting enabled a man to be generous and thus earn increased prestige. The objective results of this success--food and clothing--were measures of prosperity, and integrity derived from properly engaging in hunting activities and in the system of generalized reciprocity, that is, the giving of food and gifts without imposing a specific counter-obligation (Sahlins 1965:147). Besides success in subsistence activities, the measure of the self for males included abilities in competition for females, and those who could appropriate another man's wife or could, and did, support more than one wife gained prestige

and status. Prestige also accrued to those who were successful in song duels and physical contests such as buffeting, head-butting and wrestling (Hoebel 1954:92, 93; Boas 1964:201).

For females the measure of the self derived from success at basic subsistence activities, particularly sewing (Lantis 1950:328), and in bearing children. "The Eskimo woman, if she [had] children, [held] a position of respect and authority in the home" (Hawkes 1916:116). In addition to the prestige and status a female gained by performing certain activities well, she also shared, both directly and vicariously, in the prestige and prosperity of her husband (Turquetil 1929:62).

The prestige and integrity that derived from engaging in the valued and required basic male and female activities was reflected, to some extent, in the destination of an individual's soul after death: men who died in hunting accidents and women who died in childbirth both went to the better of the other worlds.⁵

Beyond the activities and qualities directly associated with subsistence, prestige, integrity, and to some extent, prosperity, could be gained by both males and females through the qualities associated with shamanism. As noted earlier, the shaman was one who was "not unaware of anything", and by virtue of this quality,

he/she was particularly capable of dealing with the powers controlling the world. A shaman's success in activities connected with maintaining the community's proper relations with the world earned him/her prestige and influence within the community.

In summary, the assumptions about the nature of powers in Eskimo world view defined the powers that controlled the world as primarily neither inherently good nor inherently evil, but rather as extremely dangerous and morally sensitive to human behavior. The moral imperatives, obligations, and rules of conduct contained in Eskimo ethos prescribed activities and called for qualities held to be consonant with a world so ordered. Prestige, prosperity, and integrity--part of the experiential verification of the world view and ethos--were gained through, and measured by, the demonstration of the valued qualities and through success at the prescribed basic subsistence activities. In the context of European contact and settlement, these became part of a set of competing possibilities of assumptions about the nature of power in the world, moral rules and obligations, activities, and the definitions of prestige, prosperity and integrity.

World View and Ethos in the Contact Situation

In each of the areas where the movements occurred, both the contact agents and the duration of their contact with the Eskimos differed. At Sukkertoppen, Friedrichstal, Godthaab and Nain there were direct and continuous relations with missionaries and trading posts. In the Iglulik region and on the Belcher Islands contact with such agents was indirect and sporadic. At Home Bay there was extensive interaction with whaling fleets.

European contact of both types brought with it the introduction, directly or indirectly, of a Christian world view which was a factor in each of the movements. The missionaries, of course, were particularly concerned with the introduction of Christian conceptions. Other contact agents may also have contributed, though primarily indirectly, to this through their behavior, both in terms of their adherence to a Christian view and their indifference towards or ridicule of Eskimo assumptions and behavior. Aspects of a Christian world view were also further introduced and spread by Eskimos, converted or unconverted, themselves. While the particular significance of Christian conceptions in each case is difficult to assess, such conceptions were, nevertheless, an important aspect of the movements in that they were

to a great extent in opposition to traditional Eskimo conceptions and comprised part of the total set of competing assumptions, rules and activities in each situation.

The whole of any Christian world view and ethos, while ultimately relevant for understanding these movements, was not directly a part of the particular situations. Where contact with Christian conceptions was mainly or exclusively through Europeans other than missionaries and through other Eskimos, only limited aspects of such a world view would, obviously, be of immediate significance. Even in areas where mission activity was greatest, there were limitations on the introduction of Christian conceptions since the missionaries themselves selected and elaborated particular aspects of their beliefs in order to make their religion more understandable and acceptable to potential converts. The Moravians, for example, experienced failure in gaining converts through a gradual exposition of Christianity and replaced their early attempts "...to prove the existence of God, describe his attributes, the Creation and the Fall..." (Hiller 1971:82) with an emphasis on Christ, the Crucifixion and Redemption (Crantz 1820: 58-59; Hiller 1971:82). The emphasis on these aspects of Christian belief is reflected in the movements,

particularly in the first two in Greenland and those in Nain, Home Bay and the Belcher Islands. Those involved aspects of the Crucifixion or the imminence, or presence, of Christ and the Second Coming.

Besides these particular emphases in missionary teaching, other aspects of Christian world view were, through contact, brought into competition with traditional Eskimo conceptions. In terms of the previous discussion of Eskimo world view and ethos, these were, most notably, the Christian views relating to good and evil and to the relationship between humans and their environment. While powers, in the traditional Eskimo view, were for the most part neither inherently good nor inherently evil, the missionaries' conception of the order of powers in the world sharply distinguished between good and evil, between God and the devil. In this distinction were also contained new concepts of moral behavior which were largely absolute in nature and based primarily on Mosaic law (Hiller 1971:82,84). This distinction between good and evil extended throughout the Christian cosmology. The good was identified with heaven, the Christian upperworld, and the evil with hell, the underworld, in contrast to Eskimo cosmology which, while containing both upper and lower worlds, did not assign such sharply opposed values to them. In Greenland and Labrador, where

missionary activity was most intensive, this distinction was applied, and easily so from the point of view of the missionaries, to Eskimo assumptions, rules and activities, most of which were considered evil. Interpreted within a Christian framework, Tornarsuk, a major power in these areas who resided under the earth, "...was transformed into the Christian devil, and those spirits over whom he ruled, and whom he assigned to the angakoks as their guardian spirits, were presented as his subordinate demons" (Rink 1877:141). The shamans, who under the traditional system were responsible for maintaining the order between human communities and their environment, were themselves interpreted as agents of evil and became subject to the abuse, both intellectual and physical, of the missionaries (Nansen 1893:314; Bobe 1952:86-87).

In contradistinction to the assumption that humans were in significant ways subordinate to the "wills of animal souls" and had therefore to behave in a certain manner towards them, the Christian, and Biblical, view subordinated animal life to human and considered it primarily as a resource put at human's disposal by God. The missionaries denied the existence of "morally sensitive beings" residing in food resources, and in so doing challenged the validity of the taboo system, as did other white men, all of whom "...looked with supreme

disdain on the system of taboo by which the balance of the Eskimo community was maintained" (Rasmussen 1930:20). The traditional belief that there was a direct relationship between moral behavior and success at subsistence activities was thus brought into competition with the Christian system, which claimed no such relationship and whose "...missionaries could say only that the Lord would provide, and that if He did not, then there must be a good reason for it" (Hiller 1971:85).

These aspects of a Christian world view and ethos, while relevant to a greater or lesser extent to all the movements, are only part of the situations surrounding each. In addition, other features of these situations, involving economic, political and ecological factors, are also relevant. More specific information is available on these factors, and they will be considered in relation to each movement.

The Religious Movements

Sukkertoppen 1787

The sets of competing assumptions, rules and activities which were generated here were centered in the second primary situation, the question of an appropriate measure of human worth, and the third primary

situation, a relationship between Eskimos and Europeans characterized by shared values with a privileged access to the rewards implied by these values.

In the early years of the settlement, mission policy at Sukkertoppen, directed at the centralization of the population, tended to affect the subsistence activities on which traditional measures of worth were largely based. From the beginnings of the mission in Greenland in 1721, a major feature of its policy had been the centralization of converts and potential converts in permanent settlements since seasonal migration, besides offering opportunities for the converts to return to the traditional religion through contacts with unconverted Eskimos, was viewed by the missionaries as a way of life incompatible with civilization and Christianity. Hans Egede, the first Lutheran missionary, stated that among other problems "...their wandering and unstable way of life certainly offer great hindrances to conversion and ought as much as possible to be obviated..." (Nansen 1893:106). Berthel Laersen, the Lutheran missionary in the Sukkertoppen area, put such a policy into effect (Ostermann 1929b:299).

Centralization, however, "...interfered with normal resource-harvesting practices, and the annual cycle of activities" (Schuurman 1970:23). Laersen's requirement that converts permanently reside at Sukkertoppen limited

their exploitation of food resources to those which were seasonally available, primarily sea mammals, in the immediate area of this coastal settlement. For the converts, the missionary's policy thus eliminated from the traditional annual cycle the inland hunting which was, from late spring until late summer and early autumn, a major feature of resource exploitation. The permanent concentration of population at the settlement necessitated a more intensive exploitation of resources than had been the case with the greater mobility and dispersal characteristic of the traditional system. The greater intensity of exploitation, however, tended ultimately to over-tax the available resources; thus, missionary policy indirectly limited the ability to gain the prestige and prosperity traditionally measured in terms of success at hunting.

The mission directly undermined other aspects of social life in which prestige was traditionally gained. Under its administration, the festivals and gatherings at which song duels and contests of strength took place were condemned and forbidden (Rink 1877:143; Jenness 1967: 23-24). Those settled at the mission station were thus barred from the prestige and integrity that derived from success in these individualistic competitions. The missionaries also regarded polygamy as evil, and generally

would not baptize any partners in a polygamous union. "Not until 1792 was a general permission given for the baptism of such households" (Ostermann 1929b:332). Permission was never given, though, for ministers to solemnize polygamous marriages. At the settlement, then, while polygamy may have been tolerated to a certain extent, prestige no longer accrued to those males who demonstrated their capability and prosperity by supporting more than one wife.

But while its policy undermined the traditional system of values and activities among the group of converted Eskimos, the mission had attempted to establish new values and activities, involving new religious beliefs and practices, new material goods, and new modes of residence, economic activity, marriage and education based on a Christian European model of community life. The new modes of subsistence exploitation which were unable to support the traditional system of prestige and prosperity also proved, however, over the years, unable to support permanent settlement. At Sukkertoppen, the pressure on resources had reduced them so greatly that Laersen, "in his later years" (he died in 1782), reluctantly had to restore to some extent the traditional migrations in order to assure his congregation of a supply of food adequate to meet the needs of existence (Ostermann 1929b:305). In

limiting the Eskimos' ability to participate in the new way of life and in indicating the environmental validity of the old way, this necessary restoration of seasonal migration questioned some of the basic assumptions and the new measures of worth, based on life in permanent communities, introduced by the missionaries and in large measure accepted by those who became Christians and settled at the mission station.

New measures of worth introduced through European colonization though, involved not only the values related to missionary activity but also those related to the Danish trading enterprise. European material goods had been available to the Eskimos since the 17th century when they began to trade with whalers and fishermen from various European nations. This trade, however, was on a limited scale, seasonal and sporadic, and it was silent trade; the Europeans laid out their goods and retreated while the Eskimos left blubber and skins in exchange for them (Jenness 1967:9-10,14-15). With the establishment of trading posts by the Bergen Company, the General Trading Company and then the Danish Crown (The Royal Greenland Trading Company), which took control of the Greenland trade in 1774, the nature of trading activities, and the relations between the Europeans and the Eskimos involved in it, changed. The posts provided a more consistent

access to, and a wider range of, European goods and resulted in greater contact between the European and Eskimo partners in the trade.

European goods which became, in a sense, then, more easily available at the trading posts, were highly valued by the Eskimos and served as material measures of prosperity as well as symbols and sources of prestige. Some of these goods, such as coffee and European foods, were added to the diet (Sveistrup 1949:185-186); others such as rifles, metal tools, and cooking and eating implements began to replace traditional implements (Jenness 1967:15). In order to obtain these goods, the Eskimos had to trade the products of their hunting activities. The extent to which these goods were valued is evident in the excessive trading of subsistence products for them:

...it frequently happened that an Eskimo would trade his valuable sealskin coat and sealskin tent for cheap European clothing and a tent of cloth, and would barter away so much of his blubber that when winter came he lacked sufficient fuel to heat his dwelling and cook his food (Jenness 1967:21).

While European goods became additional measures and symbols of worth, access to them through the trading posts, that is, the establishment of regular trade, brought into competition two entirely different systems of exchange,

each with its own assumptions, values, activities and modes of measuring worth. The Eskimo system was based on free or common access to resources; private property was severely restricted. Cooperation and generosity were valued, and prestige was gained, as well as prosperity measured, by the distribution of resources secured through the basic subsistence activities. In contrast to this, the European traders introduced, and demanded that the traditional system be replaced by, a system which was based on private ownership and free enterprise, and which required the demonstration of individualistic, competitive, and aggressive qualities in the exploitation of resources, in trading, and in interpersonal relations (Jenness 1967: 24; Nansen 1893:118). Worth, in this system, was measured by the individual accumulation, rather than distribution, of goods and resources.

The two systems of exchange were in direct competition for the allocation of resources secured through the basic subsistence activities. The European system demanded the direct exchange of resources for the processed goods; the Eskimo system required the distribution of resources for subsistence and for maintenance of traditional social relationships. The Eskimos tended to view European goods as resources which should have been part, in addition to subsistence products, of their

exchange system, and wanted the Europeans, whose prosperity in comparison to themselves they recognized (Saabye 1818: 207), to distribute their wealth according to the traditional Eskimo rules appropriate to gaining prestige and measuring prosperity (Nansen 1893:160). In the European system, however, generosity was not generally forthcoming and free distribution was limited to welfare in times of necessity. The Europeans, rather than accepting traditional Eskimo assumptions and rules regarding the ownership of property,

...conscientiously laboured to foster the sense of property among the Greenlanders, encouraging them to save up portions of their booty, instead of lavishing it abroad in their usual free-handed way, and so forth; the principle being that a more highly-developed sense of property is the first condition of civilisation (Nansen 1893:118).

Among the Eskimos themselves, European goods apparently did not enter into the traditional system of generalized reciprocity but became subject to ownership rules more in keeping with the European system of which they were a part (Rink 1877:264). The establishment of the trading post economy made it possible then for individuals to trade resources, which under the traditional rules had to be distributed, for goods which could be utilized or accumulated as private property (Lindow 1929:42).

Both the trading and missionary enterprises, however, were themselves part of a wider political system, that of the Danish colonial administration, which contrasted sharply with the Eskimo one both in its mode of distributing power and in the nature of power within the system. Power in the traditional system was based on an opposition between equals, either individuals or groups. The extent of the power which an individual could hold was generally limited to the influence that came with prestige, and while it was accessible to anyone who displayed the requisite skills and was consistently successful in the basic subsistence activities, it was also, since it was based primarily on a consensual relationship, subject to withdrawal. In contrast to this, the Danish colonial system was based on relationships of superiority and inferiority. Power was centralized in the traders and missionaries, who served as local administrators. The two were comparable in status, although when they shared the same settlement the missionary had, "in practical matters", to accept the trader's decisions (Schuurman 1970:19). Under the administrative regulations issued by the government in 1782, the traders were invested

...with complete jurisdiction over the native population, and as the whole administration in Greenland

at that time took place through the medium of the trader, he was given very great authority over the population, because so much was left to his discretion (Lindow 1929:56).

The control which the traders and missionaries established over at least part of the population had, as discussed, a severe effect on traditional measures of worth; their power itself also questioned and tended to undermine the traditional system. The exercise of this power, even if well intentioned, was arbitrary and coercive and was not subject to the traditional moral order in which consensual influence was the limit of power accruing to successful individuals.

European contact and settlement in the Sukkertoppen area had, at the time of the movement, resulted in the introduction and the establishment of a set of assumptions, moral rules and obligations, and activities in active competition with traditional Eskimo world view and ethos. This competition was based primarily in the activities of the traders, who worked to replace the Eskimo system with their own European model of socio-cultural life. Their efforts in this were supported by the power they, as local administrators, held and by their apparent prosperity, both of which, in being viewed by the Eskimos as greater than their own, questioned the adequacy of the traditional definitions of prosperity, the prestige and

influence that derived from it, and the prescribed activities required to gain these measures of worth. The unfavorable attitude of the missionaries towards polygamy and their opposition to the traditional festivals tended to eliminate these as areas in which valued qualities could be demonstrated, and the mission's policy of centralization, for the years it was in effect, tended to limit success at the subsistence activities basic to worth as defined by the traditional Eskimo ethos. The refusal of Europeans to accept Eskimo moral rules and obligations and the ability of Eskimos, as a result of the system of exchange introduced by the Europeans, to evade these rules and obligations also contributed to the undermining of traditional modes of measuring human worth.

While the old assumptions about the nature of the world and the rules of conduct relating to it were becoming unviable, the new, European, assumptions and rules became, through the activities of the missionaries and traders, increasingly shared by the Eskimos, particularly by those who were converted and settled at the mission station. The relationship between the Europeans and the Eskimos, however, indicates the third primary situation; the Eskimos had only limited access to the rewards, i.e., European prestige and material prosperity, implied by the commonly held assumptions, values, and rules.

Besides the limitations which were placed on their access to the European mode of life by the necessary restoration of seasonal migrations, there were other factors, centered primarily in the colonial economic system, which limited the Eskimos' access to European prestige and material prosperity. The Eskimos, as Nansen reported,

...were from the first...shamelessly defrauded by the European traders, who used false weights and measures, and gave them, in barter, wares of wretched quality. I need only mention, on Saabye's authority, that the traders of the last century [the 18th] used excessively large four bushel measures, which had, in addition, no bottom, but were carefully placed over cavities in the floor. These the natives had to fill with their blubber when they wanted to sell it, so that what passed for four bushels was in reality at least six. They knew and understood quite well that they were being cheated... (1893:161).

Through their dishonest practices, the traders, since their incomes were based on a percentage of their posts' trade (Jenness 1967:36), not only increased their own prosperity and their prestige within the trading company, but also limited the Eskimos' access to material goods and the prestige that derived from them.

The trade policies of the Danish government also affected the cost, in subsistence resources, of European

products. In 1782, the government introduced a fixed price system. All imported goods were divided into three categories:

those most needed, those less necessary and those which, in relation to the Greenlanders, might be characterized as luxuries. The purchase prices for the commodities of these three groups were given a gradual addition, smallest for the first and greatest for the last of these groups (Sveistrup 1949:176).

The intent and result of this policy was to effectively limit the Eskimos' access to goods, such as good cloth, tobacco and coffee, which although they were used and valued by both Eskimos and Europeans, were viewed by the Royal Greenland Trading Company as luxuries, not for the Europeans, but for the Eskimos.

Access to material goods was not the only area, however, within which unequal distribution of European rewards was evident. The new activities which were introduced, that is, jobs related to the mission and the trade, through which prestige and prosperity in the European system could be gained, were open primarily, and in some cases, exclusively, to Europeans. In the early period of colonization, Europeans occupied all positions in the mission and the trade (Ostermann 1929a: 177). The General Trading Company which was in charge of all trading operations until 1774 usually hired five men,

all Europeans, to run each trading post (Jenness 1967:16). In the latter part of the 18th century, "...it became the practice to use native labour at the settlements, but only in positions which required no training whatever, as it was considered impossible to impart training of any kind in Greenland" (Ostermann 1929a:177). Eskimos were hired only to perform such tasks as loading and unloading boats and transporting passengers and freight along the coast (Jenness 1967:25). No Eskimo was employed as a trader, or even assistant trader at this time.

The mission employed no Eskimos in the early period and attempted to staff its mission stations with orphaned Danish boys who were sent to Greenland and appointed as catechists. They were given these jobs because it was thought that they would be more reliable and conscientious than Eskimos (Saabye 1818:63). However, the demand for catechists and instructors soon became too great, and the Mission College in Denmark had to consider other alternatives. Since the mission had been instructing the population in the rudiments of Christianity from the early years, it was decided to appoint Eskimos to jobs as catechists and instructors at small and outlying settlements. These jobs paid very little, but provided access to the limited prestige that was available to the Eskimos in the European system and they were taken

primarily for that reason (Jenness 1967:26-27; Rink 1877: 169-170).

While the Eskimos, then, had learned skills relevant to the European system and had come increasingly to share in the assumptions and values of that system, their access to the rewards which these values and assumptions implied, and which should have derived from the new skills, was limited. These limitations were, in large measure, the result and intent of Danish policy.

Throughout the eighteenth, and most of the nineteenth, century Denmark considered it her duty, in obedience to the teachings of the New Testament, to convert the Eskimos to the Christian faith and ease the hardships and sorrows of their daily lives; but not to give them rights and privileges equal to those of the favoured whites, and not to make them discontented with the humble position allotted to them on earth by their Creator (Jenness 1967:18).

The socio-cultural situation within which the movement developed, then, was characterized by a competition between two different systems of measuring human worth, and by a differential access to the rewards of the new system. Within the approach taken here, these conditions are viewed as bases for the rise of religious movements, and as such, their significance for any movement should be reflected in the practices and beliefs of the movement itself. In the case of the movement in Sukkertoppen,

however, there is almost no information in this area; the revelations of Mary Magdalene have, in particular, not been recorded. The one revelation which is recorded though, indicates the importance of the situation for the rise of the movement. In the almost mythic account of it, the revelation followed upon marital difficulties between Mary Magdalene and Habakkuk. These difficulties themselves are representative of the wider problem of the competition between the Eskimo and European systems. Habakkuk desired a second wife, that is, a traditional measure of worth; his wife's response was also an attempt to gain greater prestige and prosperity, but that of the European rather than the Eskimo system. The instructions not to marry a European which Mary Magdalene received from the dead ancestors resolved not only their personal difficulties, but also indicated a general resolution of the competition between the two systems: the separation of the Eskimo and European social and moral communities.

This resolution was accepted by others, and, as the movement gained in membership throughout the Sukkertoppen area, an independent community was formed. The establishment of the new community involved neither a return to a traditional mode of life nor the acceptance of a European mode, but rather the beginnings of a new social and moral order in which both of the competing

modes were reflected. New rules governing relations between individuals were established; Habakkuk, for example, reordered the systems of exchange by centralizing the distribution of game. Holiness and salvation became primary measures of worth and were accessible to all. While the particular definitions of the measures of worth in the new community have not been recorded, worth was apparently clearly defined, and the attainment of it was clearly and publicly symbolized by the type of handshake given by Mary Magdalene and by the firing of guns to announce an individual's salvation. In a situation characterized by ambiguity about the definition of human worth and by the inaccessibility of worth, then, the movement attempted to establish new measures of worth which were both clearly defined and generally attainable.

Friedrichstal 1853-1854

The colonial situation in West Greenland at the time of the religious movement in Friedrichstal was, for the most part, not very different from what it had been during Habakkuk's movement three-quarters of a century earlier. The European economic system had become more firmly entrenched by this time but active competition between the European and Eskimo systems and their appropriate measures of worth was still present, and access to rewards implied

by the increasingly shared assumptions remained, in large measure, the privilege of Europeans. Both these conditions were in part the result of formal and informal colonial policies which were inconsistent with themselves and within the social and environmental situation, and which were based on the assumption that the Eskimos were incapable of sharing any power and authority with the Europeans.

The Eskimos were urged to maintain their traditional subsistence activities, and were dissuaded from buying certain European goods which the administration deemed unnecessary for their health and survival. However, while emphasizing the traditional way of life, the administration began employing more Eskimos, and paying them in cash. They also "...considered [it] desirable that the population of Greenland should abandon the original earth and peat huts in favor of wooden houses" (Sveistrup 1949:177), and to this end instituted a policy of offering wooden houses, and iron stoves to heat them, at relatively low prices. There was little interest in the project at this time though, probably because of the cost (Jenness 1967:47) and because permanent dwellings requiring wood to heat them were incompatible with traditional nomadic life in a nearly treeless environment.

The increase in employment and the introduction of

money (script redeemable at trading posts) contributed to the strengthening of the European system of exchange and the consequent weakening of the traditional system. Not only were government employees paid money for their services, but also hunters, trappers and fishermen for the goods they traded at the posts. Since money, like most European goods, did not enter into the traditional exchange system, its use must have further facilitated the evasion of traditional reciprocal obligations by those who wished to do so⁶ and isolated wage earners from "...an established and still relevant prestige system" (Burridge 1969:106). For example, midwives, who formerly had gained traditional prestige and integrity for their efficiency and experience, were now recompensed with money from the administration for their services (Sveistrup 1949:12).

The apparent dominance of the European economic system and the concomitant subordination of the Eskimo one would seem to indicate that the Eskimos had achieved access to the rewards implied by commonly held assumptions. But while their access to rewards did, in fact, increase during this period, it remained limited in nature, both for wage earners and for the traditionally employed.

The types, and consequently the number, of positions open to those Eskimos who sought wage labor were few (Jenness 1967:46). Basically, they were hired for such

jobs as trader's assistant, servant, midwife, and catechist; at Moravian missions, about twelve Eskimos were usually hired as servants (Jenness 1967:46). The positions of minister, trader and skilled laborer, e.g., miner and carpenter, were filled by Europeans. Eskimos were unable to attain any positions of prestige or any "...positions of authority valid for the total environment" (Burridge 1969:152). (Even many years later Rink was to say that "...the service to be had from the natives in their present state is only of inferior quality as regards the management of stores and commanding or directing other people" [1877:299-300]). This pattern of employment had been attributed to their inability to speak Danish. Yet no attempt had even been made until 1846 to teach any segment of the population Danish (Jenness 1967:43). What seems to have been more important than their lack of training in limiting their access to jobs was their being Eskimo, since being European was considered not only necessary but also sufficient for appointment to higher positions in the Trade and Administration (Rink 1877:160).

There was a general increase in prosperity for the Eskimos during the second quarter of the 19th century, but in comparison with the Europeans, their prosperity remained slight. As the prices paid for their products increased (seal oil doubled in price between 1836 and 1844) and the

prices of imported goods remained stable (Jenness 1967:41), life became more comfortable for those traditionally employed. Their prosperity, however, was present only during certain seasons; for the rest of the year, they were reduced to living on welfare, and they perceived themselves to be deprived in relation to the Europeans (Rink 1877:160). Wage earners, while they had a degree of security which came with permanent employment (Jenness 1967:43), were living in a manner not very different from the rest of the population (Rink 1877:190-191).

By the mid 1840s, traditionally employed Eskimos and their families, who comprised about 95% of the total population (Jenness 1967:43), were finding it even more difficult to gain any rewards within either the Eskimo or the European system. A climatic change, the results of which began to be evident at this time (Rink 1877:159), was a partial cause of this. A branch of the Gulf Stream, which previously had only reached the southern tip of Greenland, increased in strength and extended itself as far north as 65° latitude along the west coast of Greenland. Although this arm of the current remained at a depth of more than 150 feet, it warmed the waters sufficiently enough to prevent many of the fiords from freezing over for more than a few weeks during the course of the winter. As a result of this, the seals moved northward (Jenness 1964:

111). Coupled with the climatic change was an overhunting of migratory seals at their breeding grounds at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and in the waters around Jan Mayen and the White Sea (Jenness 1967:43; Sveistrup 1949:14-15).

Both of these occurrences, as they depleted the seal population along the west coast, served to affect that resource upon which the Eskimos were most dependent.

...the population was reduced to a very deplorable state.... Tents and umiags decayed and the natives did not even have the necessary clothes and bedding. Summer journeys and tent life ceased; no provisions were collected; the profits from sealing dwindled, being at least insufficient to provide the Greenlanders themselves with the necessary skins; even the number of winter dwellings decreased, and those still existing fell into decay, as failing blubber for heating purposes, the woodwork was used as fuel (Lindow 1929:58-59).

Without seals for subsistence and seal oil for the trade, the Eskimos were cut off not only from the rewards of the European system, but also from the prestige, prosperity, and integrity that accrued to the successful hunter in Eskimo society. Beyond the rewards of either system though, the traditional activities could no longer be relied on to provide even the minimal integrity of mere subsistence.

The state of distress was greatest at the dwelling places of the Moravian Brethren, where the people lived in complete dependency and too great concentration, being crowded together in miserable, tumble-down earthen huts and mostly deriving a precarious living from fishing (Lindow 1929:58-59).

Friedrichstal, a Moravian settlement located on the southwest coast, was undoubtedly greatly affected by the changes which took place. The movement, which began during one very severe winter (Rink 1877:159), was an attempt on the part of the participants to comprehend and order an unsatisfactory social environment further aggravated by climatic and faunal changes. These changes represented manifestations of new, uncomprehended powers which undermined success at subsistence activities and questioned current assumptions about worth. In as much as the Moravian missionaries were in large measure not directly dependent on the immediate environment, the failure of sealing also served to emphasize the differential access to rewards already present in the community.

The religious movement in Friedrichstal was first directed at establishing a new community which would include only Eskimos; to this end the participants embarked on a plan of proselytization aimed at the conversion of all Eskimos to the new social order. The exclusion of Europeans from this community served to differentiate the

new order, in which worth would be clear and attainable for Eskimos, from the current order, in which worth was ambiguous, and for the most part, the privilege of Europeans. Gabriel, in fact, as leader of the movement, assumed the position of the missionary, the most powerful and prestigious position in any Moravian community, and performed all the church duties including the celebration of religious rites.

In attempting to establish a new order, Gabriel and his followers drew on European symbols and sources of prestige, power and authority, and in part, reinterpreted them. The movement itself, for example, had its origin in the same source of divine revelation as did European Christianity, and the prophet (Matthew) took the name Gabriel, the Biblical herald of good news, comfort and the first coming of Christ. The behavior of the participants in wounding their hands and sucking the blood may have been an elaboration and further interpretation of the Moravian emphasis on the power of the Crucifixion.

The attempt to reorder an unsatisfactory social situation culminated in an attempt at total separation from it: the announcement of the impending end of the world. The destruction of property which accompanied the total separation is perhaps of particular significance in light of the importance of property in the conflict between

the traditional Eskimo and European systems of measuring worth. The destruction of property can thus be seen as clearing the ground, so to speak, of crucial ambiguities and conflicts in social relations in preparation for the new set of assumptions, rules and activities which were to replace the old unmanageable situation and which were to be established by the awaited Second Coming.

Godthaab 1907-1908

This movement differs from the first two which occurred in Greenland in one particular respect. Those in Sukkertoppen and Friedrichstal attempted to establish new orders, which while incorporating and reflecting aspects of the European social and moral order, rejected it in favor of new and physically separate communities. In Godthaab, the movement took place within the European order (the Church). It was not an attempt to establish a physically separate community, but rather an attempt to create a viable system of measuring worth and gaining access to it within the context of the social, political, economic and religious (in the sense of "Church") situation at the time.

This difference was, at least in part, a result of the continuing development of the social and ecological situation in Greenland. It reflects, perhaps, an increased

understanding of the situation and an accomodation to it both on the part of the Greenlanders, who could develop a movement within the Danish Church, and the Danish Church, which could accept a native religious movement.

During the period 1870 to 1907, subsistence activities in West Greenland underwent changes. Sea mammal hunting, the traditional subsistence activity, became, for the most part, unviable. The Greenland (right) whale population had become so depleted that these animals were not even hunted after 1870 (Jenness 1967:63) and the continuing effects of the climatic change coupled with a human population increase of nearly 50% (Mattox 1971:8) resulted in a decline in the number of seals available to any one hunter. The climatic change, however, brought fish to Greenland waters and many adult males turned to fishing for their livelihood. A small fishing industry, under private auspices, developed in Holsteinborg and Sukkertoppen for arctic char and in Jacobshavn for Greenland halibut (hellefisk) (Jenness 1967:57-58; Mattox 1971:9). Opportunities for wage labor also increased during this period. An apprenticeship program begun in the mid 19th century had, by 1870, provided some Greenlanders with semi-skilled jobs (Jenness 1967:54), and administrative economy measures after 1882 indirectly resulted in the hiring of more Eskimos by the Royal Greenland Trade (Jenness 1967:

55-56).

With the changes brought about in subsistence activities, the Greenlanders became increasingly more dependent on the store. Those earning wages had to purchase almost all goods they needed at the store; fishermen, while they could provide some of their own food, had to obtain clothing and oil at the store (Jenness 1967:63), and even hunters "...were no longer able to provide for their absolutely necessary needs..." (Sveistrup 1949:36) except by buying at the store. Indeed, by the beginning of the 20th century the consumption of imported European goods had grown to such an extent that it was partially instrumental in creating a trade imbalance (Mattox 1971:5).

Although dependence on the store grew during this period, the ability, at least of hunters and fishermen, to purchase desired and needed articles did not. Sealing became increasingly unprofitable since the number of surplus seals, i.e., those available for trade, fell from 4.1 to 2.1 per capita (Mattox 1971:8), and the price paid for a barrel of seal oil fell from 71 kroner in 1882 to 40 kroner in 1903 (Mattox 1971:5). The profits to be gained from fishing were also limited due to the underdeveloped state of the industry (Jenness 1967: 63-64,75) and to the governmental restrictions placed on

its growth (Mattox 1971:8-9; Jenness 1967:57-58).

By the beginning of the 20th century, many Greenlanders were becoming more knowledgeable about Danish administrative policies and growing resentful of them. Due to the nature of many of the technological changes occurring in the world, e.g., better transportation, they were becoming aware of the outside world, and felt that Greenland was being excluded from it by the "protectionist" policies of the government (Jenness 1967:66,67). Perhaps most of all, though, they felt that they were not being given an equal share in the country's economy and government. One Greenlander wrote:

the Greenlanders have also progressed in knowledge and development, but in spite of this they have never got any further. By this I mean that we were given more and more actual knowledge, but that which should be the fruit of knowledge, viz. better conditions of life, and better positions we were never given. And therefore we were bound to stand still, in spite of our development (Ostermann 1929a:198).

The government, however, was not totally unmindful of the complaints of the Greenlanders and in response to both the ecological and social changes taking place instituted a number of new policies. In 1903 it took over the fishing industry (Mattox 1971:10); in 1906 it set up an experimental sheep breeding station (Jenness 1967:77); and in 1905, in an attempt to alleviate the social

discontent of a large number of the population, it passed the Church and School Act which called for a more Greenlandic clergy and provided for increased educational opportunities for Greenland Eskimos.

The new economic policies, however, were conservative and limited in scope, and did not substantially alter the government's orientation towards maintaining the traditional economic system. Although the government took over the fishing industry in 1903, "...it was a halting and reluctant take-over, ...for the official order of the government stipulated that 'the Greenlanders were not to be taken away from the important seal hunt in order to pursue char fishing'..." (Mattox 1971:10). The government, through the Royal Greenland Trade, continued to emphasize sealing as the primary, and ideally the sole, occupation for Greenlanders. Concern with the adequacy of sealing in filling this role, however, led to the calling of a Commission in 1906 to consider the future of the industry. Despite the negative conclusion of the majority of the members (Mattox 1971:7), the Royal Greenland Trade apparently followed the minority opinion, represented by the Director of the Trade (Mattox 1971:8), and did not begin to develop the fishing industry until 1910-1911 (Mattox 1971:14). Continued emphasis on sealing as the primary occupation was also given by a redistribution plan,

called the 'repartition', which provided sealers with capital, derived from a tax on all Greenland products purchased by the Trade, for "...improving their homes and purchasing better equipment" (Jenness 1967:88).

Although the Church and School Act was less conservative than the economic policies, it nevertheless tended to be both limited in scope and slow in effecting change. The ecclesiastical reforms contained in the Act were meant to give Greenlanders representation in the Church hierarchy, but they were not reforms that could or would be implemented quickly and indeed it was not until well after 1910 that the larger percentage of clergymen were Greenlanders (Jenness 1967:68,110) and not until 1912 that the Greenland 'mission' became known as the 'Church of Greenland' (Jenness 1967:68). The educational reforms of the Act were limited to the provision of more funds for education and the establishment of a high school which would train Greenlanders for religious, administrative, service, and skilled labor positions. As the enrollment of the school was limited to forty students, with less than a third of them receiving further education, many viewed the reforms as insufficient to enable the Greenlanders to participate equally with Europeans in the administration and development of the colony (Jenness 1967:69-70).

The government approach to social and economic change, then, was essentially conservative. It was oriented towards maintaining the situation in which Greenlanders had limited access to the rewards of the system through a policy of continued emphasis on sealing as the primary activity and measure of worth with limited acceptance and development of alternative activities. Despite the conservative government approach, however, the population desired differentiation and the rewards, i.e., greater prestige, prosperity and participation in Greenland's development, implicit in specialization. In fact, by the early 20th century, the non-European population had become significantly differentiated in terms of the occupations in which its members engaged. Sealing was no longer adequate as a basic activity for all males, but the climatic change opened up fishing as an alternative occupation, and the expansion of the Trade, the Church and the colonial administration, provided an increased number of specialized full and part time occupations such as trader's assistant, laborer, midwife, clergyman and catechist.

The passing of sealing as a basic activity in which all who were able were expected to engage, however, meant the passing of a common measure of worth; each of the specialized occupations called for different qualities and

each gave different rewards. The religious movement which began in 1907 provided, through membership in congregations, a common reference group for those who had become differentiated and a basis for resolving the question of an appropriate measure of worth.

Through these congregations the population participated in community services such as aiding the needy and orphans and visiting the sick, organizational activities involving membership on the executive committees of the congregations and contributing to the maintenance and furnishing of church buildings, and more formal religious activities including prayer meetings, Bible readings and hymn singings. In the context of the movement's congregational system, such activities became basic activities to which all had access and in which all who could were expected to engage. Implicit in these activities were common measures of worth, applicable to the entire population, involving an emphasis on the traditional value of mutual helpfulness, the establishment of an integrity based on responsibility for the successful maintenance of the congregational organizations, and a value placed on participation in and understanding of religious ceremonies and beliefs.

In providing a resolution for problems of personal worth, the movement also addressed itself to the more

general problems involved in the relations between the Greenlanders and their European rulers. The composition of hymns in Greenlandic and the substitution of Greenlandic phrases or words for certain Danish religious concepts and phenomena suggest that Greenlanders had reached a point at which they understood and shared many of the basic assumptions about power contained in Danish Lutheran religion. Despite the increased sharing of assumptions, however, the situation remained one in which the Danes held a privileged position as the source of religious knowledge and the directors of Church activities. Through its congregations, with their Bible discussions and organizational responsibilities, the movement questioned and attempted to resolve this situation. With the establishment of the congregations, the Greenlanders began to take control, both in organizing the activities and in maintaining the buildings, of their own Church, rather than operating as part of a mission with no congregational autonomy; they also began to affect official Church policy, e.g., the increase in the frequency of Communion services at the insistence of the Greenlanders. The Greenland mission in fact became the Church of Greenland in 1912, indicating not only the acceptance by the Europeans of the Greenlanders' desire and ability to control their own Church, but also a sufficient

comprehension and mastery of the European system by the Greenlanders to require the acceptance by the Danish Church of their autonomy and equality.

Nain 1873-1874

The movement which occurred in Nain, unlike those already discussed, was particularly short-lived and had few discernible aftereffects. Like the other movements, however, it arose in a situation of changed and changing assumptions, values and activities. The situation at this settlement was one which had developed from the beginnings of Moravian missionary activity in 1771 and involved not only the interaction between the Eskimos and the missionaries, but also the presence of a third group, European settlers, whose values, assumptions and activities differed from those of both other groups.

The Moravian mission obtained the land upon which it established Nain through an Order in Council of the British government in 1769. Before settling on the land they had the Eskimos sign a bill of sale and paid them with fish hooks and needles. They felt that this action would, at any future date, further justify their claim to the land (Kleivan 1966:28).

Their approach to the task of converting and civilizing the Eskimos was first to have them settle on the

mission land and remain there throughout the year.

Moravian religion was essentially a social experience, the idea being to bind the faithful together in a community of brotherly love.

...Hence nomadic Christianity was a contradiction in terms, and the Moravians in Labrador aimed to form communities where the Eskimos might 'come and settle near the Missionaries and quitt their vagabond life' in order to learn the virtues and delights of the Christian civilization... (Hiller 1971:87).

The formation of a separate community besides being a basic tenet of the religion, also served to isolate converts from the potentially 'harmful' influences of Europeans and other Eskimos (Hiller 1971:87). A trading post was established at the settlement partially for the same reason: it was hoped that it would keep the Eskimos away from European traders in the south (Hiller 1971:84). The store, however, did not carry certain goods such as European food, firearms and other products that the missionaries felt might be injurious to the Eskimos (Hiller 1971:92).

The control which the missionaries claimed over the land was directed at maintaining a separation between converted and unconverted Eskimos. In 1783, they built houses at Nain, and only those who promised to be converted could live in them (Kleivan 1966:29). This housing policy, as well as their prohibition of Eskimo

social and religious activities such as games, dances, songs and myth-telling contributed to the breakdown of the traditional patterns of social and economic cooperation (Kleivan 1966:29,70-71; Hiller 1971:87,96). The acceptance of physical separation by potential converts thus meant their separation from the traditional social order.

The Moravians restructured Eskimo social life through the institution of 'choirs'. Each group in the community, e.g., single men, children, married women, belonged to a separate choir. "Each 'choir' was instructed in its special way of service to the community and God..." (Peacock 1964:446). New leadership roles were also created by the mission in its attempt to establish a settled form of life. Two councils of native assistants were formed to help maintain order in the settlement. One of these, the church council, was composed of six to eight men and women appointed by the missionaries; the other consisted of three or four men elected by ballot every three years. These assistants served primarily as intermediaries, enforcing rules, reporting the community's opinion on any new measures introduced by the missionaries, and mediating conflicts between community residents (Jenness 1965:51-52; Kleivan 1966:75). In place of traditional economic patterns, the missionaries attempted to introduce a European pattern based on a six day work week, thrift and

planning for the future (Hiller 1971:89). Concomitantly, they kept their economic dealings with the Eskimos on a purely contractual basis: neither giving anything (except in time of dire need) nor expecting anything (Hiller 1971:85).

The settlement policy, however, proved unworkable due to the inability of local resources to support a permanent population. The Eskimos were thus expected to live at Nain during the winter supporting themselves on the supply of food gathered during summer hunting expeditions. (They were strictly admonished not to fraternize with unconverted friends and relatives while out on these hunting trips). They were not very successful with the arrangement though, since often they did not secure enough and Nain was a poor winter hunting area (Hiller 1971:85). Although they did not really wish to do so, it often became necessary for the missionaries to extend credit to the Eskimos at the store (Hiller 1971:94).

By the beginning of the 19th century more converts had been made and new economic activities were introduced in the community. The missionaries hired women in the community to work for them: to tend their vegetable gardens and perform domestic chores (Kleivan 1966:63,42). In the 1820s they opened sealing stations. Eskimo crews were hired to do the hunting, done with nets, and were paid with

every third seal they caught (Kleivan 1966:62).

The assumptions and values upon which the Moravian mission was based were in direct competition with traditional Eskimo assumptions, values and rules. The missionaries' emphasis on thrift and balanced reciprocity was in sharp contrast to the traditional emphasis on generosity and generalized reciprocity. For the converts, worth could no longer be measured in terms of an individual's generosity or his/her success in a traditional activity such as song duels. It could no longer be measured in terms of success at hunting either, since the housing policy affected the ability to hunt at the appropriate time and place and indirectly specified with whom one could hunt.

In attempting to maintain the permanent population during the winter the missionaries introduced a distribution system which also served to reduce opportunities for gaining individual self-worth and public recognition. Two-thirds of the seals caught at the sealing stations were not distributed by the individuals who worked the nets, but were placed in a storehouse where each week during the winter "einer, zwei, drei oder mehrer nach Maasgabe des Vorrathes an jeder Hausfamilie verteilt..." (quoted in Kleivan 1966:62). (One, two, three or more depending on how much was available were distributed to

each family). Beyond its effect on individual worth, this system of distribution brought into question the basic integrity of the people. Although they still caught the seals, these became the property of the missionaries and were only distributed as welfare, a point emphasized by the fact that the skins and blubber from these 'gifts' had to be returned (Kleivan 1966:62). The Eskimos thus no longer directly supported themselves but were dependent on others for subsistence during part of the year.

Their attempt to adopt new measures of worth through the use and ownership of European goods was curtailed. The Eskimos were prohibited from travelling south; they were to obtain their European goods through the mission store which provided them with only those goods which the missionaries felt would not be harmful. The store, however, provided a wider range of goods for the missionaries. Since it was felt that they could not live like the native population, they were offered such items as coal, canned meat and fruit, vegetables, bacon, coffee and sugar (Jeness 1965: 33). Within the settlement itself, then, the Moravians established a differential access to the rewards of the trade economy.

The missionaries' desires to keep the Eskimos from the effects of 'unscrupulous White traders' and certain European goods were thwarted. After 1830 traders came

north increasingly often and settler-traders lived near Nain by at least 1846 (Kleivan 1966:92,93). The effect of their appearance was significant. The mission store was forced to violate its own principles on the preservation of Eskimo culture and stock more varied goods in an attempt to protect both the Eskimos and itself. The Eskimos had to be protected from bad influences and the store from loss. The store was in danger of loss not only because the Eskimos took trade to the newcomers but also because they then ran up debts at the mission store. The missionaries were not completely successful and after awhile the Eskimos were in constant debt to the mission store and eventually, virtually under obligation to do their trading there (Kleivan 1966:83). Although the travelling traders and, later, the fishermen were a problem for the Moravians' missionizing task, they only visited sporadically; the settler-traders, being in constant proximity, were a continuous problem for them. The conflict that arose among the three--missionaries, settler-traders and Eskimos--in respect to the trade, was to be a major one, and remain unresolved for many years.

"For the trading Settler who wanted to earn money, and the Eskimo who wanted to acquire highly valued wares for himself, the trade formed the basis of a contact which was satisfactory to both parties" (Kleivan 1966:102). The

Moravians, however, disapproved of the Eskimos' fraternization with the settlers, especially after the latter introduced the population to liquor. Nevertheless, the Eskimos, though often in secret, continued their relations with the settlers, sometimes even moving near them for short periods of time (Kleivan 1966:98,99).

They were influenced to a very great extent by the settlers. The consumption of European goods began to rise sharply during this period, and house style and living habits changed. Some Eskimos began to build European-style houses. The Periodic Accounts for 1848 reported that in 1846 an Eskimo in Nain built himself

a half-European house, after the pattern of the Southern traders settled in our neighborhood. It is more and more the wish of the Esquimaux to have each a separate dwelling of his own.... We must... remark that the Esquimaux houses are distinguished by greater order and cleanliness than formerly, some have even floors, which they keep clean, and others are decorated with pictures and shelves of crockery (quoted in Kleivan 1966:34).

The move to single family houses began at the same time that the style changed. The missionaries were always desirous of such a change, regarding plural family housing as somewhat immoral (Kleivan 1966:34). However, it appears to be more likely that imitation of the settlers' lifestyle and participation in trading activities were more

instrumental in the changes. Once individuals began to participate in trading activities, they could not and possibly would not, engage in traditional distribution activities. Moving out of plural family houses more easily enabled those who so desired to evade traditional obligations (Kleivan 1966:42).

The adoption of some of the values and measures of worth represented by the settlers meant for the Eskimos an increased need to participate in the trading economy and thus led them to engage in new activities more conducive to success in this economy. Fishing had always been relatively insignificant for subsistence; before the middle of the 19th century, they engaged in very little of it, and this was done solely by women (Kleivan 1966: 55,65). However, when they became aware that a commercial fishery could provide them with products to sell at the store, they took up the activity in earnest. The 1860s and 1870s saw an explosive expansion of the cod fishery (Kleivan 1966:56). The men and boys fished, the women gutted and cleaned them and all salted, washed and dried them (Kleivan 1966:65). Fox trapping, which had been done since the early mission days, increased at this time also (Kleivan 1966:49).

The new activities provided the Eskimos with easier means to obtain the European goods they wanted, but while

so doing they interfered with traditional seasonal activities. The cod fishery replaced summer sealing and caribou hunting and trapping, to a great extent, replaced winter sealing (Kleivan 1966:59; Jenness 1965:21). The decline in sealing and the consequent reduction in the amount of meat available had serious ramifications for the social and economic system. Seal meat, although not important as an item for trade, remained necessary for subsistence and, since imported goods were not included in traditional obligations, for gift exchange (Kleivan 1966:66). The decrease meant, therefore, a further erosion of traditional relations and a greater dependence on the trade for staples and clothing. Some areas of participation in the European system also demanded local production of meat and were themselves affected by the reduction. The new lifestyle of the Eskimos demanded more dogs than had been traditionally required. The new European-style single-family house required wood for fuel, and dogs were needed to help haul the wood the increasingly greater distances as closer supplies were exhausted (Kleivan 1966:41). Trapping was a particularly significant aspect of the new economy; fur prices were steadily climbing and could bring in a greater income than fishing while not competing with this pursuit (Jenness 1965:28). The setting and tending of trap lines required dogs, and

greater numbers of dogs as the fur trade expanded. Thus, while the need for dogs increased, the meat necessary to maintain them decreased (Kleivan 1966:62; Jenness 1965:26).

The situation at Nain at this time (1860-1870) was thus characterized by a decline in some of the traditional activities of both men and women and an adoption of some new activities, most notably, fishing and trapping. Many of the assumptions, values and measures of worth which the Eskimos adopted as a result of their interaction with both missionaries and settlers were based on 'things' European, from wooden boats and firearms to aprons and accordians. The new activities promised to be of more benefit to them in obtaining the highly desired goods and maintaining the new lifestyle that they had chosen. But while these activities enabled the Eskimos to realize some of their new values, they placed a strain on the available meat supply and may very well have exacerbated the competition between traditional measures of worth and Moravian economic values as these related to generosity.

The next few years (1871-1874) were not good ones for either the Eskimos or the missionaries. In 1871, ice remained packed along the coast making cod fishing impossible during the summer. The autumn sealing, which would have provided some meat for the winter, also proved a failure. The store, which had been increasingly limiting

credit since 1866 when financial difficulties necessitated an internal reorganization of the trade, was forced to provide very high credit to the Eskimos to prevent starvation. As a result of this, however, the store was in poor financial shape and resorted again to tightening the credit facilities in order to avoid bankruptcy (Jenness 1965:26,28; Kleivan 1966:83). For the Eskimos, the general reduction in credit meant a further limitation on their access to highly valued European goods. In cases where they attempted to avoid the limitations by trading outside the mission, they risked finding their access even to necessary products blocked since the missionaries reserved the right to refuse all credit to anyone who took that course of action (Kleivan 1966:85). The conflict between missionary and Eskimo which resulted from this control over the trade was apparently furthered by the belief of many Eskimos of claims, made by independent traders, that the mission was in reality a charity and that the goods which they sold should more properly have been distributed freely (Jenness 1965:18).

During the year in which the movement occurred, the limited access to goods and the inherent conflicts in the situation were intensified by ecological and medical factors. In 1873 the early formation of ice prevented the autumn sealing, foxes were scarce, and ptarmigan,

which had contributed greatly to subsistence in the winter of 1871, were not abundant. In addition, an influenza epidemic, which killed two people, struck in the autumn and must have sharply reduced the people's ability to engage in any economic activities (P.A. 1874:197,201).

Within this already tense situation, the reaction of the missionaries to the theft of some items from the store became particularly significant and was, in a sense, the precipitant element in the appearance of the incipient religious movement. The missionaries themselves noted the importance for their relations with the Eskimos of the latter's success or failure in acquiring material goods, and they (the missionaries) recognized the severity of the action they took in response to the thefts (P.A. 1874:197). The closing of the store at this time completely blocked access not only to the European goods which represented prestige and prosperity, but also to those goods which had become necessities. The result was not, as the missionaries had hoped, a return of the items and an end to thefts, but a reaction by the community against what was perceived to be an arbitrary exercise of their coercive power. In calling for a meeting with the missionaries to reconcile the situation, the native assistants would seem to have been legitimately exercising what little power they did have access to in their roles

as intermediaries responsible for presenting community opinion. The missionaries, however, viewed it as an unacceptable opposition to their own authority (P.A. 1874: 198). The meeting itself, while no details of its content are available from mission sources, must have resulted in a public recognition of common interests and the need for a common resolution to what had previously seemed to be individual problems.

This recognition of common problems may itself have contributed to the 'spiritual awakening' noted by the missionaries since this first expressed itself in the holding of meetings at the house of one of the native helpers who had organized the earlier meeting. These meetings culminated on the night of 21-22 January in religious activities led by two of the native helpers. It seems clear that there was some reinterpretation of the Christian ceremonies and symbols for local significance, namely, the identification of a house-post as the cross of Christ. Of particular interest in this regard is the attack on the dog which was supposed to be Satan. While the missionaries seemed to have considered this ridiculous, it is significant to note once again the position of dogs in the socio-economic system: they were necessary in order to participate successfully in the new system of values and activities but required for their

maintenance traditional activities. Within such a context, then, the dog might most appropriately be called Satan and driven out of the community.

The organization of the ceremonies, led as they were by Eskimo assistants, indicates an underlying feature of the movement, the question of privileged access to rewards. While the people were represented by appointed and elected councils, it was the missionaries, as indicated in their closing of the store, who made the decisions. Drawing on what power was available to them, the assistants questioned this privileged access to power. The conflict over the store was reconciled by the missionaries negotiating trade arrangements with the people. This partial success in the questioning of the missionaries' power may have suggested to the Eskimos that access to it need not be so privileged, and in subsequent developments the assistants began to take on the role of missionary itself.

Access to this was supposed to be available to the Eskimos. The kivgat, or appointed assistants, were to provide a base for developing Eskimo ministers, but it was not until 1945 that one of these began training (Jenness 1965:51). Within the brief span of the movement, however, the two assistants attempted to become religious leaders and in so doing attempted to draw on the same sources of religious power: the Last Supper, the

Crucifixion and the Pentecost, which the missionaries emphasized in their teachings.

Iglulik 1920

The new religion that Uming brought to Iglulik in 1920 spread among people who had not had continuous direct contact with Europeans, either traders or missionaries. They had been indirectly exposed to new assumptions, values and rules and had adopted certain European goods, but the conflict that characterized the situation at other settlements, where new and traditional values and activities were in constant opposition to each other, was absent in Iglulik. While the impact of European powers was primarily indirect, it nevertheless had important implications for the measurement of worth, the allocation of authority, and the maintenance of social control in the traditional social system. Within this situation, the movement was an attempt to comprehend and control these new powers and to reconcile the question of an appropriate measure of worth.

Parry, searching for the Northwest Passage in 1822, is thought to be the first European to have had contact with the Igluligmiut. At the time of his visit the Eskimos were in possession of iron implements which they may have indirectly obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company ship at

Fullerton Harbor (Damas 1963:20). Hall, in search of the Franklin Expedition and hoping to buy dogs at Iglulik, visited the area in 1867 (Ross 1960:157). During the last quarter of the 19th century, even though it would seem that no whalers were operating in the immediate area, European goods were very much in evidence there (Damas 1963:21); presumably these goods came through trade with groups in direct contact with the whalers. One of these groups was the Pond Inlet Eskimos or Tununirmiut. Boas stated that Parry and Hall reported contact between the two groups and he himself asserted that they had long visited and traded with each other, even before the arrival of the Europeans (1964:56,60; 1907:480). Pond Inlet was also the site of one of the earliest trading posts with which the Igluligmiut had direct contact and it was the area from which Uming came to Iglulik. The importance of Pond Inlet for the development of the situation in Iglulik, then, requires a consideration of the contact situation in that area.

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, Scottish whalers operated in the Pond Inlet area; half of the whales taken by the Scottish fleet were taken there (Jenness 1964:8; Low 1906:59). Although they did not hire Eskimos to work for them as did the Scottish and American whalers in southern Baffin Island, they did trade with

them. In the 19th century metal and wood were the most important European items in this trade (Boas 1964:58); by the 20th century, the Eskimos sought knives and ammunition (Low 1906:58). The whale fishery off the Baffin Island coast closed by the end of the first decade of the 20th century (Jenness 1964:12). Regular trading posts, however, were established in the area starting in 1903; by 1920 there were five privately owned posts operating around Pond Inlet (Usher 1971:125; Jenness 1964:8). Since the beginning of regular trading overlapped with the end of whaling, there would seem to have been no disruption of the trade in European goods in the area.

In addition to the goods obtained through direct contact with Europeans around Pond Inlet, the Tununirmiut, during the whaling era, most likely obtained goods through the Akudnirmiut of the Home Bay area with whom they regularly traded (Mathiassen 1928:100,102; Munn 1922:270). This contact provided both direct and indirect access to European goods. The Akudnirmiut were in contact with the whalers on southern Baffin Island with whom they exchanged food and services for guns, bread, molasses, tobacco and other provisions (Boas 1964:59; Jenness 1964:11); these goods probably reached Pond Inlet through the traditional contacts between the Akudnirmiut and the Tununirmiut. The Tununirmiut also seemed to have made direct contact with

whalers and the goods they offered, since a number of them relocated, along with some Akudnirmiut, at Cumberland Sound (Boas 1964:54). The connections between Pond Inlet and southern Baffin Island may also have provided for the introduction of aspects of European culture other than material goods. The Anglican missionary, Peck, established a mission at Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound in 1894, and it is from here that Peck's syllabic Bibles reached Pond Inlet (Mathiassen 1928:235). The effect of the contacts on the regional economy was, as Boas (1964:58,60) notes, the establishment of the Tununirmiut, who controlled the flow of European goods, in a position of trading superiority over the Igluligmiut, who supplied dogs and skins in the Pond Inlet area. The availability of European goods such as guns and knives in the area gave it an even greater importance for trade than had traditionally been the case.

Igluligmiut contact with Europeans and their goods up until the early 20th century, then, was predominantly through intermediary Eskimo groups. As trading posts opened in regions adjacent to the Iglulik area, however, the people began to make expeditions to them. Trade was, as in the pre-trading post era, primarily to the north and south, to the posts established at Pond Inlet, and later, at Repulse Bay. These expeditions took place in the

spring (March, April and May) and usually involved single nuclear families or extended families based on two or three brothers (Damas 1963:116).⁷ The replacement of whaling stations by trading posts as the source of European goods and the shift towards direct trade with European agents must have significantly reduced the Igluligmiut's ability to acquire the goods since their major exchange commodities were either undesired by the traders, as was the case with dogs, or of exceptionally low value, as were caribou skins.

During the period in which the movement developed, the effect of European contact, except perhaps for the movement itself, was primarily technological; other changes developed largely internally as a result of technological innovations. The introduction of the whaleboat and, more importantly, the rifle had the potential to affect social relations in the distribution system, in the prestige system and in the allocation of authority.

Before its appearance at Iglulik, the whaleboat had been introduced at Repulse Bay, where it "greatly facilitated walrus and whale hunting among the Aivilligmiut" (Damas 1963:21), a people to whom Uming's religion later spread. In the Iglulik region the whaleboat itself was not in evidence until the late 1920s; a skin-covered wood framed open boat, smaller than, but modeled on, the whaleboat, however, had replaced the kayak by 1922

and according to some informants was better than the latter for walrus hunting (Damas 1963:21-22). While the full implications of the whaleboat for subsistence activities and leadership patterns were not realized until after 1930 (Damas 1963:24-25, Chapter VI), the copying of it suggests that the years in which the movement became established were part of a transitional phase in social and economic change in the region.

Of greater importance for the time period considered here was the rifle, the introduction of which at the beginning of the 20th century had significant economic and social implications. The rifle was initially used only in the summer caribou hunt, and had the effect of making the hunt both easier and more productive (Rasmussen 1930:56), and of somewhat longer duration (Damas 1963:116) than had previously been the case. When shells were available, the caribou hunt could provide enough food to last the winter. Ammunition shortages, however, were frequent due to the distance from the nearest traders and, since there was little emphasis on trapping, a lack of furs to trade (Damas 1963:22). Fox furs were the basic unit in the trade and the Igluligmiut had few of them. While caribou skins could be traded, most of these were needed for clothing. In addition, they were worth only half the price of the lowest valued fox skins (Low 1906:

152) and thus perhaps not profitable enough to warrant transporting sufficient numbers the distance to the trading posts.

The effect, and potential effect, of the rifle on social relations far exceeded its effect, at least in the first two decades of this century, on the economy. As Chance notes in general concerning the adoption of the rifle in Eskimo hunting:

...it reduced the need for sharing and cooperation among kin groups.... It affected the prestige system of the Eskimo hunters, and brought into question the validity of the traditional religion by raising doubts about the importance of various rituals and taboos connected with hunting--and this questioning of religion in turn affected the traditional means of social control (1965:56).

For the Igluligmiut, these effects of the rifle were experienced primarily through the caribou hunt. The traditional techniques of caribou hunting in this area required, as among other Eskimo groups, the cooperation of a number of hunters, each with specific duties to perform, and the observation of a number of rules of behavior (taboos) at the hunting places in order to ensure a successful hunt (Rasmussen 1930:56-57). With the use of the rifle, however, "the practice of driving the animals between rows of rocks (inuksuit) toward waiting hunters

and of kayak hunting in lakes were abandoned in favor of less organized hunting..." (Damas 1969:119), and the strict rules of behavior concerning respect of the caribous' souls could likewise be abandoned. The rifle also brought into question the integrity of the hunters since success was now dependent not so much on traditional individual skills as on the ability to obtain ammunition from the European traders.

In addition, specific features of Igluligmiut social and economic organization gave the rifle the potential for directly questioning basic patterns of social relations. Unlike the situation with other Central Eskimo groups, sea mammals were of primary importance all year round in this area (Damas 1963:22). This importance was apparent in the late summer period of the seasonal economic cycle during which seals and walrus, as well as caribou, were hunted (Mathiassen 1928:30). The major social characteristic of this two-month phase of the yearly cycle was a division of labor by age on the part of the hunters. The older men remained on the coast hunting seals and walrus while the younger hunters, probably those under thirty years of age (Damas 1963:116), moved inland and across Fury and Hecla Strait to pursue the caribou. The caribou hunt, even though it provided the skins for winter clothing, would

seem to have been a secondary activity since it was the walrus hunt that provided most of the food for the winter settlements.

The division of labor during the summer reflected the allocation of prestige and authority within Igluligmiut society. The walrus hunt was the domain of the older hunters, and as the primary activity, gave them greater access than the younger men to that prestige which derived from success at subsistence activities. In addition, dominance/subordination relationships were important in Igluligmiut society, and among consanguineally related males these relationships were based on generation and relative age, with the older being in the position of superiority (Damas 1963:50-51). Authority was further allocated through the designation of one member of each extended family, usually one of the older hunters, as the issumataq, with responsibility for making decisions within the extended family. Each village also had an issumataq, who was generally the leader of the largest resident kin group (Damas 1969:128). Among the prerogatives of the issumataq was the distribution of food within the extended family, which formed the minimal sharing unit within the society (Damas 1963:104). Food division among extended families was regulated by the village issumataq (Mathiassen 1928:209), but this may have occurred only in times of food

shortage (Damas 1972:233). The distribution of subsistence products generally was limited to those families which cooperated in the activities; however, "the products of the inland and coastal hunts were eventually shared by the entire [extended] family when the segments reunited in the fall (Damas 1969:129).

The younger hunters then, were in general, in a position of subordination to the older men. Their access to prestige was limited by the summer division of labor which relegated them to a secondary subsistence activity, and the products of this activity were pooled within the extended family for distribution by the issumataq. The rifle, however, increased the productivity of the caribou hunt and with sufficient ammunition, the younger hunters could provide sufficient caribou meat to last their families the winter (Damas 1963:22). By providing the younger men with the potential for substantially increasing their contribution to community subsistence, the rifle may have provided them with access to a prestige that had been the domain of older men and thus questioned the authority structure of the society and the distribution system that was tied to it.

While the younger hunters experienced the impact of European powers most directly, the presence of these powers was of significance for the wider socio-cultural situation

in the Iglulik region at the time of the movement. These powers were represented by the Europeans, first the whalers and later the traders, who were, even though somewhat peripherally, present in the environment. Their economic activities and related technology gave the Europeans a success, measured in terms of material prosperity, exceeding that of the Eskimos. They controlled material goods such as guns, ammunition and knives which, since they made basic subsistence activities easier and more productive, were of value to the Eskimos. The fact that European economic success and control over goods was attained without consideration of traditional Eskimo rules concerning the relations among people and between people and their environment must have brought the traditional rules and assumptions into question. The new powers themselves must have been largely uncomprehensible to the Igluligmiut who, in the absence of missionaries or other sources of sustained direct contact, had little access to any view of the assumptions and rules ordering and controlling European powers.

Uming was not from Iglulik but from Pond Inlet, where he had experienced more direct contact with the Europeans than had any of the Igluligmiut. He had also read the Bible which had come from Cumberland Sound and on the basis of his reading began to preach at Pond Inlet. The religion

which he brought to the Iglulik region attempted to comprehend and control the sources and symbols of European power and to establish a new social order incorporating these powers. The new rules and symbols were derived from observations of European activities and from the Bible but they were based in traditional assumptions, rules and activities. The traditional basis of the new order is apparent in most of the features of the movement. Polygamy, a traditional measure of individual worth, and spouse-exchange, a traditional alliance mechanism, were maintained in the new religion. The crucifix was specifically assimilated to the amulet as a source and symbol of power (Mathiassen 1928:235); the white flag may have in part been viewed similarly. The community-wide hymn sings had a clear precedent in the traditional culture; only the content would seem to have changed. The formal greeting accorded those entering a village was organized very much like the traditional Central Eskimo greetings of strangers. The position Uming established for himself in food distribution seems to have been an expansion of the issumataq role, and the prohibition of work on Sunday has parallels in the taboo system.

While drawing on traditional forms for the interpretation and use of new symbols and activities, these aspects of the movement also indicate the creation of a new

form of social relationship and new rules for the relations between people and their environment. It is in these areas that the effect of European powers, through the introduction of the rifle, was of greatest significance. The rifle affected the kinship based cooperative patterns of hunting and the kinship and age based system of prestige and authority as well as questioning the traditional religious system as it related to success in subsistence activities. The social order proposed in the movement seems essentially to have been an attempt to resolve this situation.

A major feature of the new social order was an apparent reduction of the importance of kinship ties in economic and other activities and in community membership. The white flag, while it might have been to some extent an amulet, served to identify communities, which flew it on a pole in the village, and individuals, who displayed it on their sledges when travelling, as members of the non-kin based movement. If, as might have been the case, its use was a result of observation of European behavior, then it might have further symbolized peaceful intentions, a willingness to exchange, or at least interact without conflict, and a relative openness on the part of communities to non-kin visitors. This interpretation of the new rules and symbols may be further substantiated by the form of

greeting characteristic of communities adhering to the new religion. The traditional welcome for a stranger involved the community's lining up and one of its members engaging in a form of physical competition until either the resident or the visitor was defeated, a welcome which, as Boas noted in his description of the event (1964:201), was not conducive to establishing relations between different groups. In the new form of greeting, recognition and acceptance, rather than conflict and competition, were accorded the visitor, and this acceptance was marked by handshakes, a European symbol of the recognition of personal worth, with each individual in the community. The final aspect of the establishment of a non-kinship based social organization is found in Uming's role as a distributor of hunting products in Iglulik. This would seem to be an expansion of the position of issumataq to a specialized role, but with a reduced emphasis on kinship ties. The position of village issumataq was generally accorded the leader of the largest resident kin group. Uming's group in Iglulik, however, consisted of two of his brothers and the wives and children of the three for a total of twelve people, while another individual headed a kinship network including 37 of the 74 residents in Iglulik in 1921-1922 (Damas 1963:61-62).

The other major question resolved in the movement

concerned the effect of the rifle on the traditional religious system. The rifle brought into question not only the taboo system, but also integrity and worth since success in subsistence activities was based on the observation of the taboo rules. The prohibition of work on Sunday, although understandable within the traditional religion, replaced the complex taboo system (Mathiassen 1928:236) with a simpler rule that was perhaps more in keeping with the reduction in the complexity of hunting brought about by the rifle. These two questions, concerning social organization and hunting rules, were of most relevance to the younger hunters and their families since the caribou hunt was the major area of change. That this was the case is reflected in the membership of the movement. It was rejected only by some of the older men and women (Mathiassen 1928:235-236); the younger people all apparently became adherents of the new religion.

Home Bay 1921

For the participants in the movement which occurred at Kivitung, near Home Bay, current assumptions about power and the rules and activities relating to it could no longer guarantee the truth of things. These assumptions, rules and activities were suspended in anticipation of a new order that was to come with the

imminent end of the world. Although the specific content of the expected new order has not been recorded, some inferences can be drawn from the movement itself and from the contact situation as to what it might have involved.

From the beginning of the 19th century, whaling ships were operating in Baffin Bay and Davis Strait and the Akudnirmiut (those Eskimos who lived in the Home Bay area) traded with them for wood and metal (see above, page 126). The latter item was used in making knives and harpoon heads, and Boas (1964:63) reported that during his work there (1883-1884), he saw none of the traditional wooden shafted, ivory pointed harpoons, only the new type made with iron rods. The ability of the Akudnirmiut to carry on a relatively intensive trade with the whaling ships placed them in a superior position for trading with neighboring Eskimo groups. After 1850, however, except for that part of the Scottish fleet which continued to operate near Pond Inlet, the whaling ships moved to Cumberland Sound establishing shore stations and spending the winter there. The trade then intensified, with the Eskimos receiving guns and boats for the goods they traded. The whalers began to hire Eskimos, and to obtain the goods that they had grown dependent on, the Akudnirmiut migrated there to work (Boas 1964:58).

Life at the whaling stations during the 1880s was

described by Boas; the description which follows is from his account (1964:59-60) with additional information from Jenness (1964:11). When the inland caribou hunting ended, the Eskimos returned to the whaling station in October to work. They worked until the ice formed in late October, and by the beginning of November the boats were put away for the winter. During the winter the men hunted and the women made clothing (Jenness 1964:11). Sledges from the station went out to neighboring settlements and tobacco, matches, coffee and bread were traded. Boas did not say who the traders were, but it is likely that they were Eskimos since Jenness remarked that the shore stations "retained a score or more [Eskimos] in their service throughout the entire year" (1964:11). At this same time people from the surrounding settlements came to the station to trade skins and blubber for lamps and cooking pots. At the end of March the Eskimos temporarily resumed their traditional activities: hunting for young seals. When that work was finished, they began preparing for spring whaling, digging out the boats and cleaning the harpoons, oars and sails. By the beginning of May the whaleboats were loaded on sledges and taken to the floe edge for the start of the spring whaling season. In July the whaling ended, and the Eskimos went inland to hunt. For a half year's work the Eskimos were paid "...a gun, a harmonium or something of

that nature, and a ration of provisions for their families, with tobacco every week" (Boas 1964:59). Jenness stated that the weekly ration included 4 lb. of ship biscuit, 2½ lb. of molasses, ¼ lb. of coffee and 4 plugs of tobacco (1964:11). In return, the Eskimos, besides working on the whaleboats, were supposed to provide the station kitchen with part of every seal they caught.

Except for the whalers' encouragement to spend part of the winter trapping foxes (Jenness 1964:11), the traditional seasonal activities of the Eskimos do not appear to have been radically altered. For the part of the year that they lived at the whaling station they engaged in most traditional activities (with the possible exception of spring fishing and bear hunting) although not to the same extent as formerly. Their summers were spent as they had always been. Materially, however, their life changed.

Metal pots and pans ousted the cooking-pots of stone; garments of cotton and wool overlay and underlay the native garments of fur; and summer tents of canvas replaced the tents made from seal and caribou hides. The Eskimo hunters threw away their self-made bows and arrows to equip themselves with firearms, abandoned their hunting kayaks, and their umiaks or travelling boats, and adopted the clinker-built whaleboats..." (Jenness 1964:11-12).

The adoption of the rifle here, as in Iglulik, must have had the same implications for the social system that Chance

(1965:56) indicated for the Eskimo region in general: through undermining patterns of cooperation and sharing in subsistence activities, the rifle brought into question the prestige system and the traditional religion. Trapping, in addition to modifying the seasonal economic cycle, contributed to an increased individualism in economic pursuits and, since the proceeds from it were not shared within traditional patterns, must have affected the prestige system (Hughes 1965:17-18). The introduction of European boats may also, if its effect here was similar to other areas in the Arctic, have brought about significant changes in patterns of leadership, cooperation and ownership (Damas 1963:150; Hughes 1965:17).

The effect of European contact on traditional assumptions, rules and activities was not, however, limited to the questioning of these brought about by technological innovations. The introduction of Christianity, beginning with the establishment of Peck's Anglican mission on Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound in 1894, brought European assumptions and rules into direct competition with the traditional system. These assumptions and rules were, at least overtly, those which underlied European activities and also, therefore, the exceptional wealth of the Europeans in comparison with the Eskimos. Christianity, then, could have provided some measure of comprehension and

control of the new powers and this may have, in part, been responsible for the relative success of the mission. These possibilities were most likely realized in large measure by the assimilation of Christian elements to traditional concepts; Bibles, prayerbooks, crucifixes and prayers were interpreted as amulets and incantations (Jenness 1964:67; above, page 135). The mission, however, did give the Eskimos access to one of the new European powers, reading and writing. Peck's mission made Bibles, written in syllabics, available, and with them, instruction in how to read and write. These skills, along with Bibles were then passed from Eskimo to Eskimo throughout Baffin Island (Low 1906:139-140). The great interest shown in learning these skills would clearly seem to indicate an awareness on the part of the Eskimos of a new power and a desire to comprehend and control it.

In Jenness' view the end of whaling might have created serious problems of survival for the Eskimo except for the missions and the traders, especially the Hudson's Bay Company, whose presence mitigated the possibly disastrous effects (1964:12). However, while the trading posts may have provided necessary European goods, the traders demanded furs in payment for them. No longer could the Eskimos obtain goods by offering labor and seal meat as they had done with the whalers; they now had to spend the

winters trapping if they wanted to trade. Under these circumstances it is doubtful whether they were able to acquire European goods to the same extent as they had during the whaling period. Trading was also limited by the number of posts in the Akudnirmiut's immediate area. Usher reported the presence of two trading posts in the Home Bay area, one with uncertain dates of operation (1971:125). The Hudson's Bay Company did not open a post until 1921, and that was at Pangnirtung in Cumberland Sound.

Jenness (1964:15) saw the missionaries as providing a stabilizing effect in the situation. They labored to make converts but they also attempted to explain and interpret problems which arose as a result of the socio-economic changes the Eskimos were undergoing. In southern Baffin Island they were obviously successful: the Eskimos converted to Christianity. At most settlements the transition took place without the appearance of those events generally called religious movements. This was not the case, however, at Home Bay.

The movement which occurred in Kivitung during the winter of 1921-1922 arose in a situation characterized by the presence of unordered powers and a questioning of measures of worth. These unordered powers were manifested in the changes which resulted from the close of the whaling industry and the introduction of the trading post and

mission. Since some of these changes reduced the ability of the people to attain material prosperity, measures of worth were brought into question. The resolution of this situation was the focus of the movement, and the attempted resolution involved gaining control over the new powers represented in the mission. On the basis of this control the current set of assumptions, rules and activities, which included both traditional and European elements, were brought to an end and the beginnings of a new order were established.

The attempt to control the unordered powers is most clearly evident in the actions of Neakuteuk as founder and leader of the movement. The source of European comprehension and control of power was seen to be the Bible, and the understanding of it was necessary for the understanding and ordering of these powers. After an intellectual struggle, punctuated by a blow to the head, Neakuteuk claimed this understanding and proceeded to put it into effect. In simulating the Crucifixion, he drew on a symbol of power that in the European tradition marked the creation of a new order to indicate the arrival of a new order in Kivitung. His claim for control of these powers was further demonstrated by his identifying himself as God, and substantiated by his followers, who after his death baptized themselves in his blood and saw him come

back to life. As a result of his understanding of the Bible and his control of Christian powers, Neakuteuk announced the imminent end of the world and instituted new rules in preparation for this end. Along with the impending end of the world went a termination of the current set of assumptions, rules and activities.

The declaration that henceforth there would be no more husbands and wives suspended traditional marriage rules as well as those introduced by the missionaries. The measures of worth derived from these were likewise suspended since polygamy was a measure of success and prestige in the traditional system and monogamy was judged to be the only worthy state by the missionaries. The injunction to fast, the command, which the people obeyed, to kill the dogs, and the reported psychological state of the people all indicate a termination of the current system. The injunction to fast declared traditional subsistence activities and subsistence itself, that basic level of integrity, inappropriate in the new order. The killing of the dogs during the winter, the trapping season, particularly underscores the termination of current activities and measures of worth. According to the RCM Police report, the people were in an unusual psychological state in that they were not aware of the return of the sun and "their minds were on their own camp only". The

movement of the sun during the course of the year marked the changes in the seasonal economic cycle and the seasonal changes in social groupings which went along with this cycle. It would seem then, that even after Neakuteuk's death the suspension of economic activities and of traditional social interaction continued.

The new order to be established with the end of this world had its beginnings presumably in the new rules and new measures of worth which are apparent in the movement. Neakuteuk enjoined the people not to marry, and in place of the worth that derived from marriage they would gain new worth from "loving one another". Two disciples and three messengers were appointed; their apparently unfulfilled responsibility was to spread the new religion. Some members of the community engaged in what may be termed new activities: sending some people to their reward and seeing that Neakuteuk's new rules were enforced. The institution of the new roles indicated a new measure of prestige and, perhaps, the creation of a hierarchy of prestige going from Neakuteuk, to the disciples, to the messengers and to the remainder of the followers. Another, and possibly more important, measure of worth was "having the wind inside one". That those who were in this state were killed before they "went bad" perhaps most clearly points to the focus of the movement. The reward for

attaining this condition of worth was a complete separation from the current system and entrance into the new order to come.

Belcher Islands 1941

The Belcher Island Eskimos had only been in continuous direct contact with a representative of European power since the establishment of a Hudson's Bay Company post in the Islands in 1933. They had, however, been exposed to European assumptions, rules, activities and goods from the middle of the 18th century when they began to trade at the mainland posts. Here they came into contact not only with the traders and their economic system and material goods, but also, somewhat later, with the missionaries attempting to introduce Christianity. The Eskimos adopted European goods and were, at least nominally, converted to the European's religion. Although the contact with the European economic system was neither extensive nor intensive, it had important implications for the measurement of worth in this region of generally plentiful subsistence resources but scanty trading resources. Contact with the Christian religious system questioned the traditional ordering of power since it resulted in the introduction of new powers which were, as presented by the missionaries, more potent than the traditional spirit

powers. Both the question of measures of worth and the attempt to comprehend and control power are central to the Belcher Island movement which, like that at Home Bay, anticipated the termination of the present world and the establishment of a new, more perfectly ordered one.

Before the 20th century, the population of the Belcher Islands varied over the course of any one year. People travelled from the mainland to the Islands and vice versa in order to take the best possible advantage of the game resources in both areas. In the Islands, seal and walrus were abundant; on the mainland, caribou and small game were plentiful. By the beginning of this century though, with a decrease in caribou and sea mammals on the mainland, the seasonal migrations ceased and the population began to stabilize (Desgoffe 1955a:46). At the time of Flaherty's visit five of the twenty-five families were recognized as Islanders, Kittoktangmiuts; the rest were Itivimiut, mainlanders, people who emigrated over the years from the mainland for various reasons (Flaherty 1918:455).

The geographical position of the Islands inhibited any continuous, direct contact between the Eskimos and the Europeans and almost all interaction between these groups took place on the mainland during a short period of time every year. It was during these trips to the mainland that they had their first contact with Christianity. The

history of missionary activity in the area has been summarized by Honigmann (1962:10,69). In the late 19th century, E.J. Peck literally moved his church from Little Whale River to Great Whale River, where the Islanders went to trade. As part of his missionary activities, he introduced the syllabary and distributed religious works printed in syllabics. From 1892 (or 1894) until 1940 Great Whale River was serviced by visiting missionaries whose teachings were heard by the Islanders during their winter visits to the settlement. Missionary activity in the Belcher Islands itself was limited to occasional visits to perform baptisms and marriages. An Eskimo catechist served there for a winter in the 1920s, and later Keytowieack, an Islander who figured in the 1941 movement, became catechist (Kinmond 1941c). In 1940 a permanent missionary was appointed to the Great Whale River post and he was responsible for the Belcher Islands as well.

Interaction between the Eskimos and the traders began at a much earlier date. Trading posts were established at Richmond Gulf in 1749 and at Little Whale River in 1756 and the Islanders went there almost every year to trade. Desgoffe reported that the goods traded by the Eskimos included seal skins, skin boots, blubber and some furs; he did not, however, indicate what they received in return

(1955a:49). In 1847 and 1849, the Hudson's Bay Company sent a representative to the Belcher Islands (Flaherty 1918:447-448; Born 1970:4). He conducted a 'camp trade', receiving furs, seal skins, ivory and handicrafts from the Eskimos in exchange for European foods, tobacco, needles, guns, ammunition, knives, fishhooks and some trinkets (Born 1970:4). By 1857 the post at Great Whale River, which had only operated sporadically since 1813, began permanent operations (Honigmann 1962:9). It became the post to which the Islanders came every late winter when conditions permitted their crossing the ice. In the early 20th century the Eskimos received the same types of goods that they had in the earlier period in return for ivory, and bear, seal and fox skins (Flaherty 1918:441). Guns had replaced the bow and arrow and spear by about 1915 (Freeman 1964:58). This occurred in spite of the fact that the Islands were a poor trapping area, making it difficult for the Eskimos to obtain furs of sufficient number and/or quality to purchase a gun (Flaherty 1918:441).

Even though European goods were adopted, it appears that the presence of the trading post did not change traditional economic activities. The resources for trapping being limited, the Eskimos had to work harder at traditional activities in order to have some goods to trade (Desgoffe 1955a:49). The subsistence base of the

Belcher Islands has been described by Flaherty (1918: 454-456). Sea mammal hunting was the most important activity. Several species of seals, white whales and walrus were taken during different times of the year. Many species of birds were caught and their eggs collected, especially during the summer. Up until the late 19th century, when the migration routes of the caribou changed, these animals were hunted. They had been important not only for their meat, but also for their skins, which were used in making parkas.

The economic situation of the Islanders in the 20th century was quite poor. As a result of the disappearance of the caribou, parkas had to be made of bird skins and these were overly warm and excessively fragile (Flaherty 1918:455-456). Although food resources seem to have been adequate for subsistence, they did not provide much in terms of goods for trade. The scarcity of marketable furs was a major factor in limiting their ability to trade; during the years 1937-1941, the number of fox furs traded each season averaged less than two for each inhabitant of the Islands (Desgoffe 1955c:8; Freeman 1967:158-159). As a result they often lacked ammunition for their guns (Desgoffe 1955b:6). The poverty of the Islanders in comparison to other Eskimo groups was noted by the RCM Police in their report for 1920 (1921:16-22).

In 1928 an outpost, a store operating only in the winter during the trapping season, was opened on Flaherty Island, the central of the three large islands in the archipelago. It was easily accessible to the people of both the north and south camps of the island, the only inhabitants of the archipelago. It proved to be financially unsuccessful and it was closed. The Hudson's Bay Company attributed its failure to the inability of the Eskimo in charge to organize the trapping rather than to the lack of foxes in the area (Desgoffe 1955a:50-51,62). In 1933, a post with a White employee in charge was opened on Tukarak Island in the far eastern part of the Islands. This area was extremely poor in resources; "...Tukarak et la region adjacente sont la partie la plus déshéritée de l'archipel..." (Desgoffe 1955a:51). In spite of the low resource potential, about one third of the population of the Islands moved from both the north and south camps on Flaherty Island and settled near the post, forming a new camp (Freeman 1964:158-159). This resulted in a change in the seasonal migration pattern and in an overconcentration of people and "...caused the people to increasingly lose their acquired adaptation to the environment" (Desgoffe 1955b:15-16). These problems might have been alleviated by the acquisition of new means of production such as motor boats and nets, but the Eskimos were unable to afford

these (Desgoffe 1955a:59).⁸

The acceptance of European goods by the Belcher Islanders had resulted in a change in the definition of worth.⁹ Some goods, such as guns and ammunition, became essential for attaining the basic integrity that derived from success at subsistence activities while others, such as tea and tobacco, became indicators of a new prosperity. The archipelago was lacking in those animals whose pelts brought the best prices in the trade, however, and the Eskimos therefore had limited access to worth as measured in these new terms. The location of the trading post itself also limited access to worth since it drew people away from traditional hunting areas to a region that was poor in both trade and subsistence resources. Poor sealing in the winter of 1940-1941 left the people barely able to afford ammunition and unable to buy tea and tobacco and thus resulted in a further questioning of worth (Phillips 1956:119).

The situation within which the movement developed involved, besides a questioning of worth, the presence of unordered powers. These powers were those spirits in Christian belief, such as God, Jesus and Satan, about which the Eskimos learned through missionary activities. Through sermons and various syllabic texts, the Christian spirits were presented as more powerful than, and not subject to

the same order as, the spirits in traditional belief. While Eskimo spirits were generally dangerous, the new spirits were either good or evil and had the power to cause comparable behavior in people. The effect of these new powers on people continued even after death when, rather than all individuals meeting the same fate (except for those who died in hunting or childbirth), some would enjoy a paradise and others a hell. Beyond this, the new spirits had the power to bring about the end of the present world and establish a new one which would be clearly ordered between the good and evil. The ordering and understanding of these powers, however, remained largely the prerogative of the missionaries. For the Eskimos access to comprehension and control was limited to the activities of the catechist, the acceptance of Christian moral categories, and the use of Satan to account for evil behavior (Honigmann 1962:69-70). The millenarian emphasis in missionary teaching and in the New Testament apparently contributed to a general expectation of the Second Coming (Phillips 1956:119); the imminence of this event was the subject of discussion prior to the beginning of the movement (RCM Police 1942:13). That the appearance of a meteor, a phenomenon which they must have observed before, was interpreted as a sign of the millenium (Kinmond 1941a) further indicates the Islanders' anticipation of the end

of the world.

In a situation then, of questioned worth and unordered powers, Ouyerack proclaimed himself Jesus and announced the imminent Second Coming. The movement which developed out of Ouyerack's claims and other Islanders' expectations was an attempt to change this situation through the comprehension and control of the new powers and the termination of the world as it was. With the end of the present world, Christ was expected to establish a new order. The assumptions, rules and activities which were to characterize the new order were not specifically considered within the movement as far as the data would indicate. These were, perhaps, still to be revealed since the religious books pertaining to the present order had been burned in anticipation of the arrival of new books at the millenium (Kinmond 1941b). New activities involving prayer and hymn meetings were, however, established in preparation for the Second Coming, and a major aspect of the new order was apparent in the behavior of the participants. Some of the people killed their dogs and destroyed their rifles since these would no longer be needed; necessary work was also neglected since the Second Coming was at hand (RCM Police 1942:14; Honigmann 1962: 69,70). In the new order, then, questions of worth would be resolved; all goods would be provided and all

needs satisfied without the necessity of work.

For the participants, the movement itself provided a measure of worth. Those who accepted Ouyerack's claims were classed with the good and would partake in the millenium while those who opposed the movement were 'devils' and destined for hell. Through membership in the new religion people also affiliated themselves with those in the group who had the greatest prestige, Ouyerack and Sala. Ouyerack's prestige was high, but recently acquired; he became religious leader as a result of the movement. Sala was already headman of the camp, and identification of him as God added to his prestige. The folowers' affiliations were not limited only to participation in the movement, but also involved the formation of partnerships through spouse-exchange alliances within the group (Guemple 1972:76). These exchanges also contributed to prestige, particularly for Ouyerack who was involved in four of them (Kinmond 1941c), since exchange marriages were treated as polygamous unions in the Belcher Islands (Guemple 1972:60).

Ouyerack's and Sala's claim to divinity, and the acceptance of it by most of the people in the settlement, can be seen as an attempt to comprehend and control the unordered powers present in the situation. The ordering of the Spirits of God and Jesus, however, seems to have been largely based in the traditional religious system.

Ouyerack, a shaman, was claiming control over a spirit power in much the same manner as control over a traditional spirit would have been established. He announced that the spirit of Christ had entered him and that he was therefore in possession of the powers of that spirit (Phillips 1956: 119-120). Among these powers was apparently the ability to clearly identify good and evil in preparation for the millenium. Through this power, comprehension and control of Christian spirits was extended to Satan, the enemy of the spirits which Sala and Ouyerack claimed to be. Evil was identified as doubt of, or opposition to, Ouyerack and Sala. Unlike the movement which occurred at Home Bay where the good were sent to their reward, it was those declared evil who were killed here. One of these was Keytowieack, who, as catechist, held what limited access to Christian power was available to Eskimos. Ouyerack and Sala challenged this power, and claimed greater control than was available to a catechist (Kinmond 1941c). Keytowieack's refusal to join the movement led the participants to identify him as Satan and to attempt to gain control over this spirit by killing him.

CHAPTER V

ESKIMO RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Comparative Analysis

A comparison of these seven religious movements seems to indicate some regularity in the processes of their development. This processual regularity can be divided into a sequence of developmental phases or stages. The analyses of the development of religious movements proposed by Burrige (1969:165-170) and Wallace (1956:268-275) have both contributed to the identification of developmental stages in the analysis of Eskimo religious movements offered here.

The emergence of a movement is preceded by the development of a situation in which integrity is brought into question. Such a situation involves the presence of manifestations of powers outside current comprehensions, a questioning of current modes of measuring worth, and it may involve differential access to the measures of worth. It is during this first stage that individual attempts at resolving the question most likely occur. In cases of European contact and dominance this resolution may take

the form of acceptance of incorporation into the European economic and value systems. Such incorporation may, as in the case of the movements studied, result in a further development of the situation in which integrity is brought into doubt. The second stage, which extends over part of stage one, is a period of communication among the members of the community during which individuals become aware of common problems and the need for a common solution. Discussion may center on possible solutions. The development of the movement itself is the third stage. There is an initial period of conception involving communication of the proposed rules, activities and assumptions by the initiators of the movement and the organization of the members of the movement. This is followed by a period of expansion of the movement, based on proselytism, beyond the limits of its initial organization. The developmental processes outlined here could come to a conclusion at any of the stages in the sequence; the first and second stages have often existed without the appearance of a movement. In the cases considered, however, the stage of initial organization, at least, had been reached.

In some cases there is limited or no data on the content, or even the existence, of one or more of the processual stages; however, the movements seem to have

generally followed this sequence. There is a good deal of variation in the content of each stage in the sequence in each of the movements. Similarities and differences exist in terms of the specific nature of the situation in which each developed, the new activities, rules and assumptions proposed in each of the movements, the processes and structures of organization of each, and the conclusion to which each came. This regularity and variability will now be considered in terms of each of the stages in the developmental sequence outlined above.

The first stage in the formation of a movement, that of the development of a situation in which integrity was brought into question, was characterized in each of the cases by the manifestations of powers outside current comprehension and control. The presence of these new powers was primarily a result of contact with the European economic and religious systems, but it was also related to ecological changes occurring both independently and as a result of European activities.

In the areas where a traditional world view and ethos still held some validity at the time of the movement, the presence of European goods and technology was significant in the development of a situation involving new unordered powers. The Europeans brought with them boats larger than the Eskimos could build, guns which would kill game more

effectively than traditional weapons could and without the necessity of observing traditional hunting rules, and subsistence and luxury goods which, initially at least, appeared to require no activities to produce them. In addition to the effects of these material manifestations of power, the activities of the Europeans also brought into question the traditional ordering of power.

At Sukkertoppen, Iglulik, Home Bay and the Belcher Islands, the Europeans with whom the Eskimos were in contact did not engage in any subsistence activities, but were, rather, involved in trading, whaling, proselytizing and, to some extent, attempting to establish political control over these areas. European economic and political activities, however, took place outside of, and without regard for, Eskimo rules and assumptions. The success of these activities, as indicated by the apparent technological superiority and material prosperity of the Europeans, represented powers not accounted for within current comprehensions, and thus questioned the traditional order.

In Friedrichstal, Nain, Godthaab and, to a lesser extent, Sukkertoppen, a Christian world view and ethos had significantly supplanted the traditional system but had not entirely replaced it. In these areas, power not comprehended and controlled was present in the social,

economic and political control exerted by the Danes and the Moravian missionaries. Uncomprehended power, which was not related, or only indirectly so, to the Europeans and which was manifested in a depletion of traditional subsistence resources was also present. At Sukkertoppen and Nain, the mission policy of population settlement led to a reduction of game in these areas, while a gradual climatic change resulted in a decline in seals and an increase in fish in the coastal waters of Friedrichstal and Godthaab.

Of relevance in all the situations was the introduction of Christianity and the continuing activities of the missionaries. Through these activities new powers, including the various spirits in Christian belief and European conceptions of good and evil, became an essential part of the developing situations. For the Eskimos, the Christian world view and ethos presumably underlay Europeans' activities as well as their material prosperity; acceptance of Christianity, therefore, offered a possibility for comprehension and control of the new powers present in the situations. This may have been a contributing factor in their conversion to Christianity; access to this comprehension and control, however, remained the domain of the Europeans.

Such manifestations of unordered powers resulted in a questioning of current measures of worth in all of the

situations. Contact with the apparent material superiority of the Europeans reduced the significance of traditional worth as measured by material prosperity based on success in hunting. European goods, both utilitarian and luxury, became part of a wider definition of integrity. The attainment of these new measures of worth, however, required involvement in the European economic system, and this involvement further questioned the measures of worth.

The introduction of European technology and trade into the hunting economy directly affected the traditional activities, rules and assumptions on which individual worth as well as prestige and authority within the group were based. The rifle was of particular significance in Iglulik and of import also in all the other cases except Friedrichstal and Godthaab. As a result of its use, traditional patterns of cooperation and leadership were undermined, the validity of traditional rules concerning the relationship between humans and their environment was questioned and traditional abilities were no longer requisite for success in hunting. Trapping, the primary mode of access to European goods in the Canadian situations, altered the traditional economic cycle and furthered the emphasis on individual abilities and activities initiated by the use of the rifle.

The decline of sealing at Sukkertoppen, Friedrichstal,

Nain and Godthaab contributed to the questioning of worth since success at this activity was, even after European colonization, a significant criterion on which worth for male Eskimos was based. In these areas also, the nature of European forms of social, political and economic control were in opposition to Eskimo forms of control, and further questioned traditional patterns of prestige, authority and leadership.

All the areas except Iglulik experienced direct contact with European religions through the activities of the missionaries. Where this contact was intensive and extensive, as in Greenland and Labrador, it directly affected traditional values and measures of worth. The Danish and Moravian missionaries actively opposed the Eskimo emphasis on sharing and generosity as qualities of worth and prohibited song duels and other competitive activities through which worth could be demonstrated and prestige gained. Their view of shamans, and the treatment they accorded these traditional religious leaders, also undermined traditional worth, prestige and authority. In all the situations involving direct missionary activity, the Christian value placed on monogamy questioned polygamy as an indicator of worth and spouse-exchange as an expression of successful cooperation. Of general significance for the question of an appropriate measurement

of worth was the European Christian conception of good and evil. In the traditional order there may have been varying degrees of worth; under a Christian world view and ethos a dichotomy was drawn between activities, values, beliefs, and people which were worthy and those which were not less worthy, but unworthy.

The situations at Sukkertoppen, Friedrichstal, Nain and Godthaab were characterized by an extensive incorporation of individuals into a European economic and religious system. This sharing of rules and assumptions, however, did not result in a sharing of access to the measures of worth implied by the rules and assumptions. In the first three situations, administrative, missionary, and trading practices limited the ability of Eskimos to obtain goods to which Europeans had full access. Government and mission policies were even intentionally directed at limiting Eskimo access to certain goods by not allowing them to be sold or by instituting a selective pricing system that made these goods exceptionally expensive. The colonization of Greenland tended to create new economic activities, but the Eskimos were effectively barred from non-subsistence jobs other than those of servant, unskilled laborer or midwife. In the religious organization in all four situations, the Eskimos' access to authority and prestige was limited to the role of

catechist.

Data on the second stage is available only for the movements which occurred in Friedrichstal, Nain, Godthaab, and the Belcher Islands. For the other movements there is no information, either positive or negative, concerning a period preceding the conception of the movement during which individuals discussed the current situation and possible resolutions. At Nain these discussions were focussed in a community meeting concerning the sudden closing of the store by the missionaries, while in the Belcher Islands the imminence of the millenium had been a topic of discussion for some time prior to the start of the movement.

The third stage in the developmental sequence was characterized generally by an announcement of proposed new rules, activities and assumptions which were to provide the basis for a new, more satisfying ordering of human relations. Additions to the initial announcement often were made during the course of each movement's development. These announcements, in the case of Sukkertoppen, Friedrichstal, Home Bay and the Belcher Islands, were based on revelations. The information available indicates a less dramatic basis for the beginnings of the other movements. The content of the proposed new orders varied greatly since it was this aspect of the movements that was

most directly related to the differing situations in which they developed. In Friedrichstal, Home Bay and the Belcher Islands the new order was to be established with the end of the present world; the other movements exhibited much less a millenarian ideology.

All of the movements except those at Iglulik and Godthaab involved some form of orgiastic or seemingly impulsive behavior such as sexual promiscuity, the self-infliction of wounds, visionary experiences and uncontrolled weeping and laughing. Burrige (1969: 166-169) has suggested that such activities indicate a period of no rules which must be experienced both as a clearing of the old rules and as a test of the viability of the movement's new rules before the new order can be established. Such may be the case here, but in large measure these activities also appear to be part of the new order itself, as with Neakuteuk's injunction of promiscuity, or symbols and rites of the new order, as in the case of the self-infliction of wounds in the Friedrichstal occurrence.

The processes involved in the initial organization of the movements seem to have been based on the then current patterns of leadership and social organization in each of the situations. In most, the initiators of the movements drew on the role of shaman as the basis for their

leadership; this is particularly apparent in the movements at Sukkertoppen, Home Bay and the Belcher Islands. The traditional role of issumataq as social and economic leader and distributor of food was of significance in the patterns of leadership established at Iglulik and, to a somewhat lesser extent, at Sukkertoppen. In the other instances, European models of social and religious leadership, particularly the role of missionary, were important for the development of leadership in the movements.

The organizational structure of the movements, however, seems to have varied from the organizational patterns present in the situation at the time of the movement in a number of cases. At Home Bay a somewhat elaborate hierarchical structure was created; in Iglulik Uming organized his followers on a non-kin basis; and in Friedrichstal the establishment of a community excluding Europeans was proposed. The movement that began at Godthaab, however, was based on congregations apparently not unlike those of the Danish Church, and in the Belcher Islands traditional spouse-exchange relationships were established among the members of the movement.

After this period of initial organization, all of the movements, excluding that in Nain, were characterized by attempts at the expansion of membership beyond the limits of the communities in which they were first established.

Except for the Godthaab movement, these were based on proselytism and generally met with some success. Missionary activities were planned in the Home Bay and Friedrichstal movements, but were never actually undertaken.

All of the movements considered here reached at least the stage of initial organization; some, however, collapsed soon afterwards while others were of longer duration and had more discernible effects. The movement at Nain was the shortest-lived, ending within a few days of the establishment of the missionaries' Eskimo assistants as leaders. Those which occurred at Friedrichstal, Home Bay and the Belcher Islands each lasted for less than a year and experienced little or no expansion beyond their initial membership. At Sukkertoppen a viable community based on the new religion was formed and apparently continued for a few decades after the beginning of the movement. The movements which began at Iglulik and Godthaab were perhaps of greatest duration in terms of their effects. Damas (1963:26) considered Uming's movement the basis for contemporary Anglicanism in the Melville Peninsula, while the Godthaab movement was instrumental in the transformation of the Danish Church's Greenland Mission into the Church of Greenland.

While these movements might be judged as successes or failures on the basis of the criteria of duration, extent of membership and aftereffects, such evaluations are not of relevance in the analytical framework considered here. The primary focus in the analysis of each movement has been the situation in which the movement arose; the movements themselves are viewed as responses to these situations. Considered as experiments in gaining comprehension and control of a changed socio-cultural situation and in finding an attainable definition of worth appropriate to that situation, the movements are all, in a sense, successful since all could have contributed to an understanding of the nature of the changed situations.

Conclusion

There have been few anthropological considerations of Eskimo religious movements, and those which have been written are relatively simplistic in their analyses. In Arctic ethnology, descriptions of movements have, for the most part, been limited to brief summaries contained in works of wider ethnographic or ethnohistorical perspective. Analysis has been limited to even briefer comments, and the movements have been interpreted, in an unspecified way, as reflections of periods of ecological crisis or as the

result of misinterpretation of missionary teachings. In general studies of religious movements, little attention has been given to Eskimo movements. In the few major works in which references to any appear, the analyses, if offered at all, are of limited perspective. Reference to the movements in these works appears to be given solely for geographical completeness. Considering the literature, there have not been, in particular, detailed studies of any movement in specific relation to the situation in which it developed.

The present study was primarily a response to this lack of research on the topic. It is the first comprehensive consideration of Eskimo religious movements and, as such, contributes to both Arctic ethnology and the study of religious movements in general. This work entailed research and analysis directed at three aims. The first was to compile, as completely as possible, descriptions of those seven movements for which reasonably adequate data were available. The second aim was to provide a detailed and comprehensive analysis of each movement in relation to the total situation in which it occurred; the third was to provide a comparative analysis of the processes of development of the seven movements.

In this study, the movements have been defined as attempts to establish, in whole or in substantial part, a

new religious system incorporating a new world view and ethos. This definition was derived from Burridge's (1969) and Geertz's (1957) views of religion and reflected the nature of the movements themselves. The data on the movements indicated that each involved the creation of a system of religious rituals and symbols; a concern for the nature of the world, and more specifically, for the ordering of power within the world; and the proposal of rules regulating the relationships among people and the relationships between people and their world. Given the nature of the movements, then, analysis was directed primarily at the identification of relationships significant to the questioning of the current world view and ethos in the situation in which each movement developed.

The general analysis of millenarian movements proposed by Burridge (1969) provided the basis for the development of a conceptual framework which would contribute to the identification of such significant relationships. Within this framework, the situations in which the movements occurred were found to involve a complex set of environmental, social, economic, political, and religious factors. These factors brought into question the traditional or current world view and ethos by presenting powers not ordered within current comprehensions and by

questioning current definitions of, and undermining access to, worth and integrity. The movements themselves were viewed as responses to these situations, and specific features of the movements were identified in relationship to specific features of the situations. Each movement was also interpreted as an attempt to establish a more satisfactory ordering of the world and more satisfactory and attainable measures of worth and integrity in a world so ordered.

The value of this approach is perhaps best demonstrated in the individual analyses of the movements. It has contributed, through its focus on world view and ethos, not only to the identification of significant factors in the situations in which the movements occurred, but also to the identification of the processes through which these factors became significant. In specific terms, the productivity of this approach is apparent in comparison with previous analyses of Eskimo religious movements. Rather than seeing them as reflections of ecological crises, it has contributed to an understanding of how changes in faunal resources were, through their wider social and cultural effects, related to the occurrence and nature of each movement. Rather than seeing in the movements misinterpretations of missionary teachings, it has indicated how such teachings brought the traditional

world view and ethos into question and contributed to the development of new assumptions and rules concerning the nature of the world.

The situations in which the movements arose, however, are not presumed to be directly causal to the movements, since similar situations have developed in Greenland and the Canadian Arctic without the occurrence, or at least the recorded occurrence, of a religious movement. As viewed here, these situations involved environmental, social, and cultural changes which brought into question a traditional or current world view and ethos and thus made the occurrence of a movement possible. In bringing world view and ethos into question, these changes brought into existence a set of competing assumptions about the nature of the world and the distribution of power within it, competing rules governing the relations among people and between people and their environment, and competing definitions and measures of human worth and integrity. Each of the movements, then, represents an attempt to resolve this competition through the establishment of a new, satisfactory world view and ethos integrated in a new religious system.

NOTES

1. Both Spencer (1959:296-298) and Gubser (1965:56-57) discussed the concept "wiivaksat" or "oivaksat", respectively, among groups of Alaskan Eskimos and attributed it to contact with missionary teachings. This possible religious movement, as well as any others which may have occurred in Alaska, will not be included in this thesis.
2. In this account, the year in which the movement began and the order of the events which occurred follow Ostermann (1929b:322-324).
3. Honigmann, finding a contradiction in these two statements, declared that "in a nonformalizing social system like that of the Eskimo...such incongruent forms of belief could coexist (1962:70). However, it is quite possible that there is no inherent contradiction in these statements. As Phillips reported, Ouyerack said, "Jesus is coming. His spirit has entered into me. I am Jesus telling you of the One who is to come" (1956:119). This statement might suggest that Ouyerack was Jesus only in so far as Jesus spoke through him (Ouyerack) to announce his own coming.
4. Carpenter (1971:164-165) suggested that the entire

Eskimo behavioral environment is defined, or realized, in terms of action and that the language itself identifies things primarily in relation to the actions in which they participate.

5. Weyer stated that in Eskimo belief the destination of the soul after death was dependent upon the "accident" of the manner of death and not upon moral conduct (1939:253). It would appear, however, that the destination was related to moral conduct since a special status was accorded the souls of those who died while engaged in morally prescribed and dangerous activities such as hunting and childbirth. Lantis suggested that "perhaps the belief was an expression of esteem for those who lived vigorously and were most likely to die by accident" (1950:326).
6. Considering that one of the functions of the Boards of Guardians, or municipal councils, created in 1857, was to regulate disputes concerning inheritances, it might be inferred that the European economic system, characterized by accumulation and private property, was beginning to supersede the Eskimo one at least by the middle of the 19th century (Jenness 1967:49).
7. Damas proposed that these expeditions may have had a disruptive effect on the structural relations in Igluligmiut society. This may well have not been the

case since, as Damas himself noted (1963:20) this was, in the traditional economy, the time of utuq sealing for which the large winter communities usually broke into smaller units based on two hunters.

8. This state of affairs continued even until the 1960s. Freeman reported that one of the reasons for the use of kayaks at the time of his visit was the inability "...to finance any sustained change to motorized hunting boats" (1964:81).
9. Access to European goods was apparently of such importance that when told in 1943 that the trading post in the Islands would be closed they decided to move to the mainland (RCM Police 1943:51).

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