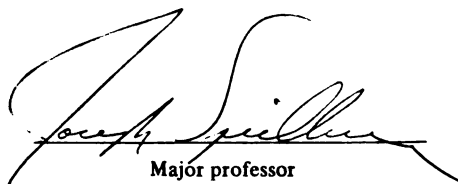




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 John C. Kennedy

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 Major professor

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1978

HOLDING THE LINE: ETHNIC PROCESS IN
A NORTHERN LABRADOR COMMUNITY

By

John Charles Kennedy

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

HOLDING THE LINE: ETHNIC PROCESS IN
A NORTHERN LABRADOR COMMUNITY

by

John Charles Kennedy

This study describes the process by which two different peoples utilize aspects of their perceived cultural heritage to communicate ethnic distinctiveness. These peoples, the so-called "Settlers" of Makkovik and northern Inuit (Eskimos) forcibly relocated to this small northern Labrador community are analyzed as ethnic categories rather than as races or classes. While Settlers and Inuit keep to themselves, engaging in minimal socio-economic relations with those of the other category, competition between both peoples is rare as are relations of overt conflict. The problem originates from these "relations of separateness" and focuses on the symbolic process by which ethnic boundaries are continuously re-defined and maintained.

Data were primarily collected using standard anthropological participant-observation techniques during thirteen months of field research. Given the local sensitivity of the topic investigated, formal, directed interviewing methods proved less satisfactory than less formal techniques. Consequently, while much of the data were gathered through observation, other relevant data emerged in the process of interviewing Settlers and Inuit on topics not directly related to ethnicity. Moreover, given that the research was a

restudy of an earlier study of Makkovik, it was possible to record and analyze data indicating continuities and changes in the community. Following the field period, in addition to analysis of the field data, additional archival materials were collected and examined to investigate the historical component of contemporary ethnic processes.

Data are presented in six chapters. The first critically examines certain theoretical concepts, primarily relating to ethnicity, considered relevant to the Makkovik case. A second chapter documents the historical emergence of the categories Settler and Inuit while a third chapter describes the contemporary subsistence and wage economies of both Makkovik's peoples. The fourth chapter describes the social dimension of community organization, illustrating both the scarce nature of Settler-Inuit relations and the distinct preference each ethnic category has for various institutions which affect them both. The fifth chapter utilizes socio-economic and cultural field data to illustrate Settler and Inuit efforts at continued boundary maintenance. This process entails each people attaching an ethnically-specific meaning to particular past and present culture traits, institutions, and behavioural patterns which, significantly need not be dramatically different to be considered locally important. For example, both peoples hunt various species of sea mammals in an identical fashion yet retrieve them using different technology. Such differing retrieval technology has become symbolically associated with each ethnic category. Building on both theoretical and empirical materials, the chapter concludes by presenting four interrelated generalizations about

ethnic boundary maintaining processes. The final chapter explains how two fundamental facts affecting Makkovik enable Settlers and Inuit to continue their separate yet relatively non-competitive relations. While these facts, Inuit relocation and the increasingly important role of externally-based sources of sustenance and control provide an administrative climate for continued ethnic separatism, the study concludes that both peoples consider the potential for greater conflict real and minimize such possibility by exaggerating ethnic differences and limiting inter-ethnic relations.

The significance of the study applies to comparative cases where different peoples have been suddenly brought into continuous contact, either through urbanization, migration, or social mobility. The relevance of ethnic concepts for analyzing such cases is suggested as is further concentration on how peoples use culture to solve social organizational problems inherent in situations of cultural contact.

To Joseph and Gladys

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

This study describes the process by which two different kinds of people use aspects of their perceived cultural heritage as symbols to maintain ethnic distinctiveness. These two people are ethnic categories, that is, collectivities of people, each with differences of language and culture, existing within a larger socio-cultural system (Cohen 1974a:92). Historic cultural contact has produced many similarities in their lifestyles though their concern is, as my own will be, with existing differences.

My focus is on the way individuals from both ethnic categories utilize cultural differences for social purposes, yet this focus is also dialectically interrelated to a general absence of relations between people of both categories. We shall see that they have only recently become reluctant "neighbours," that they exploit a common natural environment, and are jointly administered by a common array of externally-based institutions. One might assume that the sharing of a common environment and the distinctiveness both seek to maintain might lead to open conflict or competition between them, yet, on the whole, such is not the case, largely because the goals and interests each holds regarding their common situation as neighbours

are different, sometimes radically so. Though occasional deprecatory remarks are passed about (but seldom to) people in the other category, inter-ethnic relations, to the extent to which they occur, can also be overtly cordial.

The two ethnic categories which this study concerns are the Settlers and Inuit (Eskimos) of Makkovik, a northern Labrador community of approximately 300 people (see Map 1). Labrador 'Settlers' are the descendants of Europeans who came to coastal Labrador in the last century. Most early Settlers arrived as single men; some later married Inuit women, and borrowed many elements of aboriginal Inuit (and, to a lesser extent, Indian) culture. As a result, contemporary Settlers are physically and culturally similar to Inuit. This similarity is important but the fact that modern Settlers believe they are better than, and unlike Inuit, largely explains Settler efforts to maintain their boundaries. Thus, for example, we shall see that Makkovik Settlers avoid using harpoons, as well as other traits or behaviour which they maintain are appropriately 'Eskimo.'

Somewhat ironically, early Settlers originally founded Makkovik while the second ethnic category which this study concerns, the Inuit, were relocated there by external authorities in the late 1950s. This fact will also be seen to be of important consequence because Makkovik Settlers have a different interpretation of living in the community than do the relocated Inuit. The adaptation of Inuit to Makkovik has not been an easy one; even today, their interests remain with their homeland further north, rather than with their adopted community.

Map 1.--Labrador

Background and Focus

Makkovik people may claim the dubious distinction of having hosted two anthropologists within one decade. Between September 1962 and September 1963, Shmuel Ben-Dor conducted ethnographic research in the community, followed by my research in 1971-1972 (see Appendix II). Since Ben-Dor's study (1966) served as an impetus for my research and effectively provides a baseline for this study, some attention to the Makkovik he described as well as to the conclusions and shortcomings of his study is necessary.

At the time of Ben-Dor's research (as today), Makkovik was essentially a small, subsistence-based community. Like other northern Labrador villages, it was both geographically and economically marginal from the Province of Newfoundland-Labrador, of which it was part. Its total population numbered but 324 people (cf. Table 2), roughly divided equally between the aforementioned Settlers and Inuit, the latter ethnic category only having been relocated to Makkovik a few years before Ben-Dor arrived. Settlers and Inuit resided in different sections of the community and interacted primarily with others of their own kind. Thus, Settlers and Inuit fished in separate crews each summer for cod fish, then the most economically important resource. Likewise, each fall and winter, ethnically-separate hunting parties pursued several species of seal, waterfowl, and caribou (see Appendix I).

Ben-Dor described the economy of the Settlers and Inuit at two different levels of abstraction. On the one hand, gross similarities in the exploitative patterns of Settlers and Inuit were noted,

while on the other, certain contrasts in economic priorities became, in effect, a leitmotif around which his interpretation of Settlers and Inuit was built. For example, Ben-Dor argued that Inuit prolonged seal hunting each spring at the expense of preparations essential for the summer cod fishery while, in contrast, Settlers more efficiently planned each season around existing available resources. Ben-Dor's observations led him to adopt Weber's (1964) ideal concepts of "rational" and "traditional" economic orientations, the former being linked to the Settlers, the latter to Inuit.

On the basis of these contrasting rational and traditional economic adaptations, Ben-Dor extrapolates to other sectors of each category's socio-cultural life. Thus, the importance of kinship among Inuit channels and constrains their socio-economic patterns more extensively than with Settlers. The majority of Makkovik Inuit belong to one of three (of several northern Labrador) ilarit or personal kindreds, relatively well-bounded "quasi-groups," providing the individual with a social setting broader than the nuclear family (Ben-Dor 1966:73). Inuit economic partnerships, sharing relationships, household visiting networks, social occasions, and, to a large extent, marriages occur within one's ilarit, thereby restricting a person from a potentially wider socio-economic network.

Settler social organization is fundamentally distinguished from that of the Inuit through the principle of friendship, an institution Ben-Dor (1966:85) argues acts to "supplement kinship ties and often outweigh them as a principle of social transaction."

Friendship enables Settlers a broader array of social relationships than that based solely on kinship and, thereby allows Settlers greater flexibility in socio-economic arrangements. In short, Ben-Dor infers that the contrasting economic themes of rational and traditional have their social counterparts in friendship and kinship.

Ben-Dor devotes two chapters to religion in Makkovik. Settlers and Inuit are adherents of the Moravian church (see below), though, as Ben-Dor argues, each approaches religion differently and these differences are, once again, linked to the aforementioned rational-traditional dichotomy. To Inuit, participation in Church life is a matter of extreme importance. Regular Sunday and special festival days are well attended and approached with a "military-like" formality. Inuit also participate in two church administrative bodies, the elders and chapel servants, and readily volunteer time for church maintenance. In short, an Inuk's (one Inuit) participation in church life figures prominently in any evaluation of his social and moral standing. Inuit are described as thoroughly "Moravian Inuit," steadfastly resisting efforts at modernization of ritual procedures occasionally proffered by missionaries.

Ben-Dor describes the Settler version of religion as measuring a person's religiosity less on church participation and more on the quality of daily behavior. Consequently, Settler participation in church rituals is both less extensive and more casual than that of Inuit.

Both Settler and Inuit religious systems also contain what Ben-Dor called "accretions," integrated ritual events occurring

outside the Church yet partially based on religious influences. Most exotic of these is the Inuit ritual of the "Naluyuks," essentially a form of Christmas mumming, annually celebrated on the Feast of the Epiphany. That night, costumed Inuit mummers (ideally three) approach the Inuit neighbourhood from the east, apparently mimicking the three Wise Men; they visit each house where assembled children solemnly perform a song before being rewarded with candy or gifts by the Naluyuks.

Ben-Dor viewed the Settler Easter Monday races as another accretion. Though primarily secular in content, the practice of holding various competitive events (e.g., dog team races, shooting contests, etc.) each Monday following Easter was fused to the official church calendar through its timing as well as by the practice of celebrating the Moravian "Love Feast" in the late afternoon.

While the consequences of what Ben-Dor viewed as the rational and traditional economic behaviour of Settlers and Inuit coloured his interpretations of both peoples, his main argument centres on the absence of Settler-Inuit social relationships in relation to the concept of community.

Ben-Dor questions the utility of traditional anthropological definitions of the concept community (e.g., Linton 1936; Murdock 1949) for describing Makkovik. He maintains that such definitions characterize a community as an "integrated social village sharing a common culture" (1966:3), and suggests instead that Makkovik might better be termed a multicellular-type community in which two ethnic

groups, expressing separate cultures, are linked to a common territory by a common "superimposed administration" (1966:200).

While I agree that Makkovik can accurately be labeled a multicellular-type community, there are two conclusions which emerge from Ben-Dor's analysis which cannot be supported by my data. One is the aforementioned rational-traditional depiction of Settler and Inuit economic behaviour while the other forecasts that in time, the Settler group will assimilate Inuit and ethnically-mixed persons. I will have a good deal more to say on my objections to both conclusions in Chapters III and IV.

The original interest in "restudying" Makkovik (see Appendix II) centered on two questions: (1) what effect would the passage of some time have on maintaining or altering the ethnic situation described by Ben-Dor and (2) what implications result from the fact that common institutions (e.g., provincial government, Moravian Mission, and so on) serve both Settlers and Inuit (Paine 1968).

While my research in Makkovik was obviously and inescapably influenced by these questions and others raised by Ben-Dor, a number of new circumstances affecting Makkovik seemed to raise new questions. Upon arriving in the community in July 1971, it was apparent that a number of important changes had occurred since 1962-63. Perhaps most obvious was the fact that only about one half of the Inuit listed in Ben-Dor's August 1963 census remained in Makkovik. I soon discovered that many Inuit had emigrated from Makkovik to Nain (a more northerly community--see Map I), and initially hypothesized that, perhaps, the social segregation described by Ben-Dor and obvious in 1971, might

have caused the Inuit exodus. While this was the interpretation of Makkovik Settlers, I soon began to discover that the out migration of Inuit occurred despite rather than because of the absence of social relations between Settler and Inuit. Interviews with Makkovik Inuit, as well as Inuit who had moved from Makkovik, revealed two 'causes' of emigration: access to better hunting and fishing areas and a desire to rejoin kinsmen.

Notwithstanding the fact that many Inuit had left Makkovik, the content of relations between those Inuit who remained and Makkovik Settlers still appeared to be the dominant problem for any study of the community. Thus, I initially focused on the character, social settings, and importance of inter-ethnic relations, when and where they occurred. As will become evident in the empirical material presented below, these 'relations of separateness' in what Ben-Dor had called a multicellular community are not, in many ways, the kind of social relationships commonly found in small communities. Among other things, my observations and conversations led me to the view that a number of variables (such as setting, situation, and so on) affected the tone of inter-ethnic relations. For example, while such relations were normally infrequent, reserved, and formal within Makkovik, relations outside the community (e.g., on hunting or fishing trips) could be less guarded from whatever social implications are thought to result from relaxation of the ethnic border in Makkovik.

After some months in the community, I increasingly came to the view that the social schism between Settlers and Inuit

constituted, in itself, an adaptation to the changing circumstances of co-residence. Rather than increasing inter-ethnic contact or some form of assimilation (as Ben-Dor had predicted), co-residence and the pride each group appeared to have in its cultural heritage, seem to require an interactional code limiting more "normal" or "complete" inter-group relations. This interactional code ultimately appears linked to the local realization of the latent potential for conflict. It also became increasingly clear that despite the broad similarities (e.g., hunting, fishing, wage-labour, etc.) in the lifestyle of Settlers and Inuit, each focused on the differences, some of which conveyed a special, ethnically-idiosyncratic meaning. Thus, I came to pay special attention to what Settlers and Inuit respectively claimed as their own, or put differently, what each considered appropriately the domain of the other. These symbols of difference and their role in maintaining each category's definition of distinctiveness and ordered "non-relations" became the focus of my research.

Theoretical Concepts

Since my thesis--that Settlers and Inuit claim aspects of their perceived cultural heritage to communicate ethnic affiliation--builds on relevant earlier studies, a critical examination of various theoretical concepts and previous research is necessary.

My brief introductory remarks above refer to Settlers and Inuit as ethnic categories. Though not without its semantic difficulties, this classification appears suited to the Makkovik

case for several reasons. Neither Settlers nor Inuit can be said to be groups in the formal sense of this term though as socio-cultural entities, their "aims" and organizational properties resemble what Freeman (1961) calls "quasi-groups," Boissevain (1968) "non-groups," and Cohen (1974a) "informal groups." The concept of category resembles these types of groups; specifically, it refers to organizational forms larger than that of social role yet not as concrete as group. I should indicate here that my acceptance of concept category as opposed to group is supported by significant differences between the ethnic processes I describe below and similar processes among ethnic groups such as the Basques, Hutterites, Chicanos, or French Canadians. Unlike these groups, which are frequently formally organized and use ethnic symbols to communicate to a broader, national or international audience, Settlers and Inuit claim ethnic symbols for local organizational purposes, namely to redefine the appropriate parameters of ethnic behaviour and reduce the possibility of conflict. In its essential characteristics, however, the use of ethnic symbols by Makkovik's two ethnic categories is part of a broader phenomenon occurring among ethnic groups in various parts of the world.

I also consider the concept of ethnic categories preferable to concepts such as race, class, or cultural groups. My rejection of the concept race is clearly supported by the basic facts of the Makkovik case; that is, a person's status as Settler or Inuk is grounded in socio-cultural rather than physiological realities. As Ben-Dor correctly observed, "one cannot divide the groups

(Settlers and Inuit) along racial lines because of the continual racial mixture, the ever present exceptions, and the resulting intermediate (i.e., mixed) group" (1966:150). The point here is not that physical differences are irrelevant¹ but that ascription of persons to either category cannot be predicted solely on the basis of such differences. Therefore, rather than analyzing the Makkovik case using the concept of race, itself fraught with difficulties, it is more fruitful to consider what importance (if any) Settlers and Inuit attach to existing physical differences (cf. Friedlander 1975: 76-79; Shibutani and Kwan 1968:45). Supportive of my rejection of the concept of race are the growing number of studies documenting cases where two (or more) contiguous ethnic units, the 'members' of which cannot be solely differentiated on the basis of race, utilize cultural differentiae to maintain the local social system (cf. e.g., Berry 1969; Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Eidheim 1971; Pillsbury 1977).

My rejection of the concept of class in analyzing the Makkovik situation represents more an operational procedure than an overall conclusion regarding the irrelevance of class to this or other socio-cultural situations. Indeed, if class is defined as a socio-economic group whose position in society is determined by the relationship of its 'members' to a particular mode of production,

¹A different incidence of certain diseases among historic and contemporary Settlers and Inuit seems to suggest that certain objective physiological differences exist (see Chapters III and IV). As yet, however, such objective differences remain inadequately researched and are, in any event, not critical to a person's classification as Settler or Inuit.

some might argue that Settlers and/or Inuit are 'working class' Canadians. I am also aware that in the broader context of north coastal Labrador, a class system overlapping existing ethnic distinctions may be emerging. Such a system finds 'outsiders' occupying top positions, Settlers intermediate, and Inuit and Indians at lower points. While such a system may crystalize in Labrador, as appears to be occurring in other parts of northern Canada (cf. Honigmann and Honigmann 1965), one must also note that while those at the top of such hierarchies formally derive their authority from beyond the local community (e.g., from government or other national organizations), their local effectiveness, support, and indeed even occupational tenure ultimately depend on the acceptance of their performance by those at the bottom. This is meant only to suggest that application of the class concept to communities such as Makkovik requires a more dynamic approach than may be necessary for the analysis of industrial contexts.

It should also be acknowledged that Settlers and Inuit realize they occupy an economic and political position which has historically been made marginal to existing national and international powers. Furthermore, we shall see that Settlers enjoy a higher standard of living than Inuit. Given these considerations, one could then examine the Makkovik data using a concept which might be labeled "class faction," that is, by viewing Settlers and Inuit as factions within an economically marginal class. Again, my preference for the concept of ethnic categories over class faction stems largely from the dissertation's focus and objective. I also believe that

the Settler advantage in resource production and general standard of living can, in itself, be deceiving since both ethnic categories operate according to different systems of social organization and values.

However, a number of scholars have openly weighed the analytical advantages of the concept of class as opposed to ethnicity and have favoured the former concept. Gans (1964) for example, in his study of Boston Italian immigrants, questions whether the principal difference between Italian "peer group society" and that of middle class Bostonians can be explained by class or ethnicity. Likewise, Robbins (1975) poses a similar question regarding social relations in a western Labrador mining town. Notwithstanding the fact that both Gans and Robbins confer analytical primacy to class rather than ethnicity, I still maintain that ethnicity, as defined below, is more appropriate to the Makkovik data than is class. My reasons are as follows: First, by applying class criteria to Settlers and/or Inuit, one not only assumes all the characteristics which purportedly underlie class position but, in so doing, begs most of the important questions concerning the actual and rather unique socio-economic conditions which make northern Labrador people both dependent on, yet isolated from, the national system. Second, unlike Gans and Robbins, my interest lies not in comparing Makkovik Settlers and/or Inuit with another socio-economic entity (e.g., Inuit of other communities, "working class" Newfoundlanders, or external administrators temporarily working in Makkovik), but in the way each maintains its distinctiveness in

relation to the other. In short, since my focus centres on the maintenance of the Settler-Inuit dichotomy within one community, the concept of class, with its comparative and economic referents, is considered less appropriate than is the ethnic category concept.

Finally, my distinction between the terms cultural group, ethnic category, and ethnicity stems from my belief that these are specific conceptual tools, each having separate analytical purposes. Henceforth, when referring to Settlers and Inuit as ethnic categories, I am suggesting that their 'members' recognize a shared cultural heritage, real or putative, and an identity different from that of other ethnic statuses. Isajiw (1974:111) has recently written that ethnic concepts (e.g., ethnicity, ethnic group, etc.) are infrequently and inadequately defined in many studies on the topic. In this dissertation, by ethnicity, I am referring to social relationships between persons of different ethnic statuses. I also maintain that the concept of cultural groups and ethnic categories describe different kinds of social phenomena. The former concept describes any human group sharing a common 'blueprint' for living. Those sharing that blueprint need not be conscious of a collective identity in relation to and distinct from another such cultural group. For example, prior to contact with European explorers in the early 19th century, the isolated Thule (or "Polar") Eskimos of northwestern Greenland considered themselves the only people on earth (Hughes 1965:10). As used here then, the concept of the cultural group corresponds to traditional anthropological conceptions of the 'cultural isolate.' Patterson has also recently distinguished

between cultural groups and ethnic groups by stating that, "a cultural group, or segments of it, may become an ethnic group but only when the conditions of ethnicity are met" (1975:310). In summary, as used here, the concept ethnicity refers to the form of interaction or relations between persons of different ethnic statuses, within poly-ethnic or plural societies (cf. Cohen 1974a, 1974b; Glazer and Moynihan 1975).

According to this perspective, prior to the relocation of Inuit to Makkovik (see Chapter II), the Settlers of Makkovik or the Inuit of Hebron could be considered cultural groups. However, since their common residence in Makkovik, both peoples should be considered ethnic categories while relations between them termed "ethnicity."

The Old Ethnicity

While particular terms and emphases have changed, the study of ethnic groups and the relations between them, ethnicity, has a long history in the social sciences, especially sociology. Until recently, anthropologists have been more inclined to study ethnic identity, that is, the subjective perception of an affiliation with or 'belonging' to a particular ethnic group. Prior to discussing recent anthropological interest in ethnic studies, I briefly refer to some of the dominant themes and problems of previous ethnic research, that which has been called the 'old ethnicity' (Bennett 1975).

Much of the old ethnicity was concerned with describing the adaptation of immigrants to North America. Very often, a dominant theme of immigrant studies was assimilation, the "process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture" (Berry 1965:247). Assimilation studies argued the inevitability, even the desirability that ethnic groups (e.g., the Italians, Polish, or Irish) melt into American culture.

Another dominant theme was (and still is) pluralism. Furnivall's (1944) classic description of colonial Indonesia as a 'medley of peoples' who mix but do not combine, a plural society, the various groups of which are linked to a common economic or political structure was, of course, an early example of the pluralistic model. Unlike the assimilation model, which began to encounter criticism in the 1950s, pluralism (or various approaches to pluralism), as a model of ethnicity, has survived (cf. e.g., Colby and van den Berghe 1969; R. Cohen and J. Middleton 1970; Kuper and Smith 1969).

As recent critics have pointed out (cf. Barth 1969a; Bennett 1975), a major conceptual difficulty of the 'old ethnicity' was its tendency to equate an ethnic group with a culture, a race, and a population. The consequence of this equation was not only to render the ethnic group concept of dubious analytical import but to ignore whatever social relevance ethnic affiliation might (or might not) have. In my view, an important step toward development of a set of ethnic concepts analytically distinct from culture, population, or 'race' emerged as a result of the dialogue between American cultural anthropologists and British social anthropologists since

the 1950s. Such ethnic concepts, similar to those used here, are proposed by practitioners of the 'new ethnicity.'

The New Ethnicity

In his Introduction to The New Ethnicity, Bennett (1975) states that the new anthropological approach to ethnicity has a double meaning. In his view, its meaning is,

First, the "newness" implies something new in the world-- or at least something newly noticed by anthropologists: the proclivity of people to seize on traditional cultural symbols as a definition of their own identity--either to assert the Self over and above the impersonal State, or to obtain the resources one needs to survive and to consume.

The second meaning is, Bennett continues,

Intradisciplinary: it refers to the shift from a culture-population-group frame of reference in anthropology to a cognitive and behavioral-strategy frame, which view ethnicity as a component of social participation. This, I would assume, represents a substantial shift in basic theoretical outlook. There are two major sources for this shift; the first is the work of Fredrik Barth on ethnic boundaries and identity: the second is the general field of social transactionalism and strategy analysis (1975: 3-4, my emphasis).

As Bennett notes, Barth's influence on the "new ethnicity" is considerable and since, with certain differences in emphasis, my understanding of ethnicity owes much to Barth's work, his contribution needs to be summarized. To begin, Barth's ethnicity appears grounded in three anthropological sources: Nadel's (1969) work on role theory and social boundaries; Goffman (1959) and others on symbolic interactionism and role performance; and formalist economics, with its emphasis on choice.

Barth's seminal contribution is synthesized in his Introduction (1969a) to his edited volume Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference (1969). Barth begins with two assumptions. First, rather than confusing overt cultural features as being synonymous with the characteristics of an ethnic group, we should view such features as an implication or result of affiliation with that group. Second, ethnic groups should be considered forms of social organization, the critical features of which are the characteristics of self-ascription and ascription by others. According to Barth, our attention should focus on the extent and manner by which actors use ethnic identity to categorize themselves and others for purposes of social interaction. The implication of these assumptions is that ethnic concepts describe a particular kind of social relations, those between groups whose members determine what cultural features are, in fact, diacritical to group identity.

This more emic emphasis rejects what I've already described as the major conceptual difficulty of the old ethnicity, that is, the assumption that an ethnic group "= a race = a culture = a language = a society = a unit which rejects or discriminates against others" (Barth 1969a:11). Thus, instead of letting such 'objective' characteristics inform us as to what an ethnic group is, Barth suggests that we concentrate on whatever characteristics the actors themselves consider important to affiliation with their ethnic category. In terms of the Makkovik material, Barth's approach implies the following: instead of considering Inuit language as yet another objective cultural feature associated with being Inuit, that

we examine the social contexts and implications of language usage, its social meaning (if any) to those using it, its use (if any) by bilingual Settlers, and so on.

By viewing ethnic groups as forms of social organization, Barth considers ethnic identity a social status. Those having that status (that is, persons of a particular ethnic category), exhibit (in varying degrees and in particular social situations) the expected behavioral characteristics of it. In Barth's (1969a:14) words, "since belonging to an ethnic category implies being a certain kind of person, having that basic identity, it also implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself, by those standards that are relevant to that identity." I maintain that by considering ethnic identity a social status, Barth disentangles the concept of "identity" from the psychological and emotive trappings which has characterized many past (e.g., Hughes 1958; Chance 1965) and some recent (e.g., DeVos 1975) ethnic studies. Viewed as a status, focus shifts to structural questions such as the rights and obligations of an ethnic identity; the ways in which ethnic identity constrains (or does not constrain) individuals within polyethnic societies; and the manner in which actors manage or express their ethnic status.

Barth's emphasis leads him to suggest that the primary object of ethnic research should be to concentrate on the so-called boundaries of ethnic groups. He states that,

The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses. The boundaries to which we must give our attention are, of course, social boundaries, though they may have territorial counterparts. If a group

maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion. Ethnic groups are not merely or necessarily based on the occupation of exclusive territories; and the different ways in which they are maintained, not only by a once-and-for-all recruitment, but by continual expression and validation, need to be analyzed (1969a:15).

Barth also states that boundary maintenance or stable inter-ethnic relations presuppose a

Set of prescriptions governing situations of contact, and allowing for articulation in some sectors or domains of activity, and a set of proscriptions on social situations preventing inter-ethnic interaction in other sectors, and thus insulating parts of the culture from confrontation and modification (1969a:16).

While I have little disagreement with Barth's theoretical statements regarding ethnic groups and boundaries, as explained in the 1969 volume's Introduction, my criticism of "Barth's ethnicity" centres on two points. The first of these is what I consider an incongruency between his theoretical and ethnographic handling of ethnic boundary concept, while the second lies with his inadequate attention to the significant problem of how and why ethnic groups emerge. Let me explain.

My criticism of Barth's ethnographic handling of ethnic boundaries is illustrated by his (1969b) paper and by that of one of his students (Haaland 1969). For example, Barth (1969b) relates how Afghanistan Pathans who are unable to obtain a favourable evaluation from fellow Pathans, shed their Pathan identity in favour of one as Kohistani or Baluch. Barth appears to suggest that "individual boundary crossing" (i.e., in his sense, the acquisition of the values and economic adaptation of an alien group) and a permanent "change of

identity" are homologous (1969a:132). Haaland describes what is evidently a similar case. Here, sedentary Sudanese horticulturalists can become Baggara by adopting the pastoral nomadism locally associated with the latter group. In both cases, individual boundary crossing is equated with a permanent change of identity and, though sometimes caused by economic or political determinants, is accomplished largely as a matter of choice. Perhaps more significantly, individuals who so change their ethnic identity would appear to do so easily and without the social or moral evaluation of their peers. In short, according to this version of boundary crossing, individuals do so with ease and without social consequence.

My objection here is not whether such cases exist (cf. Levine and Campbell 1972:98 on this point), rather that they are most certainly rare and overemphasize that boundary crossing can take place without incurring social costs. There is extensive comparative evidence (cf. e.g., Berry 1969; Colby and van den Berghe 1969; Haugen 1969) supporting my contention that, contra Barth, boundary crossing (variously termed "assimilation," "identity change," "passing," or "ethnic re-definition") rarely occurs without causing ripples in the social system. While there are a number of factors involved in boundary crossing (e.g., the fluidity or rigidity of the boundary itself, the location where passing is attempted, the degree of physical difference between ego and the group into which he/she attempts to assimilate, and so on), it is generally conceded that passing within one's local or natal community is difficult. Again, given that Barth's espoused emphasis is on boundaries and his

description of the ease with which they can be crossed is at odds with other students of the subject, I would agree with Gulliver (1971:308) who, in his review of Barth (1969), concludes that Barth's treatment of the boundary concept is "not altogether clear."

My second criticism of Barth's ethnicity, as mentioned above, is what I maintain to be a lack of emphasis on processual matters, namely, how ethnic groups emerge and persist. When Barth does concentrate on process (cf. e.g., Barth, 1964a), he is clearly describing long-term trends of "preditory expansion," cases where superior environmental conditions encourage the seasonal expansion of one ethnic group into territory formerly inhabited by another (cf. Barth 1964b). Assimilation is the eventual outcome of such "ethnic processes" though we gain little insight into how actors accomplish this. We are also left uninformed as to how cultural traits which are likely indicative of an alternate identity are acquired or communicated. Part of Barth's apparent problem is, once again, with the boundary concept. In the 1964b paper, boundaries are synonymous with a group's territory while his 1969a paper describes boundaries as a set of behaviour appropriate to a group.

Campbell and Levine (1972:81-113) maintain that anthropology's longstanding "problem of ethnic boundaries" can be attributed to certain assumptions, prevalent since Malinowski's functionalist writings, that tribes and other socio-cultural units can be analyzed as named, bounded, and socially-unique entities. They maintain that these assumptions led a generation of fieldworkers to "seek named territorial units . . . [permitting the anthropologist to] . . . set limits

on the extent of his investigation into institutions and their functional properties" (1972:83). Such assumptions were, of course, challenged by Leach's (1954) classic account of Highland Burma communities. I believe that the specific character of a group's boundaries are largely determined by the specific ethnographic setting and by the kinds of structural criteria I propose below. My position then is that while we must be wary of potential ontological problems inherent in standard anthropological assumptions about boundaries, we should not necessarily assume that the boundaries of a particular group of people will be characterized by ambiguity and impermanence. On this last point, for example, Fernandez (1972) criticizes Barth's boundary concept for what he maintains is its rigidity and suggests that ethnic boundaries are inherently vague and ill-defined. This is debatable, but the fact remains that Fernandez is describing the Spanish of Montreal, an ethnographic setting posing obvious problems of valid comparison with Barth's Pathan data.

I maintain that descriptions of particular ethnic groups and generalizations about the rigidity or fluidity of boundaries are more informed when certain structural criteria, common to all ethnic settings, are considered. What I mean by structural criteria fundamentally differs from the kind of typologies proposed by Shibutani and Kwan (1965:223); Ross (1975:54-60); or Handelsmann (1977:187-200). These typologies are based on the extent of formal organization found in ethnic systems. Ross (1975), for example, posits a continuum of four types of "border definition" (e.g., category, collectivity, intensive contact, and formal association),

each determined by the degree or level of border (read boundary) definition. I maintain that such typologies are less useful for present purposes than the structural criteria described below because the latter focus on the conditions specific to ethnicity, or, put differently, to the characteristics of contact between two or more ethnic groupings.

The structural criteria I'm referring to--scale, status, situation and institutional variables--help illuminate the materials presented in chapters to follow. By scale, I am referring to the significance of demographic facts, such as the number of persons of one ethnic status versus that of another. In Makkovik, for example, we'll see that there are roughly three times as many Settlers as Inuit. Consideration of scale prompts questions such as what effect such demographic ratios have on inter-ethnic relations, that is, on ethnicity. Comparisons of other bi-ethnic Labrador communities (e.g., Hopedale and Nain--see Map I), where the proportion of Inuit to Settlers differs from Makkovik, raise new questions about and shed light on the Makkovik case. The criteria I've termed scale also considers that in a community of Makkovik's size (approximately 300), little anonymity is possible and that this, in itself, profoundly affects the character of inter and intra-group relations (cf. e.g., Berreman 1978). In short, the criteria of scale helps understand boundary maintenance in Makkovik by focusing on the demographic dimension.

What I'll call status refers to age, language usage, social network, and ethnic identity--admittedly a broad criteria. We shall

see that language status is clearly related to ethnic status, and, excepting certain ethnically-mixed persons, that all monolingual persons are either Settlers or Inuit.

The criteria labeled situation pertains to the places and events where inter-ethnic encounters customarily occur. There are many subtle nuances to such situations. For example, while I am primarily concerned with ethnic situations within Makkovik, an "Eskimo looking" Settler temporarily visiting St. John's (the provincial capital--where little is known about Labrador's complex ethnic system), could temporarily "pass" as "an Eskimo" by purposefully exaggerating the fact that he resides in Labrador, is knowledgeable about Labrador wildlife, and so on. On the other hand, he might be ascribed (perhaps without his knowledge) "an Eskimo" by St. John's people. I mention this only to establish that possibilities for ambiguity of ethnic status exist beyond Makkovik's community borders. However, the rules governing ethnic situations in Makkovik are more rigid, a fact largely attributable to the criteria of scale discussed above. Even in Makkovik though, the quality of inter-ethnic encounters can vary according to the various places and people present in situations such as the church, private homes, the road, and so on.

My final criterion, labeled institutional variables, considers the effect which institutions such as the Moravian Mission or new native organizations have on ethnic categories and the maintenance of their boundaries in Makkovik. Comparative research (cf. Coughlin 1960; Hicks and Kertzner 1972; Salamone 1974) suggests that government

policies and other institutions sometimes determine the social adaptation of ethnic groups. I believe that such institutional forces also help understand the character of ethnicity in Makkovik. A primary result of such changing circumstances is to make Settlers and Inuit increasingly less responsible for the economic and political conditions which affect them, and, as a result, under little pressure to openly compete or conflict with one another. Hence, the increased role of external institutions in Makkovik life permits the kind of "relations of separateness" and exchange of ethnic symbols which this study describes.

It is incumbent on me, before outlining the process by which Makkovik's ethnic boundaries are continuously re-defined, to explain my own use of the boundary concept. Three points strike me as important, the first of which I have already discussed.

While I agree with Barth's assertion that "boundaries persist despite the flow of personnel across them" (1969a:9), I question that such flow is simply as a matter of individual choice or that it is accomplished without social costs. Passing certainly has occurred in the Labrador case (cf. Ben-Dor, 1966:151-156), however, actors who "become" Inuit or Settler face potential ridicule and gossip. Their children's identity will normally not, however, be subject to such social pressures. Therefore, I maintain as Barth writes (1969b:132) but does not seem to adequately pursue (for example, by providing individual biographies), that what I have called ethnicity is a public phenomenon. This being the case, individuals who are able to permanently cross ethnic boundaries (or, change their ethnic identity)

do so in the face of the scrutiny and judgment of fellow participants in the ethnic system.

My second point follows from the first. That is that boundaries define the distinctiveness of an ethnic category by expressing behaviour which its members believe to be appropriate. Boundaries organize social life, they place maximal limits on a person's behaviour and convey expected norms and values exclusive to ethnic affiliation. To borrow a phrase recently used by Bailey (1971), behaviour which expresses a people's boundaries publicly conveys its definition of a "moral community." I maintain that boundary maintaining behaviour is a social consequence of ethnic affiliation because the norms and values to which members subscribe continually inform other members not only what they cannot do, but also what they should do.

The final point concerns the process by which ethnic boundaries are conveyed. This involves the communication of those cultural traits which are considered appropriate for group members. In some instances, certain culture traits can be selected as symbols of ethnic affiliation. As I explain below, the actual origin of the culture traits selected as symbols is not necessarily important. What is important is their use by actors to express or communicate ethnic affiliation. I consider this process whereby an ethnic category "constructs its social reality" by ascribing a symbolic meaning to particular cultural traits to be continuous, that is, if its boundaries are to persist. I also consider this process to be

the most basic behavioural element in what I've referred to as boundary maintenance.

Boundary Maintenance as a Symbolic Process

In his statement on the 'new ethnicity' quoted above, John Bennett noted that ethnic groups seize on "traditional cultural symbols as a definition of their own identity" (1975:3). It would appear that this phenomenon, though not new, has received increased attention, particularly regarding new or emerging ethnic groups.

Such groups are particularly obvious in Africa, where the effects of decolonialization and urbanization has forced former tribesmen to forge new associations. Mitchell's classic study, The Kalela Dance (1956), illustrates this phenomenon, a case where a new kind of "tribalism" has emerged in industrial Rhodesian townships. This new form of tribalism acts to unite people formerly affiliated with disparate tribes, presenting a common front against the white colonial administration. In addition, given the anonymity and potential confusion of the urban context, the members of urban ethnic groups utilize cues and symbols to communicate affiliation. Mitchell describes the way such symbols communicate ethnic distinctiveness and thus clarify the otherwise confusing task of dealing with strangers. He writes,

It is in a situation such as this, where neighbours are constantly changing and where people from many different tribes are thrown together, that the distinctiveness of other people becomes apparent. This difference is shown in many ways. The most important way, no doubt, is language. But dress, eating habits, music, dances, all provide indicators or badges of ethnic membership (1956:22).

Following Mitchell's study, others (cf. e.g., Cohen, 1969) have observed a similar phenomenon. Emphasizing the political implications of this process, Cohen (1974a:91) writes that

There is now a rapidly accumulating literature demonstrating how under certain circumstances some interest groups exploit parts of their traditional culture in order to articulate informal organizational functions that are used in the struggle of these groups for power within the framework of formal organizations.

This process of employing aspects of traditional culture for new, ethnic purposes is, in my view, conscious, recurrent, and dialectical. Conscious insofar as the ascription of meaning to particular culture traits is mediated by the members of each ethnic category. It is recurrent because, as Barth (1969a) has written, the categorical distinctions which maintain ethnic boundaries need be continually expressed and validated. Finally, this process is dialectical insofar as such distinctions are always made in relation to another ethnic entity. On this last point, Bessac has written that, "Symbols of ethnic awareness sometimes derive from calling attention to differences between one's culture and that of neighbours" (1968: 60). I would substitute the phrase 'always' or 'nearly always' for Bessac's 'sometimes.'

Now what of these culture traits which I've suggested are given new symbolic importance? I have already said that the actual origin of specific traits utilized by a people need not be part of its cultural heritage. We shall see that Makkovik Inuit embrace a number of elements of the Moravian legacy, considering them appropriately "Inuit," Kleivan relates a similar example regarding

Greenlanders (the Inuit of Greenland). He relates that,

In Greenland, Scottish whalers centuries ago taught the Greenlanders to dance various square dances. These dances are still being performed, particularly in the small out-of-the way places, being regarded as "truly old Greenlandic dances" (1970:228).

Occasionally, ethnic groups which have been almost totally assimilated into the dominant society face serious difficulties obtaining symbols with which to distinguish themselves. Hicks and Kertzer (1972), for example, describe how New England Monhegan Indians, lacking 'Indian' symbols believed credible by white society, adopt white stereotypes of Indian identity (e.g., reference to liquor as 'firewater' or praying to the 'Great Spirit') to support their legitimacy as Indians.

A final point regarding the content from which symbolic meaning is produced. I have earlier noted Barth's claim that we should concentrate on boundaries rather than the "cultural stuff" which they enclose. It would appear more appropriate to me to assume that such cultural stuff is all that ethnic groups have to express their boundaries. Smith has recently made a similar point in his study of Indians, Metis, and Inuit in Canada's Mackenzie River Delta. Smith concludes that,

While we agree with Barth (1969:15) that the focus of investigation in such cases as the Mackenzie Delta is more a matter of studying the structural interfaces between social segments and the structures which bridge them, than the 'cultural stuff' which they enclose, we have made a strong attempt to show the role of plural segmental cultural features in establishing and maintaining these interfaces (1975:132).

With Smith then, I agree that an ethnic unit's perceived cultural elements provides the main resource from which ethnic symbols may potentially be drawn.

The chapter to follow describes the historic formation of the categories Settler and Inuit, as well as other historical information essential to understanding contemporary Makkovik.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The process by which Settlers and Inuit use cultural elements to maintain the social division between them is not unique to contemporary Makkovik. Helge Kleivan's study, The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador (1966), documents the historic emergence of the Settler-Inuit dichotomy and attendant convictions of ethnic solidarity held by both categories of people, a phenomenon which began to occur about 1860. This chapter has two primary objectives. The first provides essential historical background material on Labrador in general and Makkovik in particular. For example, one section describes the foundation of the Moravian Mission; another describes changes imposed on Inuit culture by the mission throughout the 19th century. Significantly, the mission's impact was to reduce existing cultural differences between the indigenous Inuit and the European Settlers whose permanent intrusions onto the north coast began during the 19th century and is the topic of a subsequent section.

The chapter's second objective is to explain the historic genesis of the Settler-Inuit distinction as an outcome of 19th century culture contact. The historical data on Inuit-European culture contact as well as the prominent role of the Moravian Mission in encouraging the Settler-Inuit distinction inform us as

to the contemporary inter-group situation in Makkovik. For example, it is clear that early European Settlers and Inuit were dependent on one another during the 19th century and that this mutual inter-dependence explains the close, even symbiotic, inter-ethnic relations of that period, a situation quite unlike that of today.

The historical material presented in this chapter also illuminates my meaning of ethnic concepts, as explained in the previous chapter. Following the historical genesis of the Settler-Inuit distinction, the primarily Settler community of Makkovik and the Inuit community of Hebron developed independent of and enjoyed minimal contact with each other. Consequently, until the late 1950s, when Inuit were relocated to Makkovik, Hebron Inuit and Makkovik Settlers had relatively little concern with their identity in relation to that of the other category. By making them neighbours in Makkovik, relocation has forced Settlers and Inuit to rethink their ethnic identity and has given new meaning to certain formerly unproblematic aspects of their cultural past.

The Establishment of the Moravian Mission

The region referred to as 'Northern Labrador' is that portion of the Quebec-Ungava peninsula bordered on the east by the Labrador Sea; on the west by the Quebec-Labrador boundary; on the north by Cape Chidley; and on the south by Cape Harrison (see Map 1). Northern Labrador's status as a specific region within the Province of Newfoundland-Labrador can be traced to the establishment of the Moravian Mission in the late 18th century.

Until very recently, the Moravian Mission has been the major intrusive agency of culture change in northern Labrador. Therefore, events leading up to its establishment and its subsequent effects on the Inuit-Settler dichotomy requires some comment.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, contact between the ancestors of the contemporary Inuit (the so-called 'Thule Eskimos') and Europeans was characterized by considerable hostility and treachery. Europeans, first fishermen and whalers, and later traders, ventured to the Quebec North Shore and Strait of Belle Isle region where they encountered small groups of Inuit. The Inuit, most of whom lived throughout much of the year in more northerly districts, were lured south each summer by curiosity and by a desire to obtain European goods. The hostile character of these contacts was, as Jenness (1966:7) writes, inevitable since "neither side understood or trusted the other." The Europeans who recorded these hostile contacts, typically viewed the Inuit as instigators, resulting in a body of knowledge from the period in which Inuit are described as simple but also cunning 'savages.' These relations acted to restrict the European fishery and required that the fleets be heavily armed (Gosling 1910:132-133). Under these circumstances, the British, upon gaining control of Labrador from the French in 1763, immediately initiated efforts to pacify the area.

Here then, is where the Moravians enter the story. The Moravian Church (technically, the Unitas Fratrum--the Unity of the Brethren) is, along with the Waldensians, the only Protestant sect to claim Pre-Reformation origins. Founded in 1457, the Church

enjoyed a large following in Bohemia and Moravia until its members were either forced underground or into exile following the defeat of Bohemian Protestants in 1620 (Gollin 1967:4). In the early 18th century, the Moravians were offered and accepted political asylum on the estate of an Austrian nobleman, Count Zinzendorf in Saxony. There, in 1722, they founded the settlement of Herrnhut and, in the decades to follow, the Church underwent a process of resuscitation. Under Zinzendorf's inspiration, during the 1730s, an international missionary program began. Moravian missionaries ventured to the West Indies (1732), to West Greenland (1733), and to Surinam (1735). The West Greenland mission enjoyed some success and, more importantly, provided a handful of missionaries with a knowledge of Inuttitut (Inuit language) and a desire to establish a mission in Labrador.

The first attempt to do so, in 1752, ended in failure when seven of the mission party were killed by Inuit. Nonetheless, the British remained firm in their intention to stabilize the Labrador situation and, in the 1760s, an agreement between the Moravians and the British Government was reached. The Moravians were assured full British civil and military protection and were (reluctantly) granted 100,000 acre land tracts at each mission station, creating in effect, reserves which would theoretically insulate Inuit from further European contacts. The British were optimistic that, as political 'go-betweens' (Hiller 1971a), the missionaries would pacify the Inuit, enabling the stable development of the fishery and demonstrating British sovereignty in Labrador.

Inuit of the Contact Period and
19th Century Culture Change

Recent archaeological, historical, and ethnohistorical studies have greatly increased our understanding of the Labrador Inuit at the time of Moravian contact (cf. e.g., Schledermann 1971; Hiller 1967, 1971b; Taylor 1974). In 1772-1773, the Inuit population numbered approximately 1,460 and was dispersed among a number of "place-groups" between Arvertok (later named "Hopedale" by the Moravians) and Cape Chidley (Taylor 1974:15). Place-group or settlement size varied seasonally, ranging from an average of about 27 people in spring camps to about 158 people in early summer camps (Taylor 1974:15-19). Each place-group, customarily composed of individuals linked by ties of kinship or marriage, identified themselves as the "people of" that place or region and, in describing themselves, affixed the suffix -muit (literally meaning "the people of") to the place name. Thus, given the hunting, fishing, and gathering economy practiced by the Inuit and the corresponding necessity that local groups predictably utilize particular resources seasonally, it is probable that individual kin groups became identified with particular districts of the coast. On a broader, regional level, Labrador Inuit of the historic period apparently identified themselves as Suhinimiut, meaning people of or who dwell in the sun (Turner 1894:176-177). While identification with a particular community awaited the development of permanent Mission Stations by the Moravians, the legacy of the traditional place-group identity system survived into the modern period. We shall see, for

example, that Makkovik's Inuit population relocated from Hebron is primarily composed of three kin groups, each of which historically inhabited separate districts of the coast.

Our knowledge of the belief system of the early contact Labrador Inuit is greatly restricted because early missionaries viewed the Inuit religious system as "heathen superstition" rather than a legitimate belief system. Nevertheless, existing accounts (cf. Cranz 1820; Turner 1894; Hawkes 1970; and Hiller 1967) relate that Inuit interacted with a potentially generous and benignant spirit world, providing appropriate respect and generosity was addressed to it.

It was into this milieu that the missionaries ventured, confident in the righteousness of their 'calling' and assured that they were, by intent and training, the appropriate European agents to pacify the Inuit. The first mission station was established in 1771 at Nunaingoakh (renamed 'Nain' by the missionaries), a sizable Inuit summer camp. After a difficult first winter (cf. Peacock 1960), during which the Brethren observed that most Inuit dispersed to outlying hunting places, the Moravians realized that Nain's location made it a difficult place in which to support large winter population concentrations. Thus, as early as the first winter, began a problem which has plagued the mission well into the 20th century, namely, how to create settled communities (Hiller 1971b: 86-88) when the Inuit economy required seasonal migrations in response to available resources. The missionaries resolved that any subsequent stations would be situated at locations with access

to resources throughout the year. The missionaries also encouraged Inuit to stockpile fish and meat so they would be able to remain at the mission during winter. The second and third stations then, at Okak (1776) and Arvertok (1782--renamed Hopedale), were both locations which supported relatively large populations in the pre-contact period (Taylor 1974:11-12). Steadfast in their goal of sedentary communities yet more realistic as to its attainment, the Brethren initiated a pattern of periodically visiting converts at their outlying hunting and fishing camps during summer and encouraging them to remain in the mission communities during winter. This pattern, which emphasized the period between Christmas and Easter, survived well into the 20th century.

Unlike many Christian missions, the Moravians were reluctant to baptize Inuit who simply showed interest in the mission, Jenness writes that the missionaries "judged faith by its works, not by the eloquence of its words, and they sternly refused to sprinkle the water of baptism on every individual who had learned to recite the Lord's prayer" (1965:14). Thus, five years passed before the first Inuk was converted (1776) but, between 1799 and 1804, a religious 'awakening' occurred, beginning at Hopedale (Cranz 1820:312) and subsequently spreading to Nain and Okak. The reasons for this sudden increase in conversions appear to have been a depression in the Inuit economy; Inuit converts using the mission as a refuge from the social conflicts inherent in the aboriginal culture; the realization that the Moravians were to remain in Labrador; and the effects of the

mission's teachings. Jenness has summarized the increase in Inuit converts between 1771 and 1848 as follows:

In 1801, thirty years after Jens Haven and his two companions first went ashore, 26 missionaries were "labouring in the vineyards" of Nain, Okak, and Hopedale; but of the 162 Eskimos who had settled beside them they had converted only 85. Then at last they won their struggle, and the gospel seed took firm root. Between 1799 and 1804 an intense religious movement gripped the aborigines. By 1810 the population of the three missions had grown from 162 to 457 through an influx of ex-heathen natives from the surrounding districts, and by 1848 the Christian Eskimos between Cape Harrison and Cape Chidley numbered 1,185 out of a total population less than 1,500 (1965:14).

This increase in the number of "Moravian Inuit" resulted in the establishment of additional stations. A complete list of Moravian Mission stations in Labrador, past and present is listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1.--Moravian Mission Stations in Labrador (see Map 1).

Mission Station	Period of Occupation
Nain	1771 - Present
Okak	1776 - 1919
Hopedale	1782 - Present
Hebron	1830 - 1959
Zoar	1865 - 1890
Ramah	1871 - 1907
Makkovik	1896 - Present
Killinek (Cape Chidley)	1904 - 1924
Happy Valley	1957 - Present
North West River	1960 - Present

As the mission's position in northern Labrador was gradually strengthened, a number of its policies had the effect of increasing its control over the lives of Inuit. One such policy was the mission's trading operation, established during the early years of the mission and continuing until 1926. In many ways the whole issue of whether or not the mission should conduct trade remained disputed during the years of its operation. On the one hand, many missionaries believed that economic trade had no place in a religious mission while, on the other hand, the Moravians were afraid that Inuit, if denied access to trade goods, would obtain such goods either from the Hudson Bay Company (HBC), Newfoundland fishermen, or private Settler traders (see below), and thereby amass multiple debts. The mission's trade monopoly, which lasted some 150 years, was therefore in many ways a compromise. While the trade did occasionally produce profit (particularly in the early 19th century), its aim was to provide Inuit with local access to European goods (e.g., gun powder, shot, molasses, biscuits, and so on) and thereby undermine the necessity of them trading elsewhere. Virtually all trade was conducted through the 'grubstake' technique--every Inuk had an account (a passbook) at the mission store and was extended credit (in the form of goods) which was then repaid during various times of the year in the form of seal skins, fox skins, cod liver oil, or handicrafts.

The mission's control of Inuit trade increased its ability to transform various aspects of the aboriginal culture. Thus, during the years following 1771, the missionaries were able to

encourage changes in Inuit house structures and residence patterns, marriage practices, exploitative patterns, political organization, and belief systems. Changes in these important and diverse aspects of Inuit culture, which are discussed in the next couple of pages, had the effect of leveling or reducing differences between Inuit culture and that of Europeans who later settled permanently on the coast, people whose children became the Settlers discussed later in this chapter, and, indeed, throughout the thesis.

In order to obtain credit at the Mission's stores, Inuit were required to harvest resources having European market value (e.g., cod fish, furs, seal oil, and so on). This entailed basic changes in the Inuit annual economic cycle since some of these marketable resources (e.g., cod fish and fox furs), which had had minimal importance for the aboriginal adaptation, were available at the same season as were resources critical to the aboriginal economy. The new value of these marketable resources thus meant that Inuit had to either forego or reduce acquisition of formerly important renewable resources. The economic patterns which developed around exploitation of these hitherto underused resources sometimes conflicted with the sexual division of labour and values of the aboriginal system. Cod fishing, for example, which was to become the cornerstone of Moravian Inuit economy had traditionally been of minor significance and was, in any event, an economic activity performed by old people, women, and children. In the pre-mission economy, the period during which cod fish are plentiful (August-September), Inuit men were involved in the important caribou hunt,

primarily to acquire skins necessary for winter clothing. Thus, not only was cod fish (and cod fishing) of minor importance in the pre-mission economy but the procurement of the resource was considered 'women's work' by Inuit hunters (Taylor 1974). Nonetheless, increasing Inuit dependence on trade goods led to an "explosive expansion" of the Inuit cod fishery during the 1860s and 1870s (Kleivan 1966: 56).

Another important economic change was the mission's introduction of nets for use in an organized harp seal fishery (see Appendix I: Labrador Natural Environment, for harp seal). With the exception of Schledermann (1971:56-57), who presents tentative archaeological evidence suggesting that seal nets were used prior to European contact, most students of northern Labrador believe that nets were introduced by the Moravians (cf. e.g., Gosling 1910:284-285; Kelivan 1966:49). In any event, by the 1820s, the missionaries had mobilized Inuit sealing crews for a concerted harp seal fishery, employing nets owned by the mission (Kleivan 1966:62). This fishery, which lasted until the late 1920s, produced marketable seal oil and skins for export while, for their labour, Inuit crewmen received the meat of every third seal they captured (Kleivan 1966:62). The point I should like to emphasize here is that the mission seal fishery had few lasting advantages for Inuit producers since inadequate possibilities existed for them to control the means to production. Thus, in addition to owning the nets, the mission also owned the sealing berths (the most favourable locations where seal nets were set), and of course, marketed the seal products. Thus, in the short

term, Inuit received meat as remuneration but, in the long run, the mission seal fishery did little to create independent Inuit seal fishermen. I shall return to this point in Chapter III, specifically in rejecting Ben-Dor's (1966:53-54) conclusion that the failure of Makkovik Inuit to use seal nets exemplifies their traditional approach to economic behaviour.

Excepting the mission's sealing system, a series of implicit rules governed Inuit ownership and allocation of resources during the traditional period in areas north of Nain (LIA 1977:325-330). These rules respected the equivalent right of all Inuit to all hunting and fishing locations and resources. The extremely low population density of the far northern coast as well as a fluctuating but typically rich resource base did not necessitate more formalized, explicit regulations, such as tended to occur at Hopedale and Nain (see Map I). Thus, northern Inuit relocated to Makkovik in the late 1950s faced not only a new and strange environment but one where established Settler ownership procedures differed dramatically from their traditional system.

By the late 19th and early 20th century, the traditional annual economic cycle of the Labrador Inuit can be summarized as follows (based on Jenness 1965:27):

Christmas-Easter	trapping (usually from mission stations), hunting for seals and birds
April	caribou hunting
May-early July	harpooning and/or shooting seals
July	arctic char fishing

August-September	cod fishing and hunting sea birds
October-Christmas	netting harp seals for the mission

The details of this "Moravian Inuit" annual economic cycle remain helpful in understanding the contemporary subsistence economy of the relocated Hebron Inuit.

By the mid-19th century, the community structure of the four mission stations had obtained some stability. During winter, each station contained approximately 200-300 people but each spring, small, kinship-based groups dispersed to their customary hunting and fishing places. While the missionaries attempted to visit these camps periodically, their influence within the mission stations was greater and is, in any event, better documented.

An important feature of the political organization of the aboriginal society were men's meetings, convened when the necessity arose to discuss and resolve disputes (cf. Kleivan 1966:72-73). These informal gatherings survive into the modern period (cf. Ben-Dor 1966:87) but undoubtedly were far more important in maintaining social control prior to the arrival of the Moravians. In the late 1770s, the missionaries introduced a Moravian institution, the choir system, to Labrador. Hiller (1971b:849) describes the functions of the Labrador choir system as follows.

The choirs were instruments of social control as well as of socialization. In the meetings, the missionaries not only followed the spiritual progress of the converts, but also learned about all happenings in the settlements. They (the missionaries) complained that the Eskimos were 'by nature very reserved and cautious in saying anything bad of each other' and found that they had to rely for information on a 'speaking,' that is, an interview between an individual

Eskimo and a missionary, in which the former was expected to describe the state of his faith and anything that was on his conscience--in effect, an informal confession. From such information the missionaries could discipline the confessionalist and any deviants he mentioned.

In other parts of the world, the choir system subdivided Moravian communities according to sex, age, and marital status. Such subdivisions constituted separate living and working segments of the whole settlement. For example, individuals affiliated with a choir (e.g., the single Brethren's choir or the widow's choir) lived and worked together; choirs functioned as surrogate families (Gollin 1967:67-89). In Labrador, however, the choir system never obtained the social and economic significance of the standard Moravian model. Nonetheless, each Inuit community had six choirs, each of which occasionally met with the missionary.

In addition to the choir system, since 1901, each mission station has been governed by a so-called 'watch committee' or board (called by Inuit the Angajokaukattiget) composed of appointed 'chapel servants' (Kivgat), elected 'elders' (angajokaukatigik), and the missionary. Chapel servants are respected men (and later, women) whose lifetime appointments were made by the missionary and whose responsibilities centered on church maintenance. Elders (men over 25 years of age) are elected by the congregation with a ratio of one elder for every 100 members of a congregation. Elders are expected to be sober and enlightened individuals who, in concert with the missionary, adjudicate a broad range of secular disputes such as, for example, domestic squabbles, disagreements over the sharing of game, or incidents of physical aggression. Finally,

Inuit elders, as middlemen between the missionary and the congregation occupy a precarious position which, notwithstanding, has become the aspired leadership status among Inuit.

Having presented some of the effects which the Moravian Mission has had on the historic (and, as will be evident later, contemporary) Labrador Inuit, I conclude this section by making more explicit certain Moravian interpretations of the Inuit economic behaviour.

Missionaries selected for the Labrador mission were typically of German or British working class background and were usually skilled at such trades as carpentry, boat building, or metal work (Whiteley 1964; Miller 1967). Moravian theology (to the extent there was one) was less concerned with doctrine than with conduct; communal life was primary; Christ was the essential figure and the Bible the sole source of dogma (Gollin 1967). The early Moravians (especially Count Zinzendorf) emphasized a religious feeling in Community and, consequently, the sect stressed an active and personal trust in Christ. The extent to which the Moravians were "rational" (in the Weberian sense--see Chapter III) may be debated (cf. Weber 1958: 135-137; Gollin 1967) but, in any event, the Labrador missionaries saw little in Inuit culture which corresponded with prevalent European notions of 'rationality.'

Thus, since first arriving in Labrador, the Moravians have consistently viewed Inuit economic behaviour as haphazard and wasteful. Even those missionaries who understood the importance of sharing were apparently unwilling to accept the Inuit dictum that 'if one starved,

all starved' (Kleivan 1966:66). The missionaries appear to have arrived at their interpretation that Inuit economic behaviour was not 'rational' from four sources of information. First, the cultural background of the missionaries was firmly embedded in European notions of saving, budgeting, and individual gain. Secondly, the Brethren were astonished that in an environment as rich as Labrador periodically appeared to be, starvation and economic hardship could occur. Third, the missionaries appear to have underestimated the impact which mission policy (e.g., trade, population concentration at the stations, changes in social structure, and so on) had had on what had been a delicate Inuit adjustment to the natural environment. Finally, since the Labrador Mission could only afford to remain in Labrador if Inuit were not dependent upon the mission for handouts of food during winter, the Inuit had to stockpile provisions for winter. This last point presented immense difficulties to a society where a person's prestige was not so much measured by what he had as by how readily available it was to others less fortunate. The following illustrations document missionary interpretations of Inuit economic behaviour.

For example, after comparing the relative abundance of fish and game in Labrador with that of Greenland, Cranz laments that, "These supplies are so precarious, and so badly husbanded by this unthrifty race, that they are not unfrequently reduced to the greatest straits in winter" (1820:309). Again on the theme of waste, though from a slightly different perspective, the Hebron missionary records in 1859 that,

When circumstances are favourable for hunting, the Esquimaux, like some other nations who follow the chase, destroy everything they meet with, whether they can make use of it or not--the man who kills the most being proportionally highly esteemed (quoted from Kleivan 1966:53).

The failure of the Inuit to stockpile or preserve food for winter is, as noted, perhaps the most consistently mentioned observation of missionaries regarding Inuit economic behaviour. For example, the Ramah missionary writes in 1897 that:

It is a failing, common, we are told, to nearly all the Ramah people--and those at the other stations too, no doubt--that they are improvident and careless of the future. When they are favoured with success in their hunting and fishing expeditions, they quickly devour all they have got, and cannot easily be persuaded to lay in a supply for other and, maybe, far less fortunate times (P.A. 1897:373, emphasis mine).

Clearly, throughout the 19th century, a cumulative record of Inuit economic behaviour was amassed and, as the 1897 observation indicates, communicated to each new generation of missionaries.

The Settlers

Even while the changes in Inuit culture were occurring under Moravian tutelage during the 19th century, a number of intrusive forces were showing signs of penetrating Moravian Labrador. Each summer, for example, increasing numbers of Newfoundland fishing schooners pushed farther north, reaching Hopedale by 1831 and the coast north of Nain by 1861. Furthermore, between the 1830s and 1860s, the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) opened trading posts between Rigolet and Nachvak Fjord (see Map I). The Moravians very clearly resented such intrusions, fearing their disruptive effect on Inuit economic and moral life. Generally, the HBC located its posts some

distance from the mission stations; however, this did not prevent contact (and trade) with the seasonally nomadic Inuit. Newfoundland fishermen appear to have been less concerned about 'intruding' Moravian 'territory' since they considered Labrador a part of the colony of Newfoundland and therefore an excellent, even if distant, fishing area. In general, the consequences of Inuit contact with fishermen and traders were not beneficial to Inuit (cf. Kleivan 1966: 117-126).

HBC personnel, generally recruited in England, Scotland, Wales or Norway, were required to serve a minimum of five years with the Company. The Company's personnel were almost exclusively single men some of whom, after serving with the Company, decided to remain in Labrador, marry Inuit (and, to a far lesser extent, Indian) women, and subsist as independent traders, trappers, and fishermen. Thus, many of northern Labrador's first generation Settlers originally came to work either with the HBC or another, independent trading company.

Historically, the social process by which the category Settlers emerged from these European-Inuit unions occurred in two phases. In what I shall call the first generation, beginning about 1830, European (and, to a lesser extent, Newfoundlanders and 'Canadian') males took up residence and/or married Inuit women and established independent homesteads along Labrador's protected 'inner coast.' These men frequently purchased trade goods from Newfoundland fishermen each summer, subsequently exchanging these goods with Inuit or Indians. Relationships between the Europeans and natives were generally positive since the European men were

dependent upon local Inuit for wives and skills essential for life in Labrador. Likewise, much to the regret of the mission, Inuit traded with these new strangers because they occasionally stocked 'luxury' goods not available at mission stores.

Despite the dependence of first generation Settler men on the Inuit for wives and skills, their letters 'home' reveal a strong European consciousness and a reluctance to discuss their unions with Inuit women (Kleivan 1966:100). It would also appear that to Inuit, these Europeans were kablunak (white men) and were generally indistinguishable from other, more transient, whites. Few first generation Settlers learned the Inuit language and virtually all continued to describe themselves as 'Norwegians,' 'Scotsmen,' or 'Englishmen.'

It is with the second generation, that is the offspring of these European male-Inuit female unions, that the category 'Settler' or kablunangojok (literally meaning 'half-white' or 'almost like white men') emerged. These individuals, variously called 'white Settlers,' 'half-caste,' 'half-breeds,' or 'Settlers' in mission accounts, came to conceive of themselves as neither European nor Inuit and were so regarded by the mission and the Inuit. This self-conception was buttressed by several social facts: they were usually bilingual, they were physically 'mixed,' and were, of necessity, neither fully European nor Inuit in life style. Now it is of considerable importance that upon reaching marriageable age, these 'Settlers' generally chose other Settlers, rather than Inuit, as spouses. In addition, excepting the more northerly districts of the coast (e.g., from Nain north), second generation Settlers did not

commonly maintain the intense relationships with Inuit which their fathers had. Instead, socio-economic relations were with other Settlers and Newfoundland fishermen. Thus, it is with the second generation that ethnic endogamy and a sense of 'consciousness of kind' develops. That such an identity had emerged by 1874 is evident at the official opening of Zoar, the first Moravian station with a considerable Settler membership:

The English Settlers residing here were not a little gratified that, in the providence of God, the first infant baptized in the new church was a child of people of their own class They recognized in this fact, and did not hesitate to state it, that this station had been commenced specially on their behalf, in order that it might be a means of gathering them together, who before that time had been as sheep having no Shepherd (P.A. 1874, quoted from Kleivan 1966:103).

This passage also indicates that the mission's previous hesitation to accept Settler (or their fathers) had waned, and this important decision deserves brief explanation.

The mission's initial rejection of first generation Settlers was linked to several factors. First of all, given the mission's concern with insulating Inuit from all outside contact, it viewed first generation Settlers as indistinguishable from other whites and as therefore threatening. Secondly, the mission was aware that some first generation Settlers were petty traders and mostly likely viewed them as competition. In actual fact, however, the economy of first generation Settlers may be described as generalized, trade being one aspect of it. Other strategies of this generalized adaptation included small scale gardening, husbandry (goats, chickens, and occasionally, cows), trapping, fishing, and hunting.

I would emphasize then that many first generation Settlers sought to replicate a basically European life style in Labrador and that their transition to a native Labrador life-style (e.g., based on Indian and Inuit culture traits) occurred as they slowly recognized the difficulties of so doing. Finally, first generation Settlers should not be seen as competing with Inuit for commonly valued scarce resources since most of them resided between Hopedale and Cape Harrison, an area south of the main concentration of the Inuit population. Also, Settlers were few in numbers and relied on resources only marginally used by Inuit.

After about 1850, the mission's attitude toward Settlers (now, mainly second generation) changed. An increasing number of Newfoundland fishermen-traders visiting the coast each summer and competition from the HBC caused most second generation Settlers to abandon efforts at trade and, instead, to concentrate on exploiting local natural resources. Beginning about 1860, the mission's liberal (and, in times of economic scarcity, excessive) extension of credit at their stores showed definite signs of upsetting the entire mission trade. The failure of Inuit to meet credit obligations and the near riots which several changes in credit procedures caused, prompted the Moravian General Synod to send Bishop L. T. Reichel on two tours (1861 and 1873) of the coast, to investigate and make recommendations regarding the Labrador mission. While the first Settlers were admitted into the Hopedale congregation as early as 1857, one of Brother Reichel's recommendations was that the mission open a Settler station south of Hopedale. According to Kleivan

(1966:101-102), Reichel found that Settlers were anxious to baptize their children and again hear their mother tongue. In addition, Kleivan writes that,

The Settler's Eskimo wives, however, wished to resume their former connection with the congregations. From a number of notations in the mission reports, we understand that the men, as they become older and see the children grow up, also feel a need for contact with the church (Kleivan 1966: 101).

It is also clear that by the time of Reichel's second tour (1873), the number of Settlers had greatly increased, particularly south of Hopedale (Kleivan 1966:93), and that given the economic burdens facing the mission, Settler trade at mission stores may well have been viewed by the missionaries as a welcome relief.

From the mission perspective then, the establishment of Makkovik as a mission station in 1896 was specifically aimed at serving the dispersed Settler population between Hopedale and Cape Harrison and also, to some extent, as providing a southern buffer against further white encroachment on Inuit communities further north.

Makkovik: Historical Notes

The mission's choice of Makkovik as the location for their southern Settler station must be considered somewhat arbitrary. Prior to the establishment of the mission station, Makkovik had been indistinguishable from the other Settler homesteads along the southern portion of the north Labrador coast. Its original resident, Torsten Andersen, was a Norwegian who, after working for the HBC at Rigolet and Kaipokok (see Map I), had married a woman of "part native

descent" (Fonhus 1968), left the Company, and built a house at Flounder Bight (now Makkovik harbour). The exact date when Andersen settled at Makkovik harbour is uncertain but it was probably in the late 1850s. In any event, after the HBC closed its Kaipokok Post (1878), Andersen began purchasing supplies from Newfoundland fishermen and reselling them to Settler (and the several Inuit) families south of Hopedale. In addition to trading, he supported his wife and ten children by hunting and fishing. Packard, who visited Makkovik during the summer of 1864, describes Andersen as fishing for trout and salmon and as having killed some fifteen caribou during the previous winter (1891:193-194). Packard also remarks that a "partly educated" Inuk lived alongside Andersen and it is probable that Makkovik's earliest two neighbours learned much from each other.

It was mentioned above that the mission's choice of Makkovik was somewhat arbitrary. This statement requires some explanation. In 1892, 177 of Hopedale's Moravian congregation of 352 were Settlers (Davey 1905:248) most of these lived at one of the dozen or so (the exact number is uncertain) homesteads between Hopedale and Cape Harrison. Data are not available as to Makkovik's precise population that year but it probably did not exceed fifteen people; certainly other homesteads contained as many people as Makkovik. Thus, the mission did not choose Makkovik for the size of its population. However, Makkovik's location may well have influenced the mission's choice. Andersen's homestead was approximately half way between Hopedale and Cape Harrison and nearby Kaipokok Bay and Ailik Cape each was home to several Settler families (see Map I).

Furthermore, Makkovik's harbour was relatively well-protected and the settlement was close to good stocks of cod fish and wood. Andersen's small store may have also influenced the mission's decision, since it periodically attracted Settlers to Makkovik to trade. In fact, as I suggest below, Andersen's trading operation was the beginning of a mercantile tradition in Makkovik, a tradition which survives among his contemporary descendents. Compared to other Settlers of his period, Andersen was relatively well-off and despite the fact that he encountered financial difficulties toward the end of his life, his two youngest sons (both of whom remained in Makkovik) acquired capital equipment and entrepreneurial skills. Thus, while similar to other Settler settlements, Andersen's homestead was probably favoured by the mission because of its location, accessibility to wood and fish, and its small store.

During the 1890s another Settler couple moved to Makkovik. Nonetheless, the settlement's population increased slowly, even after the establishment of the mission. Table 2 illustrates Makkovik's population composition and growth between 1892 and 1972.

Rather than present a detailed account of Makkovik's history, in what follows I describe several of the more important socio-economic characteristics of the community as well as important "events" which led to the development of the community I observed in 1971-1972.

Not unlike many small communities in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, cod fishing has been the mainstay of Makkovik's short economic history. Cod fish were caught either by

hand line (that is, by hook and line) or by cod trap during the period between late July and early September. Cod catches were salted and stored, to be sold either 'green' (that is, not sun dried) or dried. Until 1926 Makkovik cod fishermen "sold" (usually by bartering for supplies) their summer catch either to Newfoundland fishermen-merchants or to the Mission.

TABLE 2.--Makkovik Population Composition and Growth: 1982-1972.*

Year	Settlers	Inuit	Mixed	Others	Total
1892	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	15 (estimated)
1905	17	11	d.m.	d.m.	28
1921	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	32
1935	63	3	d.m.	d.m.	69
1945	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	74
1951	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	101
1963	159	140	7	18	324
1972	204	76	10	16	306

* Census materials presented in Table 2 represent the most complete and accurate demographic data available on Makkovik. The two years with complete data, 1963 and 1972, record Ben-Dor's and my own census counts. Unfortunately, data are missing (d.m.) or unavailable for the numbers of Settlers and Inuit in most other years. The category of ethnically-mixed persons includes the children of ethnically-mixed marriages who have not yet indicated a clear choice of ethnic identity (see Chapter IV for discussion). The category "others" includes "outside" administrators (e.g., missionary, government personnel, etc.) and their dependents, temporarily living and working in Makkovik.

An important administrative and economic event affecting the entire north coast occurred in 1926 when the Moravian trading operation, on the verge of bankruptcy, leased its facilities and trading rights to the Hudson Bay Company. Unlike the Mission's trade, which had encouraged the seasonal exploitation of all marketable resources and had had a humanitarian as well as economic aim, the Company concentrated on the fur trade--its intentions were solely to generate profit. The adverse consequences of the HBC trade in northern Labrador, a trading period which lasted until 1942, are well documented (cf. Tanner 1947; Jenness 1965; Kleivan 1966).

In addition to cod fishing and fur trapping (especially during the HBC years), Makkovik Settlers also depended on the autumn and spring harp seal fishery. Unlike Inuit employed in the Mission seal fishery described above, however, Makkovik Settlers owned their seal nets and rights to particular sealing 'berths' (places where seal nets were set). Such family owned sealing berths were locally recognized to belong to particular families and were inherited agnatically. Makkovik's southerly location, when compared with the northern Inuit communities of Nain, Hebron, and so on, meant that land fast ice breaks up early enough in Spring to allow harp seals to enter bays where seal nets were set (cf. Appendix I). Consequently, unlike the situation in more northerly communities (e.g., Hopedale and north--see Map I), Makkovik seal fishermen were able to net seals in Fall and Spring, potentially doubling the amount of seals taken with the same productive technology (cf. Williamson 1964).

As I mentioned above, Makkovik's population increased very slowly in the years following 1896. This clearly bothered the Makkovik missionaries, especially those who had served at other stations where Inuit spent the winter at the stations. Furthermore, prior to establishing a mission station at Makkovik, Settlers living south of Hopedale had evidently consented to spending all or part of the year at Makkovik. Thus, in 1900, the Makkovik missionary reports with regret that, "The people are not so ready to build houses for themselves at Makkovik as they were to promise to do so when first a station was spoken of" (P.A. 1900:243). As I elaborate on below, repeated efforts by the Moravian missionaries at Makkovik to concentrate the dispersed Settler population into the community did not succeed until the 1940s. Until that time, what I shall call the 'Bay Settlers' continued to live away from the mission station, in isolated and relatively independent family-based homesteads.

Table 3 lists the location and population of bay Settler homesteads along the coast north and south of Makkovik, in 1935. This period may be considered the "twilight" of the bay Settler settlement pattern. Within twenty years after these data were collected by the Government of Newfoundland, most of these people, from Tilt Cove in the south and Island Harbour Bay in the north, had moved to Makkovik. Since these people, and their children, constitute approximately one-half of Makkovik's contemporary Settler population and since their adaptation to Makkovik was, to some extent, shaped by their bay settlement pattern, this pattern warrants brief comment.

TABLE 3.--Bay Settler Homesteads and Population (1935).

Place	No. of Families	No. of People	Average Household Size
Tilt Cove	1	3	3
Tessiujaluk	4	31	7.7
Seal Cove	1	9	9
Adlavik	4	15	5
Big Bight	3	15	7.5
Makkovik	10	66	6.6
Makkovik Bay	2	7	3.5
Ailik	3	17	5.6
Kaipokok Bay	8	38	4.7
Island Harbour	3	17	5.6
Island Harbour Bay	1	3	3

I cannot emphasize enough the independence of the traditional bay Settler adaptation. While bay Settlers did enjoy contact with Newfoundland fishermen (at island fishing places in summer) and sporadic contact with other Settlers, they could not predict such contacts and were, consequently, required to allocate and manage all available resources carefully. Each family of bay Settlers became familiar with the minute environmental differences which separated them from their nearest neighbours. However, relative socio-economic independence should not be taken to infer prosperity. For example,

describing the poverty of bay Settlers living south of Makkovik, the Makkovik missionary writes in 1900 that,

some of our people had no flour from shortly after Easter until July, with the exception of a few pounds we were able to give them, from our own supply, for the children. On May 2nd, when we reached the house in Pamialuk, where several families live together, we found them without flour, bread, tea, or molasses: in fact, they had literally nothing eatable in the house. Two of the men had gone to Makkovik to try to get a little food. A third was out looking for partridges, and the two mothers were away picking partridge berries for a meal. The children had eaten nothing that day (P.A. 1900:246).

Obviously, when faced with such lean times, bay Settlers did borrow food, either from others more fortunate or from the mission. However, the ethos of their independent lifestyle tended to reduce or sharply define the circumstances under which individuals did borrow. Thus, when forced to obtain emergency staples from the Mission, bay Settlers would cut wood or do other tasks in exchange. Likewise, the Makkovik Mission report from 1913 relates how the father of a bay Settler family of five, effectively immobilized after six years of tuberculosis ('consumption'), proudly remarked that he "never once had to ask anybody for food" (P.A. 1913:629). In short, the isolation of bay Settler life required self-sufficiency and one's prestige was measured by his ability to obtain and budget resources so as to remain independent of others. Vogt (1955) describes a similar but more extreme case of independence among modern homesteaders in New Mexico, an independence borne more out of a persistent value on "rugged individualism" rather than, as with bay Settlers, on self-sufficiency required by isolation and ecologic-economic realities.

In 1919 the Moravian Mission opened a boarding school at Makkovik. Instruction was in English and the school served Settler children along the entire north coast. The school further reinforced Makkovik's reputation as a centre, a place where one went for church and school. At Nain, another mission school where instruction was in Inuttitut served Inuit youngsters. Both mission schools thus served to perpetuate the categories 'Settler' and 'Inuit.'

Following the province's confederation with Canada in 1949 (see below), education (in English) became compulsory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen. Compulsory education further acted to draw dispersed Settler (and Inuit) families to the Mission stations. At Makkovik, a fire which destroyed the church and boarding school in 1947, encouraged this trend, requiring that Settler families live in the village so that their children could attend the new day school. Additional implications of confederation, such as welfare and old age subsidies, provided added incentives for families to move permanently to the central communities.

Still another implication of confederation was the establishment of a special provincial government agency responsible for northern Labrador. Thus, in 1951, the new administrative agency, the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs (henceforth referred to as the Division), was established within the new Province's Department of Welfare. Since its creation, the Division's impact on northern Labrador has been all pervasive; it operates self-service retail stores and purchases local produce (e.g., fish, furs and so on) in each community. The Division also manages federal funds stipulated

specifically for Labrador's native peoples. The rationale for these funds, which play a substantial role in Makkovik's economy, requires some comment.

When Newfoundland-Labrador joined Canada in 1949, advocates of confederation did not clarify whether or not the federal government would have economic responsibility for Labrador's Indians and Inuit, as it does throughout the rest of Canada (Jenness 1965:74-75). At the heart of this problem, at least with respect to Labrador Inuit, was the Newfoundland Government's inability to distinguish 'bona fide' Inuit from the Settlers with whom they had exchanged physical and cultural traits for over a century. In any case, following confederation, deliberations between the provincial and federal governments resulted in Ottawa accepting a moral obligation for the cost of health care of northern Labrador's Inuit (and Settlers) and Indians. Three years after the initial agreement on health care, in 1954, the two levels of government inaugurated the first of several major cost sharing agreements. Ottawa agreed to supply most of the capital and operating costs of health, education, and general economic development in all 'Inuit' and Indian communities, funds were to be administered by the Province, primarily through the Division.

Makkovik's inclusion under this plan resulted from its being a 'Moravian community' and, consequently, its being served by the Division. Thus, even before substantial numbers of Inuit were relocated to Makkovik in the late 1950s, this primary Settler community was, in the judgment of external administrators, the southernmost "Inuit" community in Labrador.

The Relocation of the Northern Inuit

The relocation of the northern Inuit to Makkovik in the late 1950s presented severe problems to both Settlers and Inuit and, given the focus of this study, is an event of singular importance. Relocation created the situation described by Ben-Dor and myself and required each group to adapt to the fact that "strangers" were to be their neighbours. The adaptation of both Settlers and Inuit to problems presented by relocation are described later. The purpose of what follows is to present the background of this most important event.

Table 4 lists the population and relative ethnic composition of all northern Labrador communities in 1955, just prior to the relocation of the northern Inuit.

TABLE 4.--Northern Labrador Communities: 1955.

Community	Population	Relative Ethnic Composition
<u>Moravian Mission Stations:</u>		
Makkovik	100	C
Hopedale	200	A
Nain	310	A
Hebron	208	B
<u>Communities (or Areas) without Moravian Mission Stations:</u>		
Kaipokok Bay	160	C
Davis Inlet	130	D
Nutak-Okak Bay	202	B

Key to Relative Ethnic Composition: A = Inuit and Settler Community
 B = Primarily Inuit
 C = Primarily Settler
 D = Primarily Naskapi Indian

Prior to relocation, the Inuit community of Hebron was the most northern village on the coast. Its remote location increased the cost of providing an ever-increasing number of services characteristic of the post-confederation era. However, several other factors were also responsible for the decision to abandon the 129 year old Moravian Mission station. For example, to a greater extent than in other Moravian stations, the social cohesion of Hebron had been severally disrupted by the 1918-1919 influenza epidemic, in which 150 of Hebron's 220 Inuit had died. Following the epidemic, the missionaries encouraged Inuit from other Mission stations and from isolated districts (where, in some cases, Inuit had not yet converted to the Moravian religion) to repopulate Hebron. Thus, after 1919, the population of what may be called "new Hebron" was described as "more of a composite congregation than the others of the coast" (P.A. 1924:334). More explicitly, Kleivan describes the social character of this composite population as follows:

Other data also make it justifiable to say that from a sociological standpoint there are less grounds for speaking of the Hebron Eskimos as a unit, than is the case with the Eskimos of Nain and Hopedale, who have a more homogeneous background (1966:31).

Hebron's composite population made the community difficult for Moravians to administer during the forty years (1919-1959) following the epidemic. Of more concern here, however, is the fact that abandonment of the community and relocation of its population exacerbated Hebron's already acephalous political character, impeding the adaptation of relocated Inuit to Makkovik.

Another factor in the decision to close down Hebron was the community's barren setting, approximately thirty miles north of the closest stands of firewood. As Kleivan (1964) has cogently argued, following the transition of house type and heating fuel (from seal fat to wood) in the last century, the inaccessibility of firewood severely taxed the energy and efficiency of Inuit work groups. Nonetheless, even after this transition, Inuit appear to have tolerated the increased amount of time required to secure heating fuel, in exchange for other, more positive, characteristics of Hebron's setting, notably its accessibility to good catches of seals and fish. Perhaps more important than Inuit attitudes about Hebron's location were those of missionaries who continually complained about the lack of firewood and equated the fuel problem, rightly or wrongly, with its effects on Inuit disease. For example, in 1952, the Hebron missionary comments on these problems by saying that "This is the curse of Hebron that, owing to the lack of fuel our people are unable to keep their so-called houses clean or warm" (P.A. 1952, quoted from Kleivan 1966:192). Now keeping these facts explaining the decision to close Hebron in abeyance, at least for the moment, let us briefly consider the decision to close Okak.

Okak lost 207 of its 263 Inuit in the 1918-1919 epidemic. This caused the Mission to close its Okak station but the extremely high natural resource base (e.g., various species of seals, cod fish, arctic char, wood, fur-bearing animals, etc.) of the Nutak-Okak Bay area caused it to be voluntarily repopulated (primarily by Hopedale and Nain Inuit but also by one Makkovik Settler couple--see Chapter

IV) between the 1920s and 1950s. The area's rich resource base and immigration to it subsequently prompted the Hudson Bay Company and later the Division to operate trading stores at Nutak.

The decision to close the Division's Nutak store in 1956 and to relocate its clientele south was therefore not based on limitations of the area's environment. Rather, the decision was explained in terms of reducing the number of settlements in northern Labrador in order to provide better services. In addition, the Division was skeptical about the future of hunting, fishing, and trapping as an economic adaptation and sought instead to transform the people of northern Labrador into wage earners. At the time, the economic future and labour demands of northern Labrador appeared to be in the southern part of the region, either with military base construction or with potential lumber or uranium mining developments in the Makkovik-Kaipokok area.

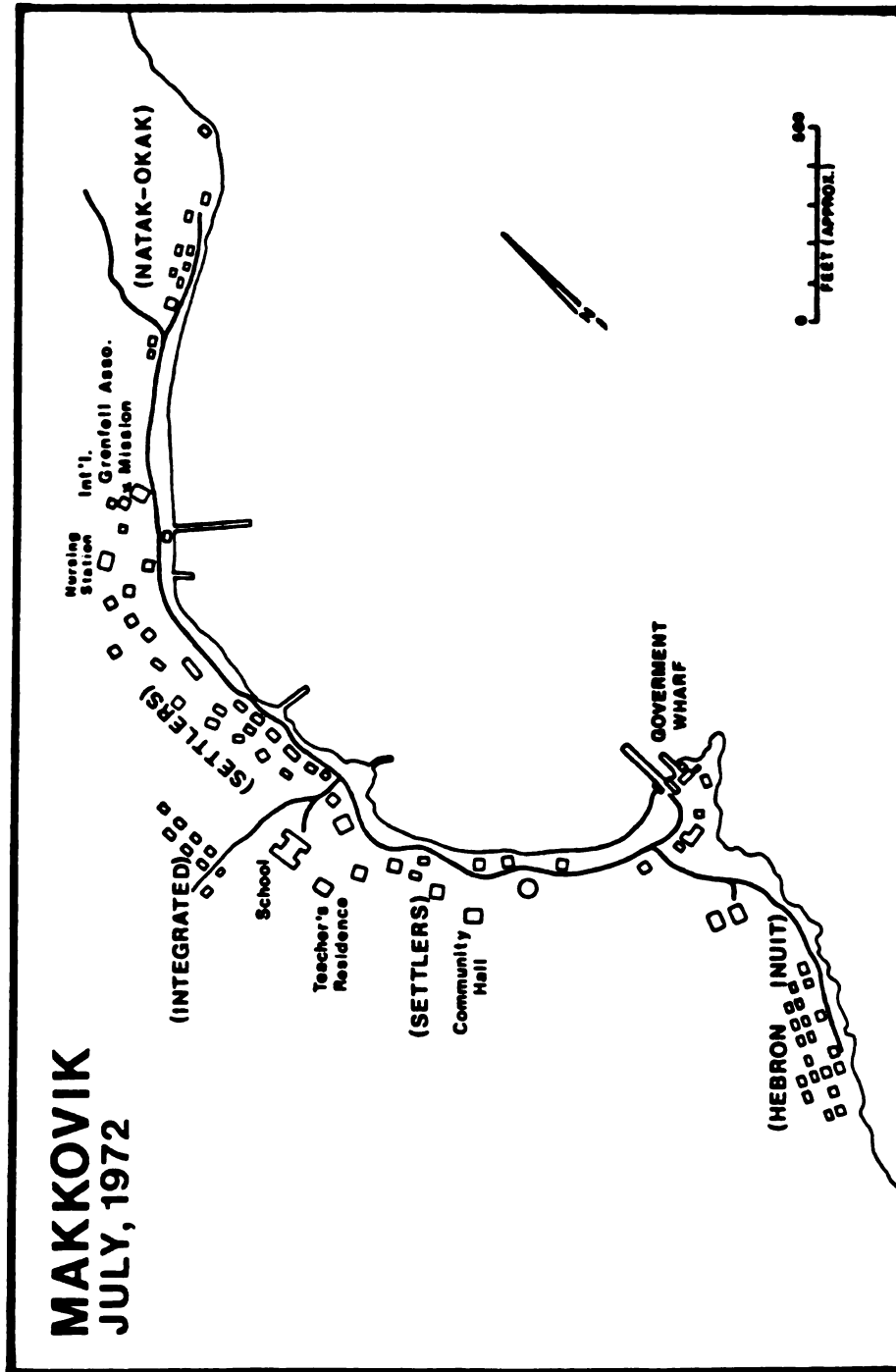
The closing of the Division store at Nutak in 1956 affected about 200 people living in the Nutak-Okak Bay area. All but about 14 of these were Inuit. Some chose to move north to Hebron rather than be settled further south but eventually most moved to Nain and to a lesser extent, Hopedale, Makkovik, North West River, or Happy Valley. Makkovik received 22 of these people during the summer and fall of 1956. Of these, 12 are Inuit, seven are Settler, and three are individuals of mixed ethnic background.

Three years later, the Moravian Mission, the Division, and the International Grenfell Association (the IGA--a health organization, supported by Provincial funding, which serves most of Labrador

and parts of northern Newfoundland) closed their operations at Hebron and resettled that community's approximately 235 Inuit in Hopedale, Nain, and Makkovik. The unilateral decision of administrators to close Hebron against the wishes of its population is underlined by the fact that Inuit were informed of the decision inside church, where established rules prohibited critical discussion of the matter. Makkovik was the final destination for many of what missionaries and Makkovik Settlers came to refer to as the 'Hebron people.' In all, some 130 Inuit arrived in Makkovik between 1958 and 1961. The Moravian Mission, with the consent of local Settlers, decided that housing for the Hebron Inuit be erected in a previously uninhabited section of the village, nearly one mile from the mission compound and well away from the Settler houses (see Map II: Makkovik). One may suspect that the Mission believed that physical separation would provide a sense of 'neighbourhood' for Inuit and would thus ease their adaptation to their new social and ecological setting. In 1960, the Makkovik missionary writes that,

We can report that the settle down of our brethren and sisters from Hebron is almost finished. More houses were built this summer, so that "Hebron" is a little village for itself. What has to be done now is to bring those two "villages" together into one congregation and that is a task for itself and will take years. Makkovik is a settler's settlement, formed by settlers in rules and regulations. Our Hebron people have to fit themselves into this situation and our Makkovik folks try to make them room as we hope in their hearts (P.A. 1960:15).

Ben-Dor's multicellular argument documents the failure of these two "villages" to form one common, interacting community. As indicated in Chapter I, my research endorses this aspect of Ben-Dor's study



Map 2.--Makkovik

but also suggests that both ethnic categories accept the social schism separating them and further it by maintaining their ethnic boundaries.

The historical data presented above set the stage for a description and analysis of the community I observed in 1971-1972. Several historical events and processes clearly emerge as paramount. For example, the establishment of the Moravian Mission and its endorsement of the Inuit-Settler dichotomy, the distinct ecological, social, and religious adaptations of Makkovik Settlers and northern Inuit to different regions of the coast, and the relocation of Inuit to Makkovik, all relate to my thesis that each category draws on elements of its perceived cultural heritage to maintain its distinctiveness. One arena in which the process of selecting cultural elements to emphasize ethnic boundaries is evident in contemporary economic activities, the topic of the chapter to follow.

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMY

Introduction

This chapter describes the Makkovik economy. Unless otherwise noted, all descriptions apply to the field period, 1971-1972. It should be stated at the outset that there are many similarities between the way Settlers and Inuit acquire a living. Indeed, both hunt, fish, work at wage labour and receive government subsidies. As stated above, a number of common institutions (e.g., the Moravian Mission, Division, IGA, school, and so on) serve them both and, particularly since confederation, do not distinguish between them. On first principles then, it might seem more appropriate to describe the Makkovik economy without differentiating between the economic systems of both peoples. My focus on existing differences between the way Settlers and Inuit acquire a living originally stemmed from a methodological problem I encountered during research. This was that in most cases, Settlers and Inuit were reluctant to discuss the obvious absence of relations between them and, for that matter, hesitant to make generalizations about the other ethnic category. It was, however, my observations of certain behaviour which anthropologists routinely label "economic" that first informed me of what appeared to be an effort to classify certain behaviour as appropriately kablunangojok (Settler) or 'Eskimo' (Inuit).

My attention to possible differences between Settler and Inuit economic behaviour was obviously also very largely influenced by Ben-Dor's (1966) account. However, even before going to Makkovik, I had reservations about his theoretical depiction of Settler and Inuit economic behaviour as rational and traditional respectively. Swayed by his descriptions of existing differences then yet hesitant that they could be characterized by Weber's (1964) rational-traditional dichotomy, I attempted to observe and describe economic activities as they occurred. What began to emerge as important to Settlers and Inuit were not so much the similarities in their economic adaptations but existing differences, distinctions which varied considerably in the extent to which an outsider might consider them "differences." For example, both hunt several species of sea mammals during summer though each has its own manner of retrieving these mammals. As the field progressed, I came increasingly to the view outlined in Chapter I, that is, that such differences (in this case economic) provide a resource or pool from which each people differentiates its behaviour from that of the other. Certain cultural traits, such as a particular manner of retrieving sea mammals, actually have become symbolically identified with each ethnic category. Given that both the Settler and the Inuit seek to maintain their distinct identities, attention to such ethnic symbols act to remind them of appropriate and inappropriate ethnic behaviour.

This chapter has three goals. The first and primary one is to describe the similarities and differences between the way Settlers and Inuit produce, distribute and utilize the products of their

respective economic systems. While my aim here is to describe the frequently subtle differences between what Ben-Dor (1966) called the "contrasting adaptations" of both groups, my intention is also ethnographic--that is, to provide the reader with a relatively comprehensive description of economic behaviour observed during the field period.

My second aim follows Barth's (1969a) recommendation that we examine the implications of an ethnic status, rather than simply those overt cultural characteristics ostensibly equated with it. For example, we shall see that Inuit culture prescribes the sharing of fish and game and, to some extent, productive technology. While some sharing also occurs among Settlers, a person's reputation is not evaluated on the basis of his/her willingness to share. This, along with the aforementioned Settler value on self-sufficiency, result in the fact that Settlers enjoy a higher "standard of living," if such is measured by the number of commodities one possesses.

The final aim of this chapter is to respond to Ben-Dor's (1966) claim that Settlers are rational and Inuit traditional in their respective approaches to economic behaviour. Contra Ben-Dor, I shall argue that the economic behaviour of each group is 'rational' insofar as it seeks to achieve its own distinct ends.

In organizing my description of the contemporary Makkovik economy, I rely on certain concepts and foci contained in Cook's (1973) comprehensive overview of economic anthropology. Cook defines the concept of economy as "a culturally mediated field of a human population's activity in which its members interact with their

physical and social environment in the calculated attempt to acquire, directly or indirectly, a living" (1973:810). Cook then explains "three separate yet interdependent event sectors" (1973:812), phases or theoretical categories which comprise the economic field of human activity and permit our analysis of it. These are production, distribution and exchange, and utilization. Production is the "process by which the members of a society appropriate and transform natural resources to satisfy their needs and wants" (1973:814). Distribution "determines what proportion of total output the individual will receive . . . produce is channeled out among individuals or groups by reason of their control over the factors of production or for their labor power expended in the productive process" (1973:823). According to Cook, exchange "determines the specific products into which the individual wants to convert the share allocated to him by distribution . . . exchange then, refers to the various processes by which goods (and services) move between individuals or groups as, for example, between producer and consumer or donor and recipient" (1973:823). The final category, utilization or consumption, refers to the process whereby "products are individually appropriated as objects of use and enjoyment" (1973:814). Utilization encompasses two general kinds of activities, "those employing resources as capital" (e.g., the stockpiling of resources or assets) or "those employing resources for the direct satisfaction of current (immediate) wants" (1973:838). Finally, whereas the production sector is influenced by variables such as ecology, productive technology, and choice, the distribution sector consists of the normative rules

governing the transfer of goods and the utilization sector expresses the values of a given sociocultural system.

As Ben-Dor (1966) observed, the Makkovik economy is intermediate between one based on a total dependence on local natural resources (as was the pre-mission Inuit economy) and one based on a total cash economy (as is that of most 'typical' Canadian communities). Thus, for example, the contemporary Settler or Inuk who shoots a seal requires productive technology obtained by cash despite the fact that the sealskin may then be sold or fashioned into sealskin boots and its meat eaten by the hunter's family or distributed to close kin or friends. Depending on the time of the year, the hunter may return the next day to work on a local construction project or, for that matter, receive an unemployment cheque. In addition, certain local natural resources (e.g., salmon, cod fish, furs, or seal skins) are convertible into cash while, generally speaking, local custom and/or provincial wildlife regulations prohibit the sale of others (e.g., caribou meat, migratory waterfowl, and so on). While Labrador residents generally distinguish between 'working' (for wages) and 'fishing' (for which they also receive cash), this local dichotomy does not restrict individuals practicing both alternatives. All this presents certain organizational difficulties in describing Makkovik's economy and inevitably imposes artificial distinctions on particular economic acts. In what follows, I distinguish between activities which exploit local natural resources, regardless of whether or not they are convertible into cash, and those relying on wages or various other sources of cash.

In order of presentation, I first describe the manner in which Settlers and Inuit produce or exploit local natural resources. These resources are described in the seasonal order in which they are typically procured. Unless otherwise noted, the discussion concentrates on male subsistence activities. Emphasis is given to differences in the way Settlers and Inuit exploit their natural environment but broad similarities are noted. Next, I describe the sources of cash which enter Makkovik. These are also presented in the seasonal order in which they are commonly available. I then describe how both categories distribute and exchange the fruits of the productive sector as well as how each utilizes or consumes the resources it obtains. The final section presents several questions about the validity of Ben-Dor's rational-traditional thesis.

The Seasonal Use of Local Natural Resources¹

Spring

The beginning of Spring in northern Labrador is signaled by increasing daylight hours which occur during March. Longer and warmer days encourage increased outdoor activity both within and beyond the community. Settler and Inuit men take advantage of these gradually warmer and longer days to either journey north to Nain to hunt caribou (see below), obtain firewood, or to hunt ringed seals.

This latter activity is especially characteristic of the early Spring season. Ringed seals (called 'jars' by Settlers,

¹Extensive descriptions of all local natural resources and conditions mentioned in this chapter are presented in Appendix I: Labrador Natural Environment.

netsik by Inuit) crawl onto land fast ice (see Appendix I) in Spring to bask in the warm sun and to moult their hair coat. Both Inuit and Settlers refer to basking ringed seals as utuks and hunt them using one of two traditional Inuit techniques (cf. Manning 1944; Taylor 1974:46). The first and more commonly employed technique utilizes a talak or white cloth blind, behind which the hunter conceals himself while approaching the seal. The second method requires that the hunter crawl along the ice surface toward the seal, mimicking the form and motion characteristic of utuks. The object of either method is to obtain close proximity to the seal without being detected, thus maximizing the hunter's chances of successfully shooting the seal. It should be noted that the cultural origins of utuk hunting are unequivocally Inuit but that, in the case of this economic activity, no ethnic meaning is attributed to the activity. That is, Makkovik Settlers, while aware of its Inuit origins, practice utuk hunting without considering it only an Inuit activity.

Just before the sea ice 'breaks up' signalling the arrival of the open water season, a few Settler men borrow one of the two remaining Settler-owned dog teams to haul seal and/or trout nets to the traditional places where these resources are netted. Unlike the now ubiquitous snowmobile, dogs are used because they are able to recognize and avoid the 'bad' ice conditions characteristic of this season.

In Makkovik Bay, the practice of netting harp seals on their northward migration is all but abandoned. Two reasons explain the demise of net sealing in this once important sealing bay: an apparent

decline in the absolute numbers of harp seals entering the bay and the increased availability of wage labour, which minimizes the overall dependence on this particular resource. Also, since harp seal meat was a primary source of dog food, the decline of harp sealing made the transition from dog team traction to snowmobiles inevitable.

Nonetheless, a few young Settler men continue to set seal nets at agnatically-inherited sealing berths along the north and south side of the bay, just as their fathers and grandfathers had done. When I observed this activity in June 1973, these men were all lineal or affinal relatives of Makkovik's original Settler. Their extremely poor catches (see below) did not dissuade them from securely positioning their large mesh (about 10 inches) seal nets perpendicularly from the shore line, hoping that it would be a better year for seals and that their efforts would be rewarded. Unfortunately, according to my data, not more than ten harp seals were netted in Makkovik Bay spring sealing between 1971-1973.

The netting of harp seals at bays other than Makkovik has been more successful. In the Spring of 1972 and 1973, two young Settlers were allowed use of traditional harp seal berths in Island Harbour Bay, about thirty-five miles northwest of Makkovik. Another Settler two man crew set seal nets at Adlavik Bay, about thirty miles southeast of the community.² Each of these crews caught

²These data apply to Makkovik sealers. Netting harp seals is occasionally more successful elsewhere along the coast. In Spring, 1971, for example, a Hopedale Settler netted an unusually large catch, some 198 harps with a monetary value of approximately \$5000.00.

between fifteen and thirty seals each season, catches considered good by contemporary Makkovik standards.

Another method of obtaining harp seals in Spring long practiced by some Bay Settlers and by Inuit, involves intercepting seals at shallow channels through which they are known to regularly migrate. Hunters conceal themselves (harp seals are believed quite sensitive) amidst the rocks and cliffs along shore and wait until a 'skul' (small herd) of unsuspecting seals pass within shooting range. Seals shot during Spring normally sink. Hence, the Settlers and Inuit who practice this type of harp sealing have boats nearby in which to travel to where seals have been killed. Settlers use fish jiggers (see below) to retrieve sunken seals while Inuit use a harpoon (naulak) to do so. In the Spring of 1972 and again in 1973, a small party of Settler hunters camped on the headlands near Foxy Islands (about 12 miles from Makkovik) and hunted harp seals as they moved through a channel of 'shoal' (shallow) water between the island and the mainland. Though I do not have precise data on the number of harp seals taken by Settlers and Inuit using this method, my impression is that it is nearly equivalent to that of net sealing.

At the beginning of the open water season, small Inuit hunting parties begin hunting harp seals (using the method just described), ringed seals (either on remaining ice pans or in open water), and harbour seals in open water. Open water sealing, conducted from speed or motor boats (see below), occurs sporadically until late November. Given that most open water seal hunting occurs during the Summer and early Fall, a description of it is presented below.

Sea trout and, to a lesser extent, arctic char, both anadromous species, are netted as they enter salt water each Spring. Again, the lineal descendants of Makkovik's earliest Settlers control the trout rights to Makkovik River, the closest river containing considerable numbers of trout. 'Trouting' occurs in the River's estuary and is conducted by the same men who still set seal nets in Makkovik Bay. The typical catch from this fishery, which lasts only a couple of weeks, is approximately 250-300 trout, averaging between two and five pounds each. A few Inuit net sea trout and char but are required to travel to rivers not controlled by Settlers, usually south of the community. Commercially manufactured trout nets, measuring between 20 and 40 fathoms (120-240 feet) in length and one-half fathom (9 feet) deep are used.

When possible, Settlers and Inuit seal hunters combine 'egging' (gathering sea gull eggs) and 'trouting' with seal hunting trips. Ben-Dor (1966:49) implies that only Inuit gather gull eggs, but in fact, both groups do so.³ Another resource gathered after open water season is soft shell clams. Clams are dug by women and children at low tide on the beaches and mud flats in front of the

³Given that the gathering of sea bird eggs is prohibited (by Federal Migratory Sea Bird regulations), Ben-Dor apparently concluded that (from his perspective), the "traditional" economic orientation of Inuit made them oblivious to whatever consequences (i.e., fines or convictions) egging might imply. In point of fact, both Settlers and Inuit gather sea bird eggs. Though aware of existing regulations, Makkovik people consider them irrelevant to coastal Labrador, especially since sea gulls (the most common species affected) are numerous and, in any event, lay a new egg for each one taken, much like domesticated chickens.

community. Only Inuit gather and eat clams. Settlers, though aware of clams, expressed some repulsion at the idea of eating them. To Inuit, clams are one of several 'reserve' resources which are exploited when other, more preferable foods are not readily available.

Summer

The Summer season coincides with preparations for salmon fishing (locally referred to as 'salmon catching'), usually in mid-June and lasts until early September.

Since Ben-Dor's field work (1962-1963), salmon has replaced cod fish as the most important resource in the local economy. The decline of the cod fishery began in the late 1960s; by 1971 many former cod fishermen had acquired the totally different technology necessary for salmon fishing. However, as mentioned below, some former cod fishermen have not chosen to make the expensive transition to salmon fishing and have instead sought wage labour during Summer. In addition, given the capital necessary to make the transition, Inuit have generally faced greater difficulties doing so than have Settlers. Finally, excepting three Settlers who were salmon fishermen during the cod fishing era, all salmon fishermen are essentially faced with learning how to exploit a hitherto relatively unused resource. Given this situation, Settlers have been more often privy to information about salmon fishing from these more experienced Settler salmon fishermen than have Inuit.

As mentioned in the preceeding chapter, cod fishing was a collective pursuit, involving crews of three to five fishermen with a well-organized division of labour. Cod fish were abundant for a short period, consequently, time and energy had to be efficiently managed to ensure maximum catches.

Salmon fishing is quite different. Such fishing can effectively be conducted by a single fisherman, though most men fish with a partner. Salmon are caught in gill-type nets which are tended ('hauled') and emptied twice a day, a process which normally takes three to four hours, depending on the speed of the fisherman's boat, the number of nets he operates, the distance between them, and so on. Salmon are a high quality fish; their meat is delicate and requires considerable care in handling. Salmon are sold (to the Division) fresh, head on, and gutted. In order to receive the highest market value, fishermen must keep their catch cold and sell it as soon as possible. All these facts make salmon fishing a more specialized, labour and capital intensive fishery than was the cod fishery. While Settler and Inuit fishermen prosecute the salmon fishery in an identical manner, Table 5 indicates that Settlers produce more salmon (and trout) than do Inuit.

Several reasons explain the inter (and intra) ethnic variations in salmon sales listed in Table 5. First, the decrease in the numbers of fishermen from 1971 to 1972 is partially explained by federal regulations effective in 1972, which sought to 'professionalize' the salmon fishery by restricting the granting of salmon licenses to those who held licenses the previous year and were not

TABLE 5.--Salmon-Trout Sales to the Division: 1971 and 1972.

1971			1972		
	Fisherman No.	Sales		Fisherman No.	Sales
INUIT:	1	\$ 78.30	INUIT:	10	\$419.44
	2	55.65		13	129.85
	3	15.08		14	8.10
	4	129.38		3	9.60
	5	324.55		15	73.88
	6	138.61	Total (Inuit)		\$640.87
	7	62.85			
	8	65.48			
	9	235.33			
	10	319.41			
	11	4.20			
	12*	469.13			
	13	192.90			
	14	19.50			
Total (Inuit)		\$2,110.37			
SETTLERS:	1	\$1,676.03	SETTLERS:	20	\$1,277.45
	2	171.91		26	650.40
	3	63.95		9	2,137.51
	4*	51.23		10*	461.44
	5*	154.63		16	1,852.43
	6	624.88		1	2,718.15
	7	438.40		19	647.55
	8	4.80		6	962.55
	9	544.86		12*	748.35
	10*	543.10		31*	86.10
	11	99.90		4*	288.55
	12*	522.91		2	527.05
	13*	166.12		3	69.18
	14	73.07		23*	261.60
	15*	97.05		32*	37.58
	16	336.08		18	359.40
	17	33.08		33*	20.40
	18	425.92		5*	152.10
	19	520.21		29	438.06
	20	1,147.88	Total (Settlers)		\$15,967.98
	21	4.80			
	22*	6.38			
	23*	63.00			
	24	57.00			
	25	30.15			
	26	143.45			
	27*	10.18			
	28	13.50			
	29	226.29			
	30	841.90			
Total (Settlers)		\$18,178.59			

* Fishermen under the age of 20 are listed with an asterisk. Also not listed but totaled with Settlers is one fisherman of 'mixed' ethnic status (see Chapter IV) who sold \$306.21 worth of salmon in 1971 and \$121.80 worth of salmon in 1972.

employed full time. There was much controversy and confusion concerning the implementation of these regulations, especially among Inuit, some of whom complained that they were not informed when 1972 licenses were issued and were therefore not able to obtain them. The decrease in the number of Inuit fishermen is further explained by the fact that Inuit fishermen Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 9 were, for various reasons (e.g., 1 was working in Nain; 4 had moved to Hope-dale; 5 was in prison; and so on) not in Makkovik during the Summer of 1972. Finally, Settler fishermen, Nos. 7, 14, 24, and 30 enjoy full-time wage employment and were thus ineligible to hold 1972 licenses.

In further explaining variations in salmon sales, I first consider productive technology. Salmon fishing rewards those having speed boats (open wooden boats, 14-18 feet long) as opposed to the larger (about 28 feet long) and slower 'motor boats' (or trapboats) which were used in the cod fishery. Most Inuit own the latter type (see Table 6), greatly increasing the time it takes to tend nets and thus acting to reduce the potential number of nets a fisherman can employ.

Fishermen purchase speedboats (new or used) from the Division, from individuals in Happy Valley (Goose Bay), from Newfoundland boat builders (on the northeast coast of the island), or from other Makkovik fishermen. Purchase of the solidly constructed and preferred Newfoundland boats is generally limited to those with sufficient capital and who are known by the individual boat builders. In other words, purchase of speedboats built in Newfoundland is

TABLE 6.--Boat Ownership: September 1972.

Owner		Speedboats	Motorboats
SETTLERS:	N.L.	1	1
	14	1	1
	28		1
	N.L.	1	
	N.L.	2	1
	24	1	
	25	1	
	20	2	
	8	1	
	N.L.	1	
	N.L.	1	
	2	1	1
	N.L.		1
	30	2	1
	9	1	
	N.L.		1
	1	1	
	26	1	1
	N.L.	1	
	17		1
		—	—
Total (Settler boats)		19	10
INUIT:	13		1
	8		1
	15		1
	10		1
	5	1	1
	N.L.	1	
		—	—
Total (Inuit boats)		2	5

*Table 6 lists the types of boats owned by Settlers and Inuit and relates boat ownership to productivity, as listed in Table 5. N.L. (not listed) refers to individuals not listed as selling salmon or trout to the Division in 1971 or 1972, as listed in Table 5. Most of those within the N.L. category are permanently employed and their boats are thus used for occasional hunting trips or recreational purposes.

possible only with a handful of relatively affluent Settler fishermen. Other Settlers and Inuit either buy the relatively low quality new speedboats occasionally imported by the Division or used boats. The local demand for speedboats and the lack of capital of those who cannot afford to purchase high quality new boats creates a "seller's market." In 1972, for example, the Division imported several new speedboats to Makkovik, boats which the community's more experienced fishermen examined and immediately judged would not withstand the relatively rough water conditions of the Makkovik area. Nonetheless, several Settlers and Inuit who lacked the cash to buy better boats (or as affluent Settlers would say, the 'lacked the interest' in buying better boats) purchased these speedboats. Upon taking the boats out for a trial run in Makkovik harbour, the 'stem plate' or rear portion of several boats either became loose or fell off. Several near disasters were narrowly averted as men drove their boats into the safety of shallow water.

Nets used in salmon fishing are nylon gill-type nets, usually measuring forty fathoms (240 feet) in length by one and one-half (9 feet) fathoms deep. They have a legally defined minimum mesh size of five inches. In 1968 the Division began renting salmon nets (for \$15.00 per season) to fishermen who were unable to purchase them. The number of nets a fisherman plans to use is formally registered when he acquires his license. The number of nets owned or rented per fisherman averages about four or five.

Less successful Settler or Inuit salmon fishermen arrange partnerships to share gear. For example, if one man owns a speedboat

but its outboard engine is in poor operating condition, he might arrange to fish with another who has an engine in better condition. Similar arrangements surround the use of nets and related gear. Obviously, men fortunate enough to own sufficient salmon fishing gear in good condition enjoy advantages over those who have to compromise in such a partnership.

A second factor which explains variations in the success of salmon fishermen is berth ownership. Berths are simply the locations where salmon nets (or seal nets) are set. In the immediate Makkovik area, most sections of the coast which consistently produce good salmon catches are locally recognized as "belonging" to particular Settler families. Like sealing berths, salmon berths are passed from father to son but to be respected, such rights have to be maintained through continual use. Referring again to Table 5, with a couple of exceptions (e.g., Settler fishermen nos. 9 and 20), most successful fishermen control favoured salmon berths. For example, Settler fishermen nos. 1 and 30 inherited the rights to good salmon places which their fathers had discovered and used. In 1972, fisherman no. 30 was not eligible for a license because of his permanent job, however, he passed the option to use his berths to one of his sons, fisherman no. 16. As can be seen, his son did extremely well with these proven salmon berths. Had fisherman no. 30 not signaled continued ownership of these berths through one of his sons, it is likely another person would have set nets there. As it was, during the summer of 1972, fisherman no. 16 felt that fisherman no. 29, his cousin, set his nets too close to his own. After some quarreling and

gossip by both disputants, no. 29 gave in and moved his closest nets somewhat further down the coastline.

Those Settlers or Inuit who are not fortunate enough to inherit salmon berths establish them by trial and error, on a first come, first serve basis. Men owning fast and reliable speedboats and several nets enjoy an advantage over those who do not since they are able to experiment with new places while enjoying moderate success in berths they have already claimed.

I focus my final comments regarding discrepancies in the earnings of salmon fishermen on several factors which are admittedly difficult to measure. These are skill or knowledge, risk, and effort. It may be noted that Settler fishermen enjoy an edge over those of the Inuit category in their access to information or knowledge on salmon fishing. The reasons for this are apparent. As said above, at least three Makkovik Settlers fished for salmon during the cod fishing era. Knowledge gained by these men has been shared more with other Settlers with whom they normally interact, than with Inuit. Also, "new" salmon fishermen of the English-speaking Settler category have always enjoyed greater contact with transient Newfoundland fishermen than have Inuit. Settlers are therefore more in a position to acquire knowledge on such matters as gear, speedboat motor maintenance, and the strategies of setting salmon nets than are Inuit.

Local fishermen usually attribute good catches to 'luck' but I believe other factors to be involved. As noted above, extensive commercial salmon fishing is a new adaptation for most Makkovik fishermen. However, several of the Settlers who always fished for

salmon have accumulated experience as to how and where salmon nets should be set at various times of the season. Other fishermen have had to obtain salmon fishing knowledge either from these men or through personal experience. In my view, there exist considerable discrepancies in knowledge about salmon fishing. For example, nets sold or rented by the Division are manufactured at the College of Fisheries, St. John's, Newfoundland. Perhaps, ironically (given they were made by the College of Fisheries), several of Makkovik's most successful salmon fishermen expressed the view that these nets are incorrectly 'brought to,' that is, the net mesh articulates with the 'head' or top of the net in such a way that the entire net hangs improperly in the water, minimizing its effectiveness in catching salmon. These more successful fishermen (who normally purchased better nets directly from Newfoundland merchants) argued that the Division nets, to operate properly, had to be 're-hung' or retied. While these fishermen made no effort to conceal their opinion from others, not all fishermen followed their advice; many fishermen used Division nets without altering them.

Few salmon fishermen appear to have formulated integrated "theories" or strategies about salmon fishing as they have for exploiting other species. One Settler who has formulated such strategies credited his knowledge to his contact with an affluent Newfoundland merchant and former salmon fisherman, a man who, until recently, spent his holidays salmon fishing near Makkovik. In late August 1972, when salmon returns began to decline, this Settler explained that the reason why other salmon fishermen were doing

poorly was that they were setting their nets in coves and bays, rather than at capes and headlands, information he had acquired from the Newfoundland merchant.

Risk refers to the extent to which fishermen invest in additional technology as well as that to which they set and tend nets along exposed sections of the coast and travel to and from their nets in rough weather. All fishermen speak of fishing as a 'gamble.' By this they are simply speaking of whether or not salmon happen to end up in their nets. However, given the recent decline of the cod fishery, all but a few previously successful salmon fishermen are hesitant to purchase extensive amounts or experiment with new technology. One successful Settler salmon fisherman, who owned and operated two speedboats along with his several adult sons, repeatedly spoke of his intentions to purchase a longliner (a type of fishing boat, usually about fifty feet in length and from which one can fish several different species) to diversify and extend his fishing efforts.

Used in its other sense, risk is synonymous with the extent of one's daring. Under certain weather and sea conditions, few fishermen venture to their nets while in others, perhaps only slightly less severe, some fishermen will tend their nets, others will not. Thus, the fact that fisherman X does not set nets outside Makkovik Bay or is hesitant to tend his nets in moderately rough water is locally used to explain his low catches. Generally, the more productive fishermen are those relatively undaunted by where and under what conditions nets are set and tended.

As used in this last sense, risk and effort are interrelated. It can be said that to some fishermen, salmon fishing is more of a full-time occupation than with others. When not actually fishing, some men spend their time ashore cleaning 'dirt' (various forms of algae) from nets so that these can replace those currently being used in fishing. Other men do not clean nets as regularly and their nets accumulate with algae, thus minimizing their effectiveness.

The interplay of all these factors: technology, berth location, knowledge, risk, and effort all influence the success (or failure) of particular fishermen. The general pattern which emerges is one in which a relatively small number of Settler salmon fishermen obtain the proper combination of these variables to realize large catches. However, other Settlers and most Inuit who do not realize large salmon catches, are sometimes successful at short-term cod fishing. Thus, while cod fish are no longer as plentiful as they once were, some cod are caught for household consumption and sale. During August and September 1971, one Inuit crew fished for cod fish and, when one considers their minimal investment in gear, did quite well. When I visited these cod fishermen in early September they had already caught and salted approximately one hundred quintals (one quintal equals 112 pounds of dried cod or 224 pounds of 'green' cod) of cod fish and had the carcasses of three white beaked dolphins (see below) hanging to dry. When they stopped fishing later that month, they sold 129 quintals of 'green' cod fish for approximately \$1550.00 or about \$300.00 per fisherman. The fact that they lived outside Makkovik (first at Tom's Cove, later at

Ironbound Islands) while fishing placed them in an area where seals, sea birds, and dolphins could also be taken.

Throughout the Summer and early Autumn, Settlers and Inuit hunt ringed and harbour seals from boats. Most seal hunting occurs after the wane of the salmon season. From a monetary standpoint, seal hunting (specifically the sale of seal skins) is less important than salmon fishing or wage labour, yet all men attach considerable importance to the hunt and, to some extent, a man's prestige is enhanced by his hunting skills.

Both ringed and harbour seals are frequently found in river estuaries, coves, and along the shores of islands. Both Settlers and Inuit locate seals by slowly cruising through areas where seals are likely to be seen. They continually scan the shoreline for "seal-like" objects, studying such objects until loons, rocks, sticks, and so on, are ascertained not to be seals. Once a seal is spotted, hunters can normally identify its species and approximate age according to its behaviour in the water, style of diving, the location where it is seen, and so on. Such discrimination determines the extent to which a seal will be pursued. For example, an adult harbour seal (called a 'dotter' by Settlers: kasigiak by Inuit) is considered 'cute' or intelligent and therefore extremely difficult to kill. They are not usually pursued as long as are young harbour seals or ringed seals. Regardless of who sees a seal first, it 'belongs' to the person killing it. Seals shot during summer normally float. When they do not, Settlers retrieve them with fish jiggers. Jiggers are small (approximately six inches long) lead

lures, shaped like a small fish, with two hooks protruding from the bottom. Settlers are skilled at using fish jiggers as "miniature grappling hooks" to retrieve various objects which might accidentally fall overboard. However, because of their smooth body surface, seals (as well as other sea mammals) are difficult to retrieve with jiggers.

As noted above, in contrast to Settlers, Inuit use a harpoon to retrieve sinking sea mammals. While hunters from both groups openly acknowledge that the straight shafted harpoon is superior to the jigger for retrieving sea mammals, Settlers show no inclination to adopt this Inuit trait. As I argue in Chapter V, the use of jiggers is not the trivial ethnographic fact it may appear. Instead, it is the sort of evidence which raises questions concerning Bendor's assertion that Settlers approach economic behaviour rationally. More importantly, I shall argue that Settlers are reluctant to adopt the use of the harpoon because it is considered an appropriately Inuit cultural trait.

Another sea mammal hunted in late Summer and early Autumn is the white beaked dolphin (called 'jumpers' by Settlers; adlouasiak by Inuit). Both peoples hunt dolphins in a similar fashion, shooting them from speedboats or motor boats. Once again though, each uses the methods of retrieval just described. While hunters from both groups lose some dolphins shot, it would appear Settler hunters lose more than Inuit. A rather extreme example of the inefficiency of Settlers using fish jiggers to retrieve dolphins occurred in late August 1971. On a three day seal hunting trip, two

Settlers killed and lost eleven dolphins before one was retrieved. It should be said that Settlers and Inuit do not pursue dolphins with the same diligence. Dolphins are at least partially hunted by Settlers for "sport" while Inuit value dolphin meat and consider it worthy of serious effort.

Fall

Fall activities begin in late August and last until the freezing of the sea ice in mid-December. In late August and early September, several species of berries (particularly the 'bakeapple' and blueberry) are gathered for household consumption. If hunting or fishing outside Makkovik, both Settlers and Inuit pick berries but, to my knowledge, only Settlers embark on trips specifically to obtain them. Formerly, berry picking was a family activity but with compulsory education and community centralization, such trips are nearly always conducted by men who travel by speedboat to islands where berries commonly grow. Settlers consider bakeapples a delicacy fully justifying these long and occasionally expensive trips.

With the opening of the migratory bird season (September 1), Settlers and Inuit hunt a variety of waterfowl. Excepting the Canada Goose, which is hunted in hilly terrain where geese feed during Autumn, most waterfowl are hunted from boat along the sea coast. Settlers attach considerable importance to hunting waterfowl, particularly geese. Among young Settler men, an informal count is kept on how many geese each hunter has killed. When

compared with the Settlers, Inuit spend considerably less time hunting waterfowl and do not usually conduct hunting trips specifically for sea birds. Instead, they kill birds as they encounter them, usually while seal hunting.

As said above, Inuit continue hunting seals from boats right up to freeze-up while Settlers normally take their boats out of the water in late October or early November. Formerly, during late Fall, Settlers would net harp seals on their southern migration but this is no longer done. In the Fall of 1971, the only person to set seal nets in Makkovik Bay was an Inuk. He caught two young harbour seals and one white whale. In any case, after taking their boats out of water, some Settlers, particularly young men, hunt spruce grouse, porcupine, and ptarmigan.

By December, sufficient snow cover permits more extensive hunting on the land by snowmobile. Only now, with 'freeze-up' imminent, do Inuit remove their boats from the water. As soon as the sea ice permits, Inuit (and some Settlers) hunters travel to the sea ice edge (called the sina by both groups) to hunt ringed seals. Sina hunting occurs until late February. Hunters travel to the sina by snowmobiles, usually towing a sledge (called a komatik by both groups) carrying the 'punt' or small row boat used to retrieve seals. Ringed (and, to a lesser extent, bearded) seals are shot from the edge of the sea ice and retrieved by boat. The numbers of Inuit hunting from the sina is somewhat restricted by an absence of technology necessary for this kind of hunting. As in many other subsistence pursuits then, temporary Inuit hunting partnerships

develop which pool available technology: one person has a snow-mobile, another a komatik, and so on. However, only rarely do Inuit borrow technology or form partnerships with Settlers. On the other hand, most Settlers own the productive technology necessary for late Fall and Winter hunting.

Winter

Winter begins in late December and lasts until late March. Considerable time and energy is consumed in household tasks such as securing fuel and water. In 1971-1972 some 32 of Makkovik's 52 Settler and Inuit households (61.5%) used wood as either their primary or secondary source of fuel. Williamson (1964:74) estimates that the average Nain (Labrador) household consumes about 20 cords of firewood per annum. My own estimates were that komatik loads average between five and eight logs (locally called 'sticks'), enough firewood for about two to three days of heating fuel during the coldest months. Most Settlers and Inuit cut enough wood at one time for two to four loads. Wood gathering, hauling, sawing, and splitting thus consumes between one and one-half to two days per week for each household using wood.

Households not burning wood, or those which use it as only a supplementary source of fuel, are heated by stove oil, purchased in 45 gallon container drums from the Division. Any estimate of comparable costs of wood versus stove oil must consider the costs of owning and maintaining snowmobiles since they are necessary (see Table 7) for hauling wood. I estimate that snowmobiles cost about

\$600.00 per year or \$55.00 per month to operate.⁴ This figure applies only to the costs of the machine, not to the time used in obtaining wood or the resulting potential "costs" of this time. In contrast, stove oil purchased at the Division store costs an average of \$40.50 per month.⁵

I saw relatively little evidence to support Ben-Dor's contention that Settlers stockpile large quantities of firewood to make 'wooding' unnecessary during the uncomfortably cold winter months. Such stockpiling was, he argued, evidence of the Settlers' rational approach toward economic activity. However, with the exception of three or four Settler households, all Settlers and Inuit who use wood seldom have more than a week's supply on hand. Consequently, the gathering of firewood occurs continually throughout winter. In relation to Ben-Dor's argument, it should also be noted that Settlers and Inuit vary considerably concerning what are considered appropriate internal house temperatures. This is hardly surprising, given the cultural history of both peoples, as described in the preceeding chapter. Thus, while most Settler families prefer to keep their houses quite warm during winter (e.g., 75°F or more), Inuit prefer

⁴This estimate is reached in the following way. Depending on horsepower, snowmobiles cost between \$700.00 to \$1000.00 new or an average of about \$900.00. This works out to ownership costs of \$300.00 per annum for the average three year longevity and/or period of payment. Maintenance costs approximately \$60.00 per month or \$360.00 for the six months snowmobiles are used each year.

⁵Stove oil costs about \$18.00 per barrel at the Division store. Households consume between 25-30 barrels per year, I have calculated the above monthly average assuming 27 barrels per year.

cooler internal house temperatures. In fact, some Inuit wear outdoor clothing inside their homes.

The snowmobile has replaced the dog team as the major vehicle of transportation among Makkovik people. Table 7 illustrates the mode of winter transportation used in Makkovik during the winter of 1972. As can be seen, more Settlers tend to own snowmobiles than do Inuit and, it can be said, Settlers also tend to replace them more quickly. Whereas Settlers seldom loan snowmobiles, Inuit comply with the repeated requests for their use.

TABLE 7.--Mode of Transportation: Winter 1972.

	Settlers	Inuit	Mixed	IGA	Moravian Mission
Snowmobiles	32	5	1	1	1
Dogteam	2	1			

Between late January and mid-April, Settler and Inuit hunting parties travel north by snowmobile to hunt caribou. The caribou hunt is important to the present economy because by late Winter supplies of meat at the Division store are usually low and certainly of poor quality when compared with fresh caribou meat. Contemporary provincial wildlife regulations permit caribou hunting in northern Labrador between November 1 and April 15. Licenses are issued for a nominal fee and Settlers and Inuit are legally entitled to a quota

of one caribou for every member of their household to a maximum total of eight.

Until the mid-1960s, Makkovik hunters traveled by dog team to hunt the relatively meagre caribou herds of the wooded and hilly interior south of Makkovik (cf. Ben-Dor 1966). The closing of Hebron and Natuk and relocation of many of their people to Makkovik influenced caribou hunting in two ways. First, the caribou population of the northern most part of the Labrador peninsula increased because of improved wildlife regulations and because Inuit who depended upon them were moved south (Williamson 1964:99). Second, the doubling of Makkovik's population following the arrival of the northern Inuit greatly increased hunting pressures on the already small caribou population south of Makkovik. Therefore by the mid-1960s, the transition from dog teams to snowmobiles and the knowledge that large caribou herds inhabited the interior west of Nain led to a change in caribou hunting practices and territories. It must be emphasized that this transition was also encouraged by the decline of the harp seal fishery since seal meat was essential food for sledge dogs. The transition was further encouraged by the increased amount of cash in the northern Labrador economy, enabling the purchase and maintenance of snowmobiles. In any event, by 1971-1972, the pattern of using snowmobiles to hunt caribou near Nain was firmly established.

Caribou hunting necessitates the standard equipment used in winter hunting: snowmobiles, locally made komatiks, ten gallon gasoline drums, 'grub' boxes, and so on. Hunters use tents heated by

tin stoves for camping in the wooded country between Makkovik and Nain.

Travel by snowmobile to Nain awaits the formation of stable sea ice which normally occurs by early January. After that time, the first hunting parties leave Makkovik, traveling north over the frozen bays and across the capes and points to Nain. Travel time between Makkovik and Nain varies according to conditions of ice, weather, and of snowmobiles. During the Winter of 1972, the fastest time was fifteen hours but the trip usually takes two to three days. Many hunters delay caribou hunting until March or April when the surface of the sea ice has been smoothed by snow cover and when the warmer and longer days make the journey more pleasant.

Caribou hunters always travel in groups of between two and seven or eight men. The composition of such groups is highly variable. This is apparently because of the nature and duration of caribou hunting as opposed to other subsistence activities. Makkovik hunters expressed the necessity of cooperation in order that individuals realize the goal of obtaining caribou. The total length of time involved in caribou hunting trips (five to fifteen days), the likelihood of snowmobile trouble, the task of moving equipment up to the high plateau west of Nain, and so on, all require cooperation between hunters. Thus, the composition of caribou hunting parties largely depends on when an individual is ready and able to go rather than on who happens to be going. Consequently, while Makkovik Settlers and Inuit usually travel in separate caribou hunting parties, this is not always the case; in 1972 at least one caribou

hunting party included both Settlers and Inuit. In such cases, relations between individuals of both categories are good but it is important to stress that caribou hunting west of Nain is the only economic activity where Makkovik Settlers need Inuit. Let me explain.

The interior west of Nain is a barren (treeless) country of hills, lakes, and large boulders. Makkovik Settlers, while accustomed to forested country, are clearly unfamiliar with and uncomfortable in the barrens west of Nain. To Settlers, the interior is an amorphous land lacking obvious landmarks, a country where one could easily become lost. Furthermore, the task of locating caribou sometimes requires several days, necessitating some form of overnight shelter. Carrying enough wood to fuel the small tent stoves normally used by Settlers is impractical so that snowhouses, which Settlers cannot construct, are the only alternative.

Now unlike Settlers, Inuit have the skills essential for living in the barren interior. Inuit have always utilized the interior to hunt caribou and trap foxes. Consequently, Inuit hunters developed the ability to ascertain direction by interpreting the relationship between prevalent (at particular periods of Winter) wind direction, the contour of snow ridges, and the characteristics of snow against rocks and hills. More recently, several Nain Inuit have become intimately familiar with the particularities of the barrens west of that community. These men now serve as 'pilots' or guides for caribou hunting parties. Nain pilots are compensated with shares of caribou meat in return for guiding hunters into the

barren country. In addition, their duties include locating caribou, constructing the snowhouses necessary for overnight shelter, and leading hunting parties back to the heavily traveled trails leading toward Nain.

It is in this context that Makkovik Settlers depend on Inuit. Even though most Makkovik Inuit are able to construct snow houses and are generally familiar with barren country, most Makkovik hunting parties obtain the services of a Nain pilot, primarily because these men enter the barrens so frequently that they usually know where large numbers of caribou were most recently seen. In instances where Makkovik Settlers and Inuit are together in the barrens, Makkovik Inuit are able to translate the pilot's plans and intentions to the English-speaking Settlers.

Contrary to what one might suspect, caribou are not necessarily frightened by snowmobiles. Hunters are sometimes able to drive amidst a caribou herd, selecting the favoured yearlings (referred to as 'pricketts'). At other times, caribou are more wary and must be stalked, stampeded to waiting hunters, or surrounded. Once shot, caribou are immediately paunched. The extent to which they are butchered depends on the number of caribou a hunter intends to transport to Makkovik. To facilitate transport, caribou are usually cut at the knees so as to remove the heavy hoofs. Only Inuit eat the stomach contents of caribou (akajorik) but both groups eat raw frozen caribou meat, which both refer to as kuk. Though caribou skins are left on the animals during transport to

Makkovik (this is said to retard spoiling), neither Inuit nor Settlers know how to tan skins.⁶

The total expense involved in contemporary caribou hunting is highly variable. However, Makkovik people frequently describe the condition of a snowmobile by the number of trips it has made to Nain and how many caribou it pulled. Precise depreciation costs are difficult to estimate. Not counting depreciation costs then, other expenses include gasoline (about sixty gallons, approximately \$40.00), food, tobacco, and so on. Total cost is between \$55.00 and \$70.00 per trip. Another factor which should be considered is time, a variable which until recently had little or no monetary value during Winter. However, as I describe below, wage employment is now available during Winter, meaning that those taking several days off to hunt risk losing wages.

In March and April, Settlers and Inuit jig for rock cod near Tom's Cove, about two miles from the community. Holes are cut through the sea ice with axes or ice chisels. This is a social activity; Inuit men and women take part and a good deal of joking and shouting occurs between those fishing. While Settler men jig for rock cod, women do not. Typically, little communication exists between Settlers and Inuit jigging rock cod, despite the fact that fishermen of both categories may only be ten or twenty feet apart.

⁶The historic Labrador Inuit did tan caribou skins. Hawkes (1970:42) describes the method of 'dressing' caribou skins. The demise of this process is related to the increased use of commercially manufactured clothing.

Prior to describing the various sources of Makkovik's cash economy, I emphasize again that at any time of the year, some Settlers or Inuit are employed at wage labour, others are hunting or fishing, and still others may be temporarily unemployed. In short, the economic adaptation of most Makkovik people is mixed and seasonal. In June 1973 I recorded the various ways in which household heads (males) and other men over the age of eighteen were employed. The results of my survey are contained in Table 8.

TABLE 8.--Employment: June 1973.

Activity	Settlers	Inuit	Mixed	Total
Temporary Unemployment or Preparation for Summer Fishing	5	4	1	10
Trout/Seal Net Makkovik Bay	7	-	-	7
Netting Seals in Other Bays	3*	-	-	3
Shooting Seals and/or Trouting Elsewhere	6	8	1	15
Seasonal Wage Labour	14	2	-	16
Year-Round Employment	9	1	-	10
Social Assistance	1	2	-	3
Old Age Security	3	2	-	5
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL	49	19	2	70

*One Settler, listed above as "permanently employed," was netting seals at the time of my survey. He is the son of a man who owns the sealing rights in a bay north of Makkovik and was using his vacation to net seals.

Sources of Cash in the Makkovik Economy

It should be clear from the material presented above that the actual cash return from the sale of local natural resources (excepting salmon) is relatively small. At the same time, it should be emphasized that by itself, the real cash return belies the contemporary importance of many subsistence pursuits. Thus, the members of a salmon fisherman's household consume salmon not sold, as well as the occasional seal or cod fish. Furthermore, some salmon fishermen qualify for Unemployment Insurance Commission (UIC) benefits during Winter.

Nonetheless, it is clear that the 1971-1972 Makkovik economy is more fully based on various sources of cash, particularly wage labour, than was the case at the time of Ben-Dor's fieldwork (1962-1963). The main reason for this is increased federal funding for northern Labrador. In what follows, I briefly describe the basis of the contemporary money economy, organizing my remarks around (a) the kinds of wage labour, and (b) the types of government subsidies.

Year-Round Employment

During 1971-1972, a total of ten men (nine Settlers and one Inuk) and two women (both Settlers) were employed on a permanent, year-round basis. Of these, five men worked as power plant operators for the Division in Makkovik's electrical generating plant. Three (two Settlers and one Inuk) worked in the Division's retail store. One worked as a janitor for the International Grenfell Association's

nursing station and another was employed as a Wildlife Officer with the Provincial Government. One of the two women worked as a telephone operator for Bell Canada and the other ran the Post Office.

In a community where the rhythm of daily life is fundamentally linked to local resources associated with each season, permanent employment has its advantages and disadvantages. The predictability of a steady income obviously allows those permanently employed and their families (all but two are married) to budget their earnings to a greater extent than those not employed full time. The essential disadvantage is not being able to take full advantage of peak periods in the availability of local natural resources and, more recently, not being allowed (since 1972) to hold salmon licenses so as to fish salmon on a part-time basis.

Seasonal or Temporary Wage Labour

Most Makkovik men work for short periods of time at temporary wage labour. Makkovik people distinguish between 'working' and, for example, 'salmon catching.' There were two major sources of seasonal labour in Makkovik, the Division and the Community Council. I deal with each of these in turn.

Ever since the increase in the federal contribution to the Federal-Provincial Agreement described in Chapter II, the Division has sponsored a number of construction projects. Foremost among these is the housing programme. As I have explained more fully elsewhere (Kennedy 1977), the Division's housing programme results from three factors. First, during the period of American military

base construction following World War II, officials with the Division developed the belief that Labrador peoples not only could but would rather work than fish. Second, the relocation of the northern Inuit and the movement of Settler peoples into various Labrador communities created an increased demand for improved housing. Thus, between 1956 and 1963, some sixty new houses were built in various northern Labrador communities to house the relocated Natuk-Okak Bay and Hebron peoples. The decade between 1963 and 1973 saw 313 new homes built, 206 of which were in so-called "Eskimo communities," the remainder in "Indian communities." Finally, with demise of the cod fishery, the Division's housing programme also sought to create local employment opportunities.

During the Summer and Fall of 1971, the Division constructed five houses in Makkovik; it also supervised construction of a new 'manse' or Moravian missionary residence and an apartment building for school teachers. Therefore, during this period, most Makkovik men either 'worked' at construction or fished for salmon. Many of those who worked were former cod fishermen who, following the decline of the cod fishery, chose wage labour as opposed to re-investing in the gear necessary for salmon fishing. What has occurred since the decline of the cod fishery then is a creation of a predictable labour force, men who now lack the gear necessary for fishing, and who therefore seek work each Summer on the housing programme as well as on other construction projects. Most of these men are Settlers, for reasons noted below.

Some fifteen men were employed on the Division's housing programme during the Summer of 1971. These were joined by salmon fishermen in late August when salmon catches began to decline. Makkovik construction workers are managed by a supervisor, normally brought in from the Island of Newfoundland. In 1971, Makkovik construction workers were divided into three categories, each with its own pay rate. Four men were 'carpenters' (three Settlers and an Inuk), receiving \$2.19 per hour. 'Carpenter's helpers' (mostly Settlers) received \$1.70 and 'labourers' (Settlers and Inuit) worked for \$1.35 per hour.

While fewer Inuit were employed at construction work than Settlers, the extent to which Inuit were denied such work is debatable. In 1971, the Newfoundland foreman did appear somewhat reluctant to hire available Inuit. He described their work habits as 'irregular,' supporting his contention with the example of an Inuk who was hired in late November but reported late to work several days later. Given that the Newfoundland foreman was unfamiliar with Inuit culture and with the carpentry skills possessed by several Makkovik Inuit, it is not surprising that his labour force was primarily drawn from the Settlers, a fact which could further be predicted by the traditionally stronger social ties between Labrador Settlers and transient Newfoundlanders.

Still another reason why fewer Inuit than Settlers work for long periods on construction projects is because of a higher incidence of certain diseases (notably tuberculosis) among Inuit. For example, in the Fall of 1971, one Inuk with the local reputation

as an excellent carpenter and who wanted to work told me that he could not because he had rheumatic fever. According to the local nurse, individuals with active pulmonary tuberculosis are not supposed to work for extended periods. Two Makkovik Inuit men of working age have tuberculosis and at least two others receive weekly medication because they are in close contact with active cases. Such individuals qualify for social assistance (see below).

A final and very important reason why few Inuit work on construction projects finds its roots in the Inuit value system. Unlike that of the Settler group, Inuit culture does not appear to place any moral condemnation on individuals receiving social assistance (that is, 'welfare'--see below for discussion of types of assistance available), the sole economic subsidy available to those not working or fishing. Quite simply then, unlike Settlers, Inuit are not under any social pressures to work.

As mentioned above, the second major employer in Makkovik is the Community Council. The Council employs individuals for a variety of daily tasks (e.g., weekly garbage collection, repair of the community water system, and so on) and on longer-term Council projects.

Community Councils formally incorporate communities throughout the Province through the Provincial Department of Municipal Affairs and, by so doing, make them eligible for various government grants. In December 1971, for example, the Makkovik Council received a grant of some \$31,000.00 from the federal government for a Local Initiatives Programme (LIP), effective February 1, 1972.

This programme provided Winter employment for twenty-seven Settlers and ten Inuit. Work occurred between February and early May on one of several projects. One of these, for example, employed thirteen Settlers to construct two emergency shelters, one north and another south of Makkovik, for use by stranded hunters. Another Council project upgraded a frequently used snowmobile trail leading north from Makkovik. At various times, between seven and ten Inuit and ten to fourteen Settlers worked straightening and widening this trail between mid-February and late March. After that, some of these men collected logs for a boat slipway while others continued work on another Council project begun during the Summer of 1971, an ice hockey rink. Table 9 illustrates Council expenditures on these projects, between February and mid-August 1972.

TABLE 9.--Makkovik Community Council LIP Projects, 1972.

Project	Expenditure
Emergency Shelters	\$12,792.56
Snowmobile Trails	8,856.74
Community Slipway	3,706.25
Hockey Rink	<u>3,500.41</u>
TOTAL	\$28,855.96

My review of the Settler dominated Council's books revealed no evidence of favoritism; Settlers and Inuit received work at rates of between \$2.00 and \$3.00 per hour.

Government Subsidies

The final channel by which cash enters the Makkovik economy is through various government subsidies. These are available to Settlers and Inuit but each makes differing use of and entertains its own attitude toward them.

The first of these subsidies are funds administered by the Provincial Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation. This is social assistance or relief. Two kinds of social assistance are available to all people in the province. The first is "long-term assistance," granted to persons because of recurrent physical or mental disability. For example, seven people in Makkovik, all but two of them Inuit, have active pulmonary tuberculosis and thus qualify for long-term social assistance. Assistance is offered to cover such necessities as food, clothing, fuel, and so on; maximum benefits for a family of four (two adults, two children) in 1971-1972 were approximately \$335.00 per month. Short-term assistance differs from long-term assistance in the period of time for which benefits are required. Persons who are unemployed (and who do not qualify for UIC benefits--see below) or are underemployed and who require relief for less than six months are eligible for short-term assistance. Benefits are comparable to those of long-term assistance.

The important point to emphasize is the differing way in which Makkovik Settlers and Inuit perceive of social assistance. As said above, Inuit do not attach negative connotations or stigma to receiving social assistance. To them, it is a resource which, like others, is to be exploited. Settlers, on the other hand, distinguish between UIC benefits and social assistance, holding that the latter is antithetical to their goal of self-sufficiency and industry. Neither group openly discusses social assistance and it was only after several months in Makkovik that I learned that certain Settlers had received social assistance in the past. An estimated four Inuit families and one Settler family required long-term social assistance during the field period.

The decision as to how much recipients receive in social assistance benefits is determined by a regional 'welfare officer' whose office is in Happy Valley (Goose Bay) and who periodically visits Makkovik. Transactions concerning social assistance occur either in the recipient's home or in the Division store manager's office, a sometimes less than private setting. Social assistance payments are frequently transferred to a person's Division store account.

The second type of government subsidy is made to all Canadians. These are statutory payments. There are two kinds: family allowances and old age security payments. These benefits offer a small but stable income supplement. Family allowances provide money for all children under the age of eighteen. In 1971-1972 children between the ages of birth and ten received six dollars per

month; those between ten and sixteen, eight dollars per month; and those between sixteen and eighteen, ten dollars. Old age security benefits are available to all citizens over the age of sixty-five. In 1971-1972, benefits to such persons were \$137.70 per month. Old age benefits make aged persons contributors to the income of some households, but also allow old people, should circumstances determine, to be able to live in independent households.

The final government subsidy important in Makkovik is UIC benefits. In northern Labrador, fishermen first became eligible for UIC benefits in 1957. As I have explained elsewhere (Kennedy 1977), UIC benefits entered the Labrador economy at a time of low cod fish prices and helped revive interest in the cod fishery. Brox (1972:30) argues that UIC benefits function as a federal subsidy to the low fish prices of Atlantic Canada and are a major factor in restricting the "development" of Canada's east coast fishery, especially when it is compared to that of northern Europe. Makkovik Settlers eagerly accepted (as did most Canadian fishermen) UIC benefits and even altered the local catch distribution system so that all crew members would be credited with sufficient sales of cod fish to qualify for UIC benefits. It is interesting to note that in contrast, Inuit fishermen opposed or "elected out" of the UIC scheme when it was first introduced at Hebron in 1957 (Division 1958:36). The apparent reason for this opposition was that Hebron fishermen thought UIC benefits would require a more prolonged prosecution of the cod fishery and would thus interfere with other economic activities such as, for example, seal hunting.

UIC payments are available to all persons who work for a minimum number of "insured weeks" during which they are required to receive a certain minimum amount of regular pay. In Makkovik, individuals receive UIC benefits from two primary kinds of employment: salmon fishing and wage labour. Salmon fishermen were required to catch and sell salmon having a value of at least \$27.00 per weekly catch for eight consecutive weeks. Each "insured week" of such earnings qualified the fisherman for one stamp, eight of which were necessary. Benefits a fisherman can then receive amount to two-thirds of his average weekly sales for a period of twenty-five weeks and may be drawn between the first week in December and mid-May. Therefore, fishermen whose weekly stamps represent large catches (and correspondingly large sales), qualify for proportionally large return benefits during Winter. Workers (on wage labour construction) were required to accumulate a total of fifteen consecutive weekly stamps to qualify for UIC benefits.

The main point here is that Settlers claim they fish or work for stamps (UIC) as well as for the monetary benefits which accrue from either occupation. Here then, I would disagree with Faris (1972:111) who, in his study of 'Cat Harbour,' a small Newfoundland fishing settlement, remarks that "there are few men in Cat Harbour who fish exclusively for stamps, that is, until they have qualified for unemployment benefits."⁷ In Makkovik, most men stop

⁷The differences between Faris and myself on UIC can be explained by differences in typical climatic conditions in northeast Newfoundland and northern Labrador during September and October. Normally, calm weather conditions characterize northeastern

salmon fishing either when they have qualified for UIC benefits or until an unsuccessful week makes them no longer eligible to so qualify. Only a few Settlers continued salmon fishing after they had sufficient stamps. These did so because they preferred salmon fishing to working and because of the prestige which they associated with continued catches when others had discontinued fishing.

As matters developed in the Winter of 1972, only a few of the men who qualified for UIC benefits actually chose to receive their payments. This was because of the Council's LIP project: men decided to work as opposed to drawing unemployment.⁸

Inuit are less concerned about qualifying for UIC benefits than Settlers, not only because few have the productive technology enabling them to do so but because they attach no stigma to accepting short-term assistance. During the field period, I am aware of only one Inuk who qualified for and received UIC benefits.

Table 10 attempts to synthesize and summarize the materials presented thus far as they affect two Settler and two Inuit households. Certain monetary values, both on local natural resources and various cash sources are estimates. However, the final net incomes are considered representative of many Makkovik households.

Newfoundland's climate during this season, permitting fishermen to prolong the fishing season. In contrast, northern Labrador's weather is unpredictable and its temperatures cold during Fall, making fishing difficult, if not impossible.

⁸The Council received a LIP program in 1973. Since then, however, Council has not applied for subsequent programs, arguing that LIP earnings are not competitive with drawing UIC benefits and seal hunting, the alternative Winter economy.

TABLE 10.--Estimated Sample Makkovik Household Economies.

Income Source	I Sett. Fam. (10 people)	II Sett. Fam. (7 people)	III Inuit Fam. (8 people)	IV Inuit Fam. (3 people)
A. Salmon/trout sales 1971	1675.00	143.00	470.00	320.00
B. Seal skins 1971-72	675.00	66.00	175.00	70.00
C. Meat value 'country prod'	845.00	544.00	548.00	70.00
D. Division wage lab. Summer/Fall 1971	750.00	1088.00	-	-
E. UIC Winter 1972	1120.00	460.00	-	-
F. LIP Winter 1972	840.00	840.00	16.00	-
G. Other Council employment	245.00	57.00	20.00	-
H. Statu. payments 1971-72	575.00	288.00	3476.00	3120.00
I. Total/gross income	6725.00	3486.00	4705.00	3580.00
<u>Expenses</u>				
J. Cap. costs prod. tech.	800.00	200.00	200.00	400.00
K. Oper. costs prod. tech.	1160.00	550.00	500.00	600.00
L. Household expenses	2120.00	2178.00	2940.00	1440.00
M. Sundry expenses	500.00	300.00	300.00	300.00
N. Total expenses	4280.00	3228.00	3940.00	2740.00
O. Net Income (I minus N)	2445.00	258.00	765.00	840.00

It is extremely difficult (if not impossible) to provide accurate sample household economies. Certain monetary values (e.g., sales of seal skins, salmon or LIP earnings) are taken from Division or Council records and are thus fairly reliable. Others such as meat values on local produce, are based on the known and estimated hunting practices and returns of individuals in each household. All expenses are rough estimates, again taking the number of household members and their utilization practices into consideration as well as the kind and condition of productive technology. Category M, "sundry expenses" refers to such expenses as luxury items (washing machines, record players, and so on). All values treat each household as if it was independent. In fact, as we'll see, norms of sharing (especially among the Inuit) decrease the independence of households.

The materials in this and the preceding section emphasize how economic resources are produced or otherwise enter the Makkovik economy. There are many similarities between Settlers and Inuit in this phase of the economic process. Differences are more pronounced in the distribution/exchange and utilization phases. These phases are the topic of the following part.

Distribution, Exchange, and Utilization

The two preceding sections describe how local natural and cash resources are procured by Settlers and Inuit. This section describes the two remaining theoretical categories or phases of the economic process; distribution/ exchange and utilization. My conclusions generally concur with Brantenberg's (1977) discussion of economic differences between Nain (Labrador) Settlers and Inuit.

I begin with some mention of how the differing economic histories of both categories affect what may be called the contemporary themes of Settler self-sufficiency and Inuit sharing. Very briefly, the implications of these contrasting themes are that Settlers and Inuit measure or evaluate their peers by different criteria. Settlers emphasize industry and accept personal gain, in the form of accumulated material possessions, as its emblem. On the other hand, Inuit evaluate a person not simply by his ability to procure local natural resources, but more importantly, on his willingness to make these available to others in need.

However, Settlers or Inuit who work for or otherwise obtain cash do not directly distribute it outside their own household.

Instead, both groups convert cash into commodities for household consumption. All Settler households are expected to be self-sufficient but at particular times, commodities are borrowed, always with the explicit understanding that such goods will be returned either in kind or with goods of equivalent value. The Inuit system is generally similar. Commodities obtained by cash (i.e., tea, gasoline, ammunition, and so on) are borrowed with the expectation that they will be returned within a specific period of time. As Ben-Dor (1966:52) states, Inuit refer to the borrowing of externally-manufactured goods purchased by cash as pitusak.

Settler and Inuit fishermen normally distribute their catch equally if (a) all parties have contributed equally to the cost of production and/or if (b) all have contributed equal effort. Settlers claim that if (a) and (b) obtain, catches are equally divided to insure that all parties are credited with UIC stamps.

The distribution and exchange of other local produce is interrelated with the different values each group has about utilization. Settlers occasionally distribute resources which, according to their cultural standards, are of secondary importance. For example, a Settler killing a white beaked dolphin or catching a considerable amount of rock cod will make these available to other Settlers, regardless of whether or not they participated in procuring these resources. On the other hand, excepting rare circumstances (see below), Settlers do not share, nor are they expected to, resources they consider of primary value (e.g., porcupine, caribou, partridge, and so on).

Inuit are requested and expected to share resources of primary and secondary value. Thus, for example, an Inuk who kills a seal, a highly valued resource, will receive telephone calls or visits from other Inuit, particularly relatives, with requests for meat. In such cases, requests are granted with the assumption that in the future, the donor may be without meat and therefore have to request it himself. This, the tautilitsak principle (Ben-Dor 1966: 52) of exchange, creates a resource pool between separate households and, as noted above, acts to minimize household independence.

While practice of the tautilitsak principle remains an important vehicle for a high evaluation among Inuit, its operation is today restricted by two considerations. First, Inuit are more dependent on cash than they were at the time of Ben-Dor's research. This acts to transform the pressure of sharing from meat and fish (Kleivan 1966:65-66) to productive technology (e.g., snowmobiles, boats, and so on), items which, as we've seen, not all Inuit have. This places those owning productive technology in a precarious position, since extensive use of today's expensive and relatively complex technology increases the probability of mechanical failures. However, unlike Settlers, Inuit are expected to share technology or risk a reputation as stingy. A second variable which restricts the efficacy of sharing is the outmigration of many Inuit from Makkovik. As we'll see in Chapter IV, this has left most Inuit kin groups in Makkovik fragmented and, since sharing occurs primarily within kin groups, has lessened sharing. Nonetheless, Inuit norms still stress sharing to the extent that it is possible. The

important point is that, unlike Settlers, Inuit are not stigmatized for requesting local produce or other commodities.

As mentioned above, Settlers normally only share local produce considered to be of secondary value. However, two interesting and somewhat perplexing exceptions to this general pattern came to my attention during the field period. The first concerns a prominent Settler family locally recognized as controlling the production rights to sea trout in a nearby river. Each Spring, members of this family net sea trout near the river and distribute most of the catch to other Settler families. Each family is given a 'meal of trout,' usually three to five fish. No direct reciprocity is expected through I believe the manifest function of the distribution is to (a) affirm the benevolent image the family wishes to maintain, and (b) exhibit that the family controls the annual harvest of sea trout from that river.

The rationale for the second example, again considered anomalous to the general pattern, is more complex. In this case, a Settler man (A) periodically gave seal meat to another, unrelated Settler (B). This case was remarkable since both men had not enjoyed friendly relations for some years. According to members of B's family, 'A has always given us meat,' though they further said they did not know why he did so. They implied that they were not expected to reciprocate. Of additional importance is that B has several sons, all of whom are successful hunters and fishermen and regular contributors to the family's food supply. I believe this second case can be explained by the fact that, as a young man, A had

worked for B's deceased father and mother, and today donates meat to B to express his gratitude or debt to his parents.

Both Settlers and Inuit exchange local produce and purchase goods at the Division store. They are required to accept the price offered on local produce (e.g., seal skins, salmon, furs), as well as the price and quality of foods and sundries stocked by the store. Both peoples, particularly Settlers, complain about the price and quality of such goods. Table 11 presents a sample shopping list of goods at the Division store and compares the price of equivalent goods at the Hudson Bay Company store at Happy Valley (Goose Bay, Labrador) and a Boston (USA) supermarket. The main reason why the Division prices are in fact less expensive (though not necessarily of equal quality) than those of the other two stores is that the Division calls for public tenders on all goods shipped to Labrador and obtains prices one year in advance of shipping them to the coast. Thus, the Division prices listed in Table 11 are, in effect, the least expensive 1973 prices available.

While these data would suggest that Makkovik people are able to purchase certain staples at lower cost than 'outside' consumers, there is little doubt that the quality of perishable items is poor. During the field period, for example, several cartons of canned evaporated milk were returned to the Division store because their contents were spoiled.

Perhaps more perplexing is the way Settlers and Inuit remain tied to buying and selling goods through the Division when what would appear to be better alternatives exist. For example, several times I

TABLE 11.--Sample Shopping List: August - Early September 1974.

Item	Division- Makkovik	HBC Happy Valley	Boston Mass.
1 doz. medium eggs	\$1.24	\$1.29	\$.74
1 lb. margarine	.40	.60	.55
2 lbs table salt	.23	.27	.19
1 lb. frozen chicken wings	1.48	2.19 (fresh)	.98
1 lb. powdered milk	1.78	1.32 (25.6 oz.)	1.79
100 tea bags	.97	.79	1.37
10 oz. instant coffee	2.02	2.35	2.39
19 oz. tin pears	.44	.53 (16 oz.)	.49
5 lbs sugar	1.01	2.05	1.85
10 lbs. flour	2.35	2.04	2.15
1 lb. evaporated milk	.27	.32 (13 oz.)	.31
12 box carton matches	.28	.33 (10 box)	.43
1 roll toilet paper	.21	.22	.25
15 oz. box biscuits	<u>.46</u>	<u>.53</u> (1 lb. box)	<u>.69</u>
TOTAL	\$13.14	\$14.83	\$14.18

noted that when individuals killed a number of seals and sold their skins to the Division, they did so with the knowledge that better prices existed at the Hudson Bay store in North West River (Labrador) or at other fur dealers throughout Canada. When I asked why they did so, the response was invariably, "I might need something next

year." By this was meant that the individual might need to receive credit on the purchase of a new speedboat engine or some other commodity in the future. Thus, most individuals feel the necessity of maintaining a good credit rating and they believe this can only be done by dealing regularly through the Division. Decisions on credit are made by the store manager and Settlers and Inuit stated that some managers were lenient while others were strict. Given the rapid turnover of store managers, individuals are encouraged to maintain the continuous reputation of a good credit risk. Thus, excepting a minority of relatively affluent Settlers who are able to purchase goods directly from Newfoundland merchants, the majority of Settlers and all Inuit are tied to the Division's monopoly just as, in the historic period, their ancestors had been to that of the Mission and Hudson Bay Company.

I conclude this section with a brief description of how each group utilizes or consumes the commodities it procures. A people's utilization patterns illustrate its dominant values. We have already seen that each category has its distinct preferences regarding local resources used as foods and that these preferences influence production, distribution and exchange. I have also noted that cash is used to maintain credit at the Division store or to reinvest in productive technology or other commodities. Both Inuit and Settlers aspire to own commodities such as snowmobiles, tape recorders, record players, and so on. However, Settler ownership of such items implies that they remain individual property whereas Inuit ownership does not inhibit others from requesting their use.

The increase in per capita income has led to a considerable increase in the acquisition of various goods which to some extent remain 'luxurious.' Table 12 presents the number of luxury items in the fifty-three Makkovik households as of 1973. It should be pointed out that while a couple of Inuit owned clothes washers, almost all those items are in Settler households.

I maintain that Settlers purchase these and other luxury items because (a) they offer obvious conveniences, (b) they have the accumulated capital to do so, (c) such items communicate the economic success of a household, and (d) such items have been seen to be commonplace in households 'outside' Makkovik (e.g., in Happy Valley or St. John's). During the field period, I witnessed the number of Settler owned trucks increase from one to three. Another Settler purchased a truck which subsequently became inoperative and was returned and several other Settlers expressed an interest in purchasing cars or trucks. Many people saw trucks as useful despite the fact that Makkovik is not connected to anywhere else by road and has only a little over a mile and one-half of rough dirt road within the community.

All the material presented thusfar in this chapter, particularly that on luxury items just presented, indicates that Settlers enjoy a higher standard of living (i.e., a greater production and control over the uses of production) than Inuit. Several factors mitigating against the Inuit standard of living are their relative lack of productive technology, pressures to share between households, and the acceptance of social assistance as a legitimate,

TABLE 12.--Makkovik Luxury Items--1973.

Type	Type and Incidence of Luxury			Neither	No Answer
Bathing Facilities:	Bath Tub 13 (24.5%)	Shower 1 (1.9%)		34 (71.7%)	1 (1.9%)
Toilet	Flush Toilet 7 (13.2%)	Chemical 8 (15.1%)	Pail 37 (69.8%)		1 (1.9%)
Refrigerator and/or freezer in working order	Refrigerator and Freezer 12 (22.6%)	Refrigerator 4 (7.5%)	Freezer 13 (24.5%)	22 (41.5%)	2 (3.8%)
Clothes Washer and/or Dryer	Both 2 (3.8%)	Washer 38 (71.7%)		12 (22.6%)	1 (1.9%)

SOURCE: Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador. "Native Housing and Demographic Survey, 1973," St. John's, Newfoundland.

non-stigmatized resource. The section above also suggests each group has very different values regarding preferred local resources and that these values affect production as well as distribution and exchange. I believe that utilization patterns reflect the different traditional values of each category; Settlers and Inuit pursue and consume resources which have always played an essential role in their respective economies. In this regard, Inuit are at a distinct disadvantage since the Settler monopolized Makkovik environment offers neither the quantities nor kinds of local resources to which they were accustomed in Hebron. Faced with this situation, those Inuit remaining in Makkovik adapt by utilizing resources formerly of secondary value when preferred foods are unavailable. Thus, elements of the traditional adaptation of each people persist though there are greater strains in that of the Inuit.

Finally, since persistent utilization patterns illustrate differences in Settler and Inuit values and productive priorities, some additional examples of these divergent values may be noted. For example, it was noted that Settlers and Inuit are accustomed to different internal housing temperatures. This difference can be explained by each group's unique cultural-environmental background. That is, Hebron Inuit lacked accessible supplies of wood and instead, burned seal fat, a fuel incapable of producing extreme heat. An example of the different appropriate internal housing temperatures acceptable to each group occurred after the 1971-1972 field period and was related to me during a brief return visit to Makkovik. During the winter of 1973, a number of Makkovik men were temporarily

living at Cape Makkovik, working on a Council project which entailed dismantling an abandoned U.S. military site so that its materials could be used in the construction of a hockey rink in Makkovik. The men were living in an abandoned barracks. Each evening Settler workmen would fill the building's wood stove so that they could comfortably play cards without wearing heavy, cumbersome clothing or sweaters. Reportedly, with plenty of fire wood and men to cut and split it, the room's temperatures soared, reaching 70-80°F. After enduring these conditions for several days, one Inuk working among them complained of the temperatures and finally decided that he would be more comfortable in alternate housing. Accordingly, he built a snowhouse near the barracks. He used a Coleman gas stove for heat, and lived there for the remaining weeks until the work of dismantling the base was completed.

In my opinion, the different cultural and environmental adaptations of Inuit explains their contemporary ability to withstand colder temperatures than Settlers. While it may be argued that these abilities give rise to a preference for cooler rather than warmer temperature, these abilities also serve to support the Inuit view that they are better adapted to the rigors of Labrador life than are Settlers. Another example may help explain my point. During a caribou hunt in 1972, in the interior of Nain (see Map I), I was repeatedly impressed by the differential reactions of Settlers and Inuit to the exceedingly cold temperatures encountered on the trip. While both Settlers and Inuit received minor frostbite on their hands and face, Inuit appeared better able to withstand cold

temperatures. On several occasions, for example, the extreme temperatures made it difficult for Settlers to complete minor snow-mobile repairs. In some of these cases Inuit took over, working for several minutes without gloves. Significantly, Inuit are very aware of these and other abilities conditioned by their historic adaptation. In short, Settler and Inuit values are shaped by their distinct cultural histories and by the environmental requirements traditionally part of their formerly separate adaptations to Hebron and Makkovik. Despite the many common features of their adaptations to Makkovik, the contrasting value system linked to these adaptations support each category's perception of cultural superiority.

Differentiation between Settlers and Inuit is also very obvious in dietary preferences. Once again, individuals from both groups are well aware of existing commonalities in diet. However, attention is primarily focused on differences. Settler delicacies include spruce grouse and porcupine, species common to the forested country near Makkovik (see Appendix I) as well as smoked trout, caribou, bakeapples, sea birds, and so on. Inuit eat all these foods but they are considered of secondary importance when compared with seal, pipsi (dried fish), white partridge, dolphins, and so on. Inuit also eat foods Settlers will not, notably, raw dolphin skin (Settlers will eat it boiled), soft shelled clams, tingo (raw seal liver--Settlers will eat it cooked) and the uncooked stomach contents of caribou (akajorik). Food preparation is critical here--the Inuit diet includes a variety of uncooked, unfrozen foods. Settlers will eat frozen uncooked meat and fish but will not normally consume

unfrozen foods raw. These differences become the focus of each category's interpretation of the other. Settlers view Inuit dietary customs, such as eating akajorik, with a mixture of amazement and derision. Inuit conclude that their diet illustrates the superior adaptation of Inuit culture to Labrador.

I suggest that the different values of Settlers and Inuit are largely responsible for each category's economic priorities and objectives. Far too often in Ben-Dor's account, common economic goals are imputed to both groups. This is perhaps most apparent in his treatment of rationality, a brief critique of which follows.

Critique of Ben-Dor's Rational- Traditional Thesis

This final section briefly contests Ben-Dor's (1966:56-57) contention that Settler and Inuit economic behaviour can accurately be characterized by Weber's terms "rational" and "traditional." There are several major problems with Ben-Dor's claim: it ignores the short time Inuit had to learn how to acquire a living in Makkovik; dismisses significant differences between the natural and social environments of Hebron and Makkovik; and, by uncritically applying Weber's concepts, ignores anthropology's critique of rationality, as recently summarized by Cook (1973:842-843). More relevant to my thesis, Ben-Dor's interpretation ignores what I'll call the "ethnic dimension" of economic behaviour. That is, it ignores cases where Settlers or Inuit carry out economic acts which, while "non-economic," are considered appropriate to the contemporary culture of each ethnic category.

Weber defines rational economic behaviour as follows:

Action is rationally oriented to a system of discrete individual ends when the end, the means, and the secondary results are all rationally taken into account and weighed. This involves rational consideration of alternative means to the end, of the relations of the end to other prospective results of employment or any given means, and finally of the relative importance of different possible ends (1964:117).

In short, rational economic action involves the sober consideration of the most efficient means to obtain a valued end. In contrast, Weber writes that traditional economic behaviour is "very often a matter of almost automatic reaction to habitual stimuli which guide behaviour in a course which has been repeatedly followed" (Weber 1964: 116). Citing Weber, Ben-Dor concludes that Settlers are "rational" because they use seal nets, rather than rifles, to obtain harp seals; they stockpile large quantities of firewood, eliminating the daily procurement of wood during Winter; and they preserve fish and other local products. Such economic behaviour, Ben-Dor suggests, indicates that Settlers plan for the future and efficiently exploit their environment.

In contrast, he continues, Inuit prolong hunting seals with rifles at the expense of preparations essential for the cod fishery; gather only enough firewood to last a day or so; and are constrained by obligations of kinship and Moravian ritual, ties which hinder their general economic efficiency.

Given the data presented earlier in this chapter, two main points clearly raise questions about the validity of Ben-Dor's interpretation. First, Makkovik's economy has changed, making

several of Ben-Dor's examples of rational and traditional behaviour less applicable. For example, the cod and seal fisheries have declined, while increased wage labour has reduced the use and/or changed the circumstances surrounding the gathering of firewood. Second, Ben-Dor's interpretation neglects certain ethnographic realities about the Inuit at Hebron and Settlers at Makkovik. Settlers owned (and continue to own) sealing and fishing berths and have had over one hundred years to master every nuance of the Makkovik region, an environment subtly different from that of Hebron (see Appendix I). While undoubtedly aware of these (and other) facts, Ben-Dor apparently chose to disregard them because they conflicted with the interpretation he sought to advance. It is also probable that Ben-Dor was aware of the historic Moravian interpretation of Inuit economic behaviour explained in Chapter II and, seeing some evidence of it among the recently relocated Hebron Inuit, advanced it using Weber's theoretical concepts.

For my part, I consider the economic behaviour of both groups "rational," insofar as each category consistently pursues goals which, as noted above, are not necessarily the same for both. This view finds some support in Cook's summary of contemporary anthropological interpretations of rationality and maximization. Cook writes,

The general consensus of contemporary studies focused on this issue (i.e., rationality or 'economizing') seems to be, contrary to the views of the remaining members of the Polanyi group, that preindustrial tribesmen and peasants--together with men in industrial societies who earn their living in the market economy--are 'rational' in their economic conduct (1973:842-843).

In short, Ben-Dor's interpretation of economic behaviour through, in Cook's words, the "double-entry bookkeeping [system] of Max Weber's capitalist cost accountants" (1973:843) ignores the distinct ecological and social adaptations of Settlers and Inuit, as well as certain realities which made the initial adjustment of Inuit difficult.

A more accurate use of the concept of rationality to the Makkovik situation extends the concept beyond the purely economic sphere to include social action. In the view of Godelier (1972:21), economic rationality is but one aspect of social rationality. In other words, there is often a social, as well as economic, rationale for the patterned ways in which groups act. A major conclusion of the thesis advanced here is that Settler and Inuit behaviour is constrained by canons of what is locally considered appropriate behaviour to each. In my view, any consideration of the "rationality" of Settler and Inuit behaviour must consider the ethnic, as well as economic, dimension. As the two examples which follow indicate, in certain instances such behaviour is non-economic, despite the fact that it is "rational" insofar as maintaining each group's distinctiveness.

I have already noted, for example, that the Inuit practice of using harpoons to retrieve sinking sea mammals, is more efficient than the Settler practice of using fish jiggers. As noted above, Settlers fully recognize and openly acknowledge the greater efficiency (when compared with cod fish jiggers) of harpoons in retrieving sinking sea mammals. Even though harpoons were formerly a part of the

Settler cultural kit (cf. Low 1896:43; Kleivan 1966:109), their present rejection of them is at least partially based on the fact that Inuit used them. In Makkovik, I knew of only one Settler who was reported to have used a 'dart' to retrieve sinking seals, though I never saw it or witnessed its use. However, the fact that most Settlers reject the use of harpoons does not occur solely because Inuit use them; nor does it imply that Settlers are 'non-rational.' With respect to the hunting of dolphins then, Settlers employ the less efficient jiggers because (a) they hunt dolphins partially for enjoyment. In fact, their term for dolphins, 'jumpers,' originates from the playful manner in which dolphins chase and leap around boats. In short, Settlers view the playful antics of dolphins with amusement and do not procure them with the same seriousness with which they do other resources. In addition, Settlers continue to use jiggers to retrieve jumpers because (b) 'jumper' skins (unlike those of seals) lack monetary value and (c) because dolphin meat is of secondary value in the Settler diet. The continued use of jiggers then is 'rational' when the secondary utilization value of dolphins is taken into consideration. However, the use of jiggers to retrieve sinking seals is more problematic. Here, I would briefly suggest two explanations: (a) the fact that until recently seals (particularly harps) were netted, not shot by Settlers of the Makkovik area and (b) the ethnic dimension, namely that, in recent years harpoons have generally been associated with Inuit.

The ethnic dimension is also helpful in explaining contemporary Settler caribou hunting practices in the barren country

west of Nain. In this case, Settlers compensate Inuit pilots with shares of caribou meat because such an arrangement is considered preferable to acquiring what they now consider Inuit skills.

In describing the productive, distribution and exchange, and utilization sectors of Makkovik's contemporary mixed economy, this chapter illustrates certain similarities and differences in the way both peoples acquire a living. My observations of economic activities first informed me that Settlers and Inuit consider economic differences significant and occasionally even emblematic of ethnic affiliation. Moreover, in a community where overt discussion of the ethnic schism is relatively rare, observation of economic activities provided a useful vantage point from which to study the social schism.

While this chapter's aim has been partially descriptive, I have also tried to show how Settlers and Inuit use existing economic differences to bolster convictions of ethnic superiority. Thus, Inuit conclude, sometimes with an air of nonchalance, that the inability of Settlers to construct snowhouses demonstrates the superior adaptation of Inuit to Labrador. On the other hand, Settlers single out the lower productivity of Inuit fishermen or the higher rate of absenteeism among Inuit wage labourers as proof that Settlers are better adapted to life in Makkovik. Thus, despite their over fifteen years of co-residence in Makkovik, neither people appears ready to appreciate what I've argued are certain underlying causes behind the economic adaptation of each ethnic category.

On a number of grounds, I've criticized Ben-Dor's depiction of Settler and Inuit economic behaviour according to Weber's ideal

types. There is little question that Settler households (particularly the Settler elite--cf. Chapter IV) enjoy a higher economic productivity, larger incomes, and a higher standard of living than do most Inuit households. It is equally apparent that the ideology behind Settler economic behaviour, with its emphasis on household independence and the accumulation and display of material wealth finds its historical roots in the European component of Settler culture history. However, at another level, I've argued that many Settlers do not correspond with Ben-Dor's model while some Inuit are, in Weber's terms, "rational." The lesson of my critique of Ben-Dor's rationality argument is twofold. First, Ben-Dor failed to adequately consider the (frequently "rational") causes behind the economic adaptations of both kinds of people. Secondly, following the recent contributions of economic anthropologists writing on rationality, I've suggested that there can be social as well as economic factors behind the patterned ways in which groups obtain a living. In short, Settlers and Inuit occasionally engage in what Weber and Ben-Dor would have called "traditional" economic behaviour because affiliation with their ethnic category constrains them from doing otherwise. While I return to this, the ethnic dimension of certain economic activities, in Chapter V, I turn now to a description of the social component of community organization.

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the social fabric in community life. The social schism between Settlers and Inuit remains as obvious and real today as it did at the time of Ben-Dor's research. Hence, Ben-Dor's comment that "if we were to draw a sociometric chart illustrating informal associations in Makkovik as a whole, we would come upon a complex network of intertwining lines for each one of the two groups and practically no lines linking one group with the other" (1966:171), remains an accurate characterization of inter-ethnic relations.

An examination of contemporary Makkovik community organization therefore benefits from Ben-Dor's study and many of his observations and conclusions, as summarized in Chapter I, remain accurate. Furthermore, Ben-Dor's descriptions of social and religious organization are on considerably firmer ground than either his rational-traditional characterization of Settler and Inuit economic action or his assimilationist prediction that, in time, the Settler way of life would prevail over that of the Inuit. Given the depth and continued accuracy of Ben-Dor's descriptions of kinship and religious organization, it is considered unnecessary to describe these topics here.

Instead, my emphasis will be on social interaction, that is, on the patterned social relations (to the limited degree they occur) between Settlers and Inuit in typical daily encounters. Because, following Barth (1969a), I consider ethnic identity one type of social status, with its attendant social implications for individual actors, I shall attempt to describe the relationship between ethnic identity and social action in a number of concrete social situations.

My concern with particular contexts, situations or circumstances in which inter-group relations occur should be clear from Chapter I, in which situation was introduced as one of four structural (see page 27) criteria which have a bearing on the discussion of an ethnic group and the character of its boundaries. The almost total absence of relations between Settlers and Inuit in public settings in Makkovik was, in fact, what eventually led me to investigate the whole problem of boundary maintenance.

This chapter contains four sections. Following the Introduction, the first describes the Makkovik population itself. Up until now, I have left the categories 'Settler' and 'Inuit' undefined; however, it is now necessary to explain just what makes a person Settler or Inuit. We shall see that ascription to one or the other ethnic category is based on language, descent, place of residence within Makkovik, and so on. We shall also see that there is relatively little confusion or ambiguity regarding the ethnic status of individuals in Makkovik. What ambiguity exists pertains to persons of 'mixed' ethnic background, that is, the offspring of marriages where one parent is Settler, the other Inuit. I have

labeled certain persons of mixed status because, in addition to being offspring of ethnically-mixed marriages, they have not yet indicated consistent affiliation with the two distinct categories, Settler and Inuit.

However, the reader should not read too much into what I have referred to as mixed persons. Such persons do not form a permanent, intermediate group between the Settlers and Inuit. Instead, they are persons who have the socio-cultural characteristics (e.g., bilingualism and, to some extent, biculturalism) which, theoretically, permit them to become Settler or Inuit.

In this second portion of this chapter, I shall also describe several patterned social networks which occur among Settlers either born in Makkovik or in the bays near Makkovik. However, like the category of ethnically mixed persons, these networks are not sociological categories on the level of Settlers or Inuit. Instead, they constitute observable patterned social networks based on kinship, place of residence prior to Makkovik, and daily social contact. I am describing them because they exist and are obvious to anyone studying Makkovik. For example, Bay Settlers who moved to Makkovik during the past several decades interact more frequently with others of "their own kind" than with Settlers native to Makkovik and, to some extent, exhibit minimal cultural differences from Makkovik-born Settlers.

I next deal with demographic structure and processes. We shall see that the ratio of Settlers to Inuit has changed since the time of Ben-Dor's research. Several demographic processes,

specifically Inuit out-migration, as well as a differential death and birth rate among Settlers and Inuit, explain why the Inuit population is gradually decreasing while the number of Settlers is increasing. Given the structural criteria of scale described in Chapter I, the changing proportion of Settlers to Inuit is considered important and means that Makkovik is once again becoming a Settler-dominated community.

Section III concentrates specifically on inter-ethnic relations. One of the more remarkable features of ethnicity in Makkovik, given that few contacts occur between individuals of the two ethnic categories, is that overt conflict or competition between them is, while not altogether absent, rare. Normally, when sporadic inter-ethnic relations occur, they are polite and formal. As said above, such relations particularly characterize inter-group encounters in public settings in Makkovik. Interestingly, I observed that inter-ethnic relations outside Makkovik (e.g., on hunting trips) are somewhat more cooperative and intense.

The next section of this chapter describes socio-political institutions which increasingly control Makkovik life. Some of these organizations derive their authority and support outside Makkovik, particularly in St. John's (the provincial capital), while others, like the Community Council, enjoy more local control. Attention is given to the differential support Settlers and Inuit give these institutions. In general, Settlers are more concerned and involved with institutions they believe benefit Makkovik, the socio-political community. On the other hand, Inuit remain primarily concerned with

church-related institutions and are far less concerned with benefits which may (or may not) result for their "adopted community."

Basically then, just as both peoples have different economic goals, so their interests in Makkovik, as suggested by involvement with or detachment from particular institutions, differ.

The brief final section of the chapter describes the use of "leisure time" by Settlers and Inuit. Makkovik enjoys the reputation (along the north Labrador coast) as a socially-active community; its community hall and sports teams are busy throughout the year. Once again the theme described above emerges, Settlers play the prominent role in organizing leisure time activities in the Hall and on sports teams, Inuit attend Hall events but avoid active involvement.

The Population

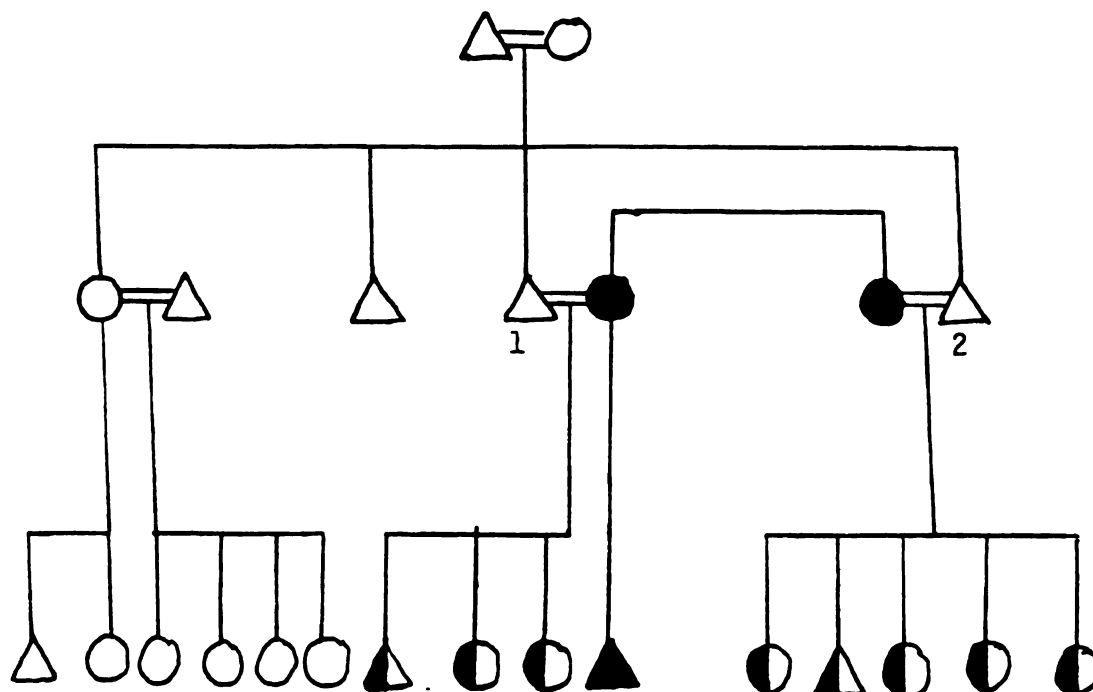
Prior to the influx of the northern Inuit in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Settlers of the Makkovik district had had sporadic contact with the relatively small Inuit population living south of Hopedale. From time to time, a few Inuit families would move into the area between Hopedale and Cape Harrison and some Inuit occasionally lived at the Makkovik Mission station. From all evidence, it appears that Settlers viewed these Inuit as different from those who were to arrive first from Nutak-Okak and shortly afterwards from Hebron. In addition, many of the Settlers of the first half of this century spoke Inuttitut and were thus able to communicate with Inuit which they occasionally met. By the mid-1950s, however, most of these bilingual Settlers were either very old or deceased,

leaving behind them a generation of English-speaking Settlers. All of this goes to say that Makkovik Settlers were not thoroughly unfamiliar with Inuit peoples when, in the mid-1950s, they first learned that certain northern settlements were to be closed and that some of their Inuit inhabitants moved to Makkovik.

The 'Natuk Peoples'

As mentioned in Chapter II, the people who arrived from the Nutak-Okak Bay area in 1956 were an assortment of Inuit, Settlers, and persons of 'mixed' ethnic status. The one thing common to this heterogeneous group was that they had all lived in the Nutak-Okak Bay region for some years prior to the closing of the Division's Nutak trading post in 1956. The Settlers among them included an aged Settler couple and some of their children (cf. Figure 1) who had lived in the Makkovik area and had moved north to Okak in the 1920s. Figure 1 illustrates this family group, as they were in Makkovik about 1960. As can be seen, two of the old couple's sons (Numbers 1 and 2) had taken two Inuit sisters as wives in Okak. Had they remained in Okak, their children would have become Inuit but with relocation to the predominantly Settler community of Makkovik, their children can be considered as ethnically 'mixed.'

Most of the Inuit who were moved from Nutak-Okak to Makkovik in 1956 had originally been residents of Nain or Hebron. However, all had lived near Nutak in the early 1950s. It should be noted that not all the peoples who came to Makkovik from Nutak-Okak in 1956 remained permanently in Makkovik. For example, Settler



Key to Figure 1

- White kin symbols represent Settlers.
- ◐ Half-shaded kin symbols represent persons of mixed ethnic status.
- Shaded kin symbols represent Inuit.

Figure 1.--Nutak-Okak Family Group: 1960

Number 1 (Figure 1) and his family moved to Nain in 1960. Still other relocated Nutak peoples moved to Happy Valley (Goose Bay) while others moved to other communities for short periods of time and later returned to Makkovik.

Despite the fact that not all the 1956 immigrants to Makkovik were Inuit, Makkovik Settlers initially appear to have lumped all but the aforementioned couple and their Settler children as 'Inuit.' To Makkovik Settlers, the newcomers 'looked like Eskimos,' spoke Inuttitut, and came from the northern, predominantly Inuit-portion of the coast. The Makkovik missionary appears to have also lumped the Nutak-Okak Bay peoples as Inuit. He wrote:

Our Eskimo brethren and sisters from Nutak have finished their nice houses. It does not look as if they feel at home there (in the 'Nutak end'), and the reason might be that not enough people in the village speak their language. The missionary tries to have Eskimo liturgies in their homes, but we doubt if this is enough (P.A. for Makkovik 1957:18).

In addition, Ben-Dor spoke of two Inuit neighbourhoods in Makkovik, one of which was the 'Nutak end' and, at the time of his research, there were sufficient numbers of Inuit in that section of the community to warrant his distinction. However, by the time of my research, about one-half of the Inuit who had come from Nutak had either died or moved elsewhere and most of the 'Nutak peoples' who remained were Settlers or persons of mixed ethnic status.

The Hebron Inuit

Inuit who lived at Hebron prior to that community's closing were, as noted in Chapter II, a composite population, for reasons

which can be traced to the tragic influenza epidemic of 1918-1919. As noted by Ben-Dor (1966:71-75) and mentioned above, most of the Inuit who arrived in Makkovik between 1958 and 1961 were affiliated with one of three Ilarit or kindreds.¹ Historically, each kindred exploited a different region of the coast and, depending on the location of residence, enjoyed different degrees of contact and involvement with the Mission. Given the out-migration of Hebron Inuit from Makkovik (see below), the size and viability of Makkovik's three kindreds has diminished. The social schism between Settlers and Inuit, along with the decreased efficacy of kindreds, has required that Inuit socialize and arrange temporary economic partnerships with other Inuit, regardless of kindred affiliation, rather than with kindred relations.

Before concluding these brief remarks on the structure of the Inuit population, it should be noted that relatively few Nutak Inuit are linked to the Hebron Inuit by ties of marriage or descent. In addition, each group recognizes differences in language dialect and these two facts explain the general absence of socio-economic contact between the two Inuit groups. In discussing the absence of contact between Nutak and Hebron peoples during the early years following relocation, one man born near Nutak stated that,

They (the Hebron Inuit) never used to bother to come up around this way (the Nutak neighbourhood); they used to always stick around up there by themselves . . . I used to be too shy to go up around there.

¹The prefix ila literally means "relation"; Ilarit therefore means a collection of relatives or kin.

The community of Nain, which also received peoples from Nutak and Hebron in the late 1950s, also has distinct Nutak and Hebron neighbourhoods. In Nain, as in Makkovik, these neighbourhoods apparently reflect the decision of the Mission and Nain Inuit as to where the relocated northern Inuit should be housed. Since their establishment, such neighbourhoods foster social cleavages within Nain, cleavages most evident in linguistic dialects and patterned social networks (Brantenberg 1977; LIA 1977:341).

In short, kinship affiliation and community of origin act to segment Makkovik's Inuit community through such segments do not affect one's ascription or self-ascription as Inuit.

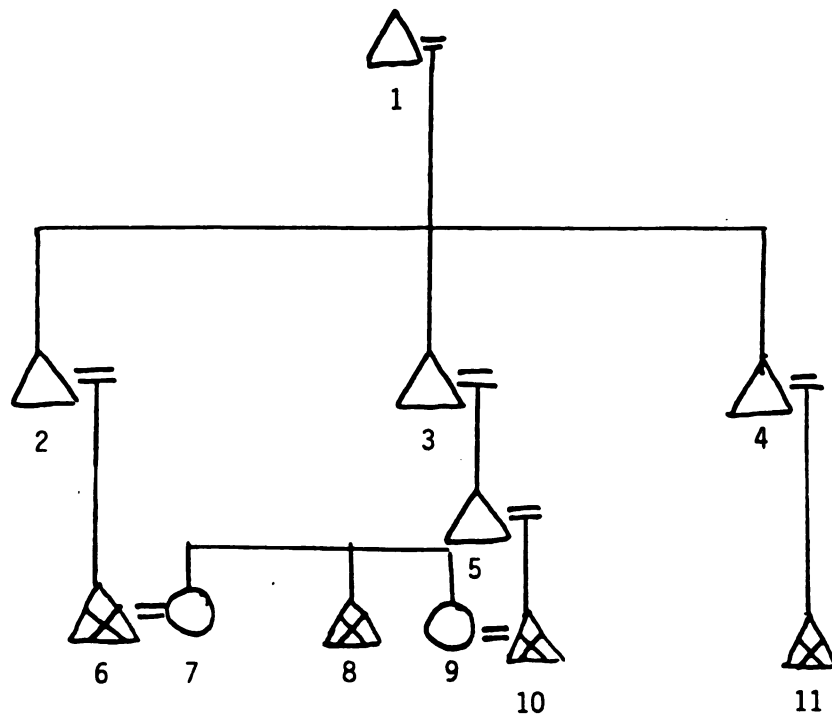
Status Distinctions Among Settlers

I have already discussed sub-divisions within the Settler category, which I've called "Bay Settlers" and "Makkovik Settlers." Several additional points further explain this distinction. First of all, Settlers themselves do not label people as "Bay Settlers" or "Makkovik Settlers," though everyone recognizes that x is from a particular bay while y has always lived in Makkovik. People I've called "Bay Settlers" maintain a strong identity with their place of origin, usually referring to it as 'home.' My adoption of the distinction stems from the fact that there are real socio-economic differences between Settlers and such differences can frequently be traced to the social history of particular Settler families. It should occasion little surprise then that the most economically and politically influential Settlers in Makkovik are members of families

native to Makkovik; most are direct descendants of Makkovik's original Settler. Bay Settlers who have been able to achieve similar influence are usually those whose families enjoyed regular contact with Newfoundland fishermen and/or those who married Makkovik Settlers. For purposes of discussion, I shall henceforth refer to the small group of Settlers occupying the most favoured positions in Makkovik's social hierarchy as the "Settler elite" (cf. Figure 2).

A person's birth in Makkovik is not an automatic passport to social influence or economic affluence. However, it is a decided advantage. A favourable evaluation within the Settler community is further enhanced by one's achievements: success at hunting and fishing, the manner in which one treats others, as well as recognition of and occasional involvement in the social network of the Settler elite. This last variable is important, those aspiring to social prominence must work through the elite for it "calls the signals" and thus cannot be ignored.

A few further comments about this elite. As mentioned in Chapter II, the two youngest sons of Makkovik's original Settler inherited capital equipment, the rights to nearby fishing places, and undoubtedly also acquired certain entrepreneurial skills from their father, a man whom we'll recall, operated a small store in Makkovik, following his tenure with the Hudson Bay Company. These two sons spent their entire lives in Makkovik and, along with their wives and families, formed the nexus of the small Mission settlement as it slowly grew during the first half of the present century. Both men improved on the situation they had acquired by birth, one



Indicates elected member of
Makkovik Community Council
1971-1972

Figure 2.--Makkovik Settler Elite and Local Politics.

worked for the Hudson Bay Company, the other became an affluent trapper. All available evidence indicates that during their lives, they gradually accumulated a higher degree of affluence and greater ability to interact with outsiders (e.g., Newfoundland fishermen, missionaries, government officials, and so on) than did their brothers and sisters who, upon maturity, radiated to outlying bays to establish independent homesteads or married men in bay settlements. Today, two of the sons of these two men are among the most prominent of Makkovik's Settlers. Both are members of the Community Council (during the field period--one is no longer), one is an affluent local entrepreneur while the other, a highly skilled politician who as perennial chairman of the Council, is the 'mayor' of Makkovik (cf. Figure 2).

The relationship between Makkovik's Settler elite and local politics is illustrated in Figure 2. While at one level most Makkovik Settlers are related to one another, the significance of particular lineal linkages is clearly seen in the relationship between elected councillors and Makkovik's original Settler, Number 1. Individual Numbers 6, 8, 10 and 11 constituted the elected council during the field period. The fathers of Numbers 6 and 11 (Numbers 2 and 4) are only two of the Number 1's ten children but, significantly, both remained in Makkovik while most of their brothers and sisters radiated to homesteads outside Makkovik. While Number 3 was raised outside Makkovik, his son (Number 5) spent his life in the community and, like Numbers 2 and 4, acquired ownership to sealing and fishing berths, a situation ultimately beneficial to Number 10.

The only one of the four elected councillors deviating from the elite pattern is Number 8, but as can be seen, he shares important affinal ties with Numbers 6 and 10. Furthermore, while a bay Settler, the father of Number 8 achieved some prominence during his life, notably by serving as a caretaker for the fishing premises of an influential Newfoundland fishing captain. The reader should be cautioned that for purposes of illustration, Figure 2 is an extremely abbreviated kinship diagram, purposefully ignoring many additional kinship linkages.

Finally, Settlers who are among those I've called the elite, manage their position by drawing other Settlers (but not Inuit) into the discussion phase of political decision-making, creating the semblance of an egalitarian polity, while at the same time, subtly orchestrating policies affecting the entire community. Politically, the elite is both an integral part of Makkovik daily life and a world apart from it. The candor and political acumen of the Makkovik elite, personified through the Community Council, is recognized throughout the north coast (and to some extent beyond Labrador) and stands in marked contrast to leadership in other Labrador communities, communities which in some cases might be aptly described as acephelous.

Having described these sub-divisions within the Settler and Inuit populations, I turn now to the general factors affecting a person's ascription to either the Settler or Inuit category.

Factors Affecting Ethnic Identity

The discussion to follow owes much to Ben-Dor (1966:150-157) as he provides the first description of the mechanisms of ethnic identity in northern Labrador.

Four main factors affect ethnic identity in northern Labrador. The first of these is language. Ben-Dor states that "all unilingual persons, without exceptions, are easily and correctly identified" (1966:151). Thus, persons speaking only English are always Settlers while those speaking only Inuttitut are always Inuit. The second rule is that a child normally acquires the ethnic identity of its parents, assuming, of course, that both parents are of the same ethnic category. The third rule speaks to cases in which one parent is Settler, the other an Inuk, that is, the offspring of ethnically-mixed unions. Here, the prevalent social or ethnic background or environment in which the child is raised is usually the determining variable. Thus, for example, prior to the closing of the Division store at Nutak, as well as the Moravian station at Hebron, children of ethnically-mixed marriages assumed the prevalent ethnic identity of their social surroundings, that is, they were considered Inuit. An extended passage from Ben-Dor may help explain how social surroundings affect ethnic status. He writes,

John P. was among the very few Settlers who lived north of the Settler domain. He lived in Hebron until the village was abandoned. During his long stay in Hebron he married a daughter of the (Inuit) headman and became the proud parent of nine offspring. Each person in Hebron knew that John was a Settler and his wife an Eskimo and each person

knew also that all nine children were Eskimo. John's eldest son, who lived in Makkovik during the Fall of 1962, confirmed the above classification. There was no doubt that this young man regarded himself to be an integral part of the Eskimo section. His Eskimo neighbours and the Settlers in the village, including a couple of his first cousins, supported this sentiment (1966:152-153).

I want to emphasize that such mobility (e.g., John P.'s children becoming Inuit) can, depending on prevalent ethnic surroundings, occur in the direction of either the Settler or Inuit group. Thus, had John P. married an Inuk girl in Makkovik, while the community was primarily a Settler village, his ethnically-mixed children would have been considered Settlers.

The final factor cited by Ben-Dor is crucial to the present study. It is that certain socio-cultural acts (e.g., the wearing of particular clothing, for example, Inuit wear a white 'silapak' or parka on Moravian festive days) are locally associated with Settler or Inuit status, or, put differently, persons of each ethnic category behave as they are expected to. In Chapter III, I described certain economic activities and values unique to each category, much of what follows in this chapter extends this list of appropriate ethnic behaviour to include social and political activities.

While a person's ethnic identity cannot be determined by physical criteria or by how one 'looks,' there are physical differences between the two groups. Most of these differences are obvious and conform to an outsider's stereotypic expectations of how an Inuk or white "should" look. Other physical differences between the two categories are more oblique and have not been adequately researched.

Such differences may be extrapolated on the basis of the incidence of particular diseases among each group. I noted in Chapter III, for example, that tuberculosis is generally more common among Inuit, as was influenza in the early part of this century. During the field period, a hepatitis epidemic (approximately seventy cases) spread throughout the community. However, only Settlers (and outsiders) developed the disease, despite the fact that Settler and Inuit youngsters mingled freely in school. All this simply suggests that while one cannot accurately ascertain a person's ethnic identity solely by physical appearance, there appear to be physical differences between Settlers and Inuit, but these are not yet understood.

As noted above, of the four factors affecting ethnic status, language is unquestionably the most important. In a later section, on inter-ethnic relations, we shall see that on the broader level of communication, inter-group attitudes and stereotypes are sometimes evident to the researcher through examination of non-verbal communication (gestures, facial expressions, and so on).

In what follows here, I will first describe language usage among bilingual Inuit, then among bilingual Settlers and, finally, among mixed persons. Let me make clear at the outset that just as we are dealing with two distinct ethnic units in Makkovik, so we are dealing with two separate "speech communities" (Fishman 1971: 232-239; Gumperz 1972), English and Inuttitut, separate and unrelated languages. While some language mixing occurred historically and is incorporated into modern Inuttitut (cf. e.g., Ben-Dor 1966:142),

language mixing, as has been described as occurring with some Amerindian languages (cf. e.g., Darnell 1971) does not occur.

Table 13 correlates language capabilities with ascribed and self-ascribed ethnic status for Makkovik persons over three years of age. It can be seen that approximately three-quarters of all Makkovik people are monolingual (English or Inuttitut) and, since monolingual skills signal ethnic affiliation (cf. Trudgill 1974:60; Ben-Dor 1966:151), we may say that all monolingual English speakers are Settlers, while all monolingual Inuttitut speakers are Inuit. Examination of language usage among bilingual persons proves more interesting. The brief examination of bilingualism draws on recent sociolinguistic research.

TABLE 13.--Language Usage and Ethnicity: Makkovik, July 1972.

Ethnic Status	English	Inuttitut	Bilingual	Total	Percentage
Settler	178		8	186	66%
Inuit		22	52	74	25
Mixed			7	7	3
Other	<u>12</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	190	22	68	280	100%
Percent of Grand Total	68	8	24	100%	

Fishman states that the task of descriptive sociology of language is to provide answers to the questions of "who speaks (or writes) what language (or dialect) to whom and when and to what end?" (1972:46). In answering this question, Fishman proposes the concept of speech domains or types of language situations (1972). He also proposes two types of bilingual processes, "unstable bilingualism" and "stable bilingualism." Unstable bilingualism is exemplified by Haugen's (1969) study of Norwegian immigrants to America. According to Fishman, "anglification" occurred because Norwegians (or other European immigrants) were required to learn English for use in the work place, reducing the speech domains which might have maintained their native tongue. Unstable bilingualism is contrasted with stable bilingualism, a process Fishman exemplifies with the French Canadians. According to Fishman, French Canadians, though required to learn English for school and work, also maintained domains for the use of French, notably in the home and neighbourhood (Fishman 1972:53-54). Fishman's concepts of domain and stable bilingualism may be applied to the Makkovik situation. For example, while Inuit have been required to learn and use English in public domains (e.g., school, wage-labour situations, or when required to talk to Settlers), they have maintained Inuttitut in more private settings, such as the home and neighbourhood.

As suggested by Table 13, some 52 of Makkovik's 74 Inuit have bilingual skills. Bilingual proficiency varies along a continuum, ranging from fluent bilingualism to a minimal ability to communicate (in English) themes of local significance. Approximately

half of Makkovik's 52 bilingual Inuit are fluent in both languages. These are primarily younger Inuit who moved to Makkovik as children (or were born in Makkovik) and were educated in the local school where English is the medium of instruction. Particular domains appear to govern the choice of when Inuttitut or English will be spoken. Normally, Inuit speak Inuttitut at home, while, depending on the audience, either language may be spoken in public. Use of Inuttitut or English in public domains is not an identity marker, that is, it does not affect one's classification as Inuit. This is explained by my criteria of scale, described in Chapter I. That is, in a small community such as Makkovik, where most (excepting mixed--see below) persons are unambiguously Settler or Inuit, speaking either language in public does not alter the established classification. Bilingual Inuit whose English language skills are less than fluent, primarily persons who had completed schooling prior to coming to Makkovik, occasionally lament the degree of their proficiency in English. However, the direction of language acquisition since 1959 has, by and large, been that Inuit learn English rather than for Settlers to learn Inuttitut. Some younger Settlers claim to understand Inuttitut but I never observed these Settlers seriously speak Inuttitut. However, I did hear young Settlers mimick sounds similar to those found in Inuttitut.

In general then, Inuit who are not fluently bilingual tend to limit their public use of English to domains in which the person(s) they are addressing are considered friendly or sympathetic. Thus, the use of English by such Inuit is similar to that described by

Barker (1973:34) in which Mexican-Americans of Tucson are reluctant to speak English. Deveraux (1949:270) notes a similar case in which Mohave (Indians) are reluctant to speak English unless (they feel) they speak it well. An extended example of Inuit reluctance to speak English, when confronted by a specific speech domain, may help illustrate the Makkovik pattern.

One evening, a benefit supper was organized by Settler women to raise money for Makkovik's soccer team. The supper was attended by almost everyone in Makkovik. The large gathering and scarcity of tables necessitated that people eat in shifts, taking seats whenever and wherever they became available. Inuit and Settlers sat shoulder to shoulder at the long tables which dotted the floor of the community hall. Perhaps because of the unusual circumstances of this domain, with Settler and Inuit adults and youngsters gathered side by side, a Settler woman attempted to initiate conversation with the Inuit couple seated opposite her. Speaking slowly, she broached low-level topics of local interest to the couple, both of whom could conduct themselves (though minimally) in English. While they acknowledged her, they did not accept her invitation to converse and, instead, silently continued eating, occasionally speaking quietly to each other in Inuttitut.

The situation of bilingual Settlers, of which there are eight (see Table 13), deserves special comment. Six of these eight bilingual Settlers are directly related to the aforementioned Settler couple who were born near Makkovik and who moved to Okak Bay in the 1920s. This couple's several children were either born and/or raised

in the predominantly Inuit Okak area and all are fluently bilingual. One of the other two bilingual Makkovik Settlers was raised in Nain, and, after marrying a Settler from the Makkovik area, moved to Makkovik. The final bilingual Settler spent her early years with Inuit who lived south of Makkovik. She was later educated in Makkovik, married a Settler man, and raised a family of unilingual, Settler children.

I never heard either of the last two bilingual Settlers just described speak Inuttitut, as if by so doing, their previous link with Inuit people would be exposed. Likewise, neither of them ever discussed their language skills; nor were their names ever mentioned as potential persons at public meetings requiring translators. In contrast, the remaining six bilingual Settlers, all of whom came with the Nutak-Okak people when they were relocated to Makkovik, were generally not reluctant to speak Inuttitut and usually acted as translators at such public meetings. It appeared as if only Settlers publically known to have had more recent and intense association with Inuit readily acknowledged and utilized their bilingual skills.

All seven people I listed as "mixed" are bilingual, though depending on age, their bilingual abilities vary. Older 'mixed' persons tend to be more fluent in both languages than younger ones. Five of Makkovik's mixed persons are the children of an Okak Bay couple (of which the husband is a Settler, his wife an Inuk), relocated to Makkovik in 1956 (cf. Figure 1). Inuttitut was the "mother tongue" of most of Makkovik's mixed persons but today all use English more frequently than Inuttitut.

Mixed persons are, to some extent, also bicultural. For example, the five mixed children of the aforementioned couple learned what they know of Inuit culture as youngsters in Okak, as well as from their mother. Life in Makkovik and their social ties with Settlers has instructed them on the Settler way of life. Most mixed persons have far greater social contact with Settlers than with Inuit (especially Hebron Inuit). Nonetheless, their ethnic status (or non-status) remains mixed for several reasons. For one thing, since relocation to Makkovik, many Settlers and (as noted above) missionaries have considered them Inuit. Settlers, though fully aware of the biographical facts of mixed persons, view them in two more or less contradictory ways. On the one hand, Settlers (especially those of the "Settler elite") respect the bilingual skills of mixed persons and have, in recent years, sought to recruit mixed persons as intermediaries between Settlers and the Inuit (see below). On the other hand, Settlers recognize mixed persons as "different" than Settlers and these differences make interaction with mixed persons less predictable than with other Settlers. Occasionally, in social contacts between Settlers and persons of mixed ethnic background, mixed persons become the targets for derogatory generalizations about 'the Eskimos.' The following example helps illustrate the potentially ambiguous status of mixed persons.

At a Settler party held about the time of the 1972 provincial election, a debate erupted between a mixed person and a Settler woman, who, I should note, is among Makkovik's most prejudiced Settlers. The argument centered on the achievements of the

provincial Liberal Party during its more than twenty years of power in provincial politics. The Settler woman, who supported the Liberal Party, argued that the Liberals were responsible for the many benefits affecting northern Labrador since Confederation. She cited the housing programme (cf. Chapter III) as an example. The man of mixed status countered with the (accurate) opinion that such benefits were largely the result of the Federal-Provincial Agreement (see Chapter II) and were, in fact, federal funds intended for Indians and Inuit. Upon hearing this, the now irate and inebriated woman, countered with 'I wish all you Eskimos would go back where you came from.'

While this Settler woman's sentiments are not typical of all Settlers, or the incident typical of the quality of social contact between mixed and Settler persons, it does illustrate the potentially unclear ethnic ascription of mixed persons.

Perhaps even more important, and the main reason why I've perpetuated Ben-Dor's mixed ethnic category, is that such persons themselves admit to the ambiguity of their ethnic status. For example, one man I've labeled 'mixed' once remarked to me, 'what am I sure, my mother was an Eskimo and my father a white (Settler)?' Thus, according to Barth's two main criteria for ascertaining ethnic status, ascription and self-ascription, persons I've called "mixed" are neither Settler nor Inuit.

The existence of some persons of ethnically-mixed status may be used as a kind of laboratory in order to unravel certain aspects of ethnic process in northern Labrador. My analysis of such persons leads me to the following conclusions. First, I maintain that

northern Labrador has had a certain number of ethnically-mixed persons since the polar categories Settler and Inuit emerged in the last century. Secondly, while some mixed persons may only be temporarily enroute to an unambiguous classification as Settlers or Inuit, I suggest that others never reconcile their ethnic affiliation and/or may temporarily and strategically emphasize appropriate Settler or Inuit behaviour when circumstances make such a stance favourable to them. Examples of such "temporary passing" are evident in recent political developments in northern Labrador. For example, as I describe more fully below, mixed persons have recently been recruited for and have accepted leadership positions with the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), one of two new ethnic minority organizations in Labrador. As we'll see, mixed persons are chosen to represent "real Inuit" because of their bilingual assets.

To sum up, I am in agreement with Paine's (1977) recent statement on mixed persons in northern Labrador. He writes,

In conclusion, it is the mixed marriages that should particularly catch our attention. The problem that has to be solved culturally and socially along the coast in each generation is the allocation of the offspring of these marriages to either of the two groups. Although there are structural constraints in many cases, there is also always a measure of individual choice in such a decision. It is here that one recognizes how the approach to ethnicity that has been described makes good sense. If it is to be possible for these persons to choose, then the alternative idioms of ethnicity must be based primarily on performance, and not on ascription alone, and they should be familiar to all-- as they are (1977:254-255, emphasis mine).

The section above lists factors affecting identity in Makkovik. I turn now to summarize recent demographic changes and population characteristics of contemporary Makkovik.

Demographic Processes

Recent demographic processes have altered the ratio of Settlers to Inuit and have had a profound impact on Settler-Inuit relations. Table 14 lists the primary demographic processes affecting the Settler and Inuit groups between 1955 and 1972. From these data, it is clear that after about 1960, Inuit births were roughly equivalent with those of Settlers, however Inuit deaths were approximately double those of Settlers, slowing the growth rate of the Inuit population. For example, between 1959-1969, there were 38 Inuit deaths while only 10 Settlers died during the same period. Sixteen of these 38 Inuit deaths (42%) claimed infants or children under the age of one (cf. Appendix III: Inuit Deaths: Makkovik 1959-1969). This high infant mortality rate obviously mitigates against a substantial increase in Makkovik's Inuit population.

It would be assuring to conclude that the high (both in absolute terms and when compared to that of Settlers) Inuit death rate is unique to the years between 1959-1969. However, my perusal of historic Moravian Mission records, particularly vital statistics from Hebron, reveals that the contemporary Inuit death rate is only slightly less than historic death rates. At Hebron in 1911 (a year chosen at random), for example, 14 Inuit children were born. Of these, five died within a year, three lived between one and three

TABLE 14.--Demographic Processes, Makkovik: 1955-1972.

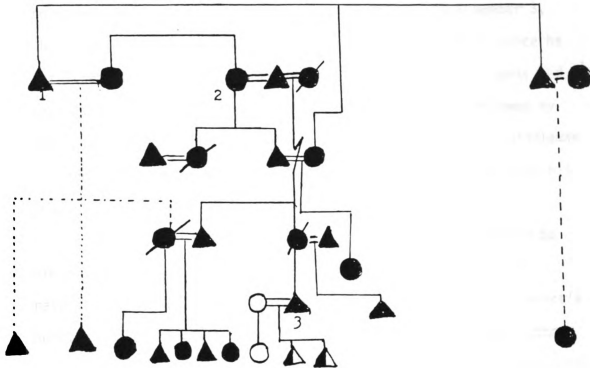
Year	Settlers Migration				Inuit Migration			
	Births	Deaths	Out	In	Births	Deaths	Out	In
1955	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
1956	4	1	13	7	-	-	-	12
1957	7	1	9	-	1	1	2	-
1958	6	2	-	10	2	1	-	10
1959	4	5	-	6	2	2	2	55
1960	6	-	1	-	8	3	3	33
1961	6	1	-	17	9	4	10	32
1962	4	-	1	-	8	1	2	-
1963	5	1	-	8	9	4	3	-
1964	4	3	-	-	6	10	7	5
1965	6	-	-	-	8	3	17	-
1966	7	-	-	-	2	1	9	-
1967	5	-	-	-	5	3	5	4
1968	8	-	-	-	2	5	4	1
1969	3	-	-	-	2	2	2	-
1970	9	1	-	-	1	-	15	11
1971	7	-	4	1	2	1	1	-
1972	<u>4</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>-</u>
TOTAL	97	20	31	49	67	41	96	163

years, two were claimed by the 1918-1919 epidemic, and three died at ages ranging between 19 and 28. The one remaining person from this random year lived to the age of 61.

In addition to the high death rate among Inuit, emigration has further decreased their numbers in the contemporary population. As can be seen in Table 14, between 1957-1972, some 96 Inuit emigrated from Makkovik. Of these, 56 (or 58%) went to Nain; others went to Hopedale, Killinek, and Happy Valley. As said in Chapter II, there are two primary reasons for Inuit out-migration.

The first is that when Inuit were relocated from Hebron, families and close relatives were sent to different communities: some were sent to Nain, others to Hopedale, Makkovik, and so on. Given the strength of kinship ties in Inuit society, the first reason why many Inuit have left Makkovik is to rejoin relatives with whom they formerly lived and interacted.

Just as Inuit leave Makkovik to rejoin kin from whom they have been separated, so Inuit remaining in Makkovik are surrounded by relatively complete kinship networks. Figure 3 presents the primary kinship linkages in Makkovik's largest remaining ilarit (kindred) which, in 1971-1972 included some 22 Inuit, roughly one-third of Makkovik's total Inuit population. Given deaths and the tendency of Inuit to remarry, it is extremely difficult to present kinship diagrams accurately expressing the relative age of persons. However, individuals Number 1 and 2 represent important links in this ilarit. It can also be seen that Inuk Number 3 enjoys one of two ethnically-mixed marriages since Ben-Dor's research.



Key to Figure 3

- Solid lines indicate biological kinsmen
- Dotted lines indicate adopted kin
- ▲ Shaded kin symbols represent Inuit
- White kin symbols represent Settlers
- ◐ Half-shaded kin symbols represent persons of mixed ethnic status.

Figure 3.--Makkovik's Most Complete Hebron Ilarit: 1971-1972.

Significantly, his wife's first child, an illegitimate girl, is being raised a Settler while his own boys will doubtless be subject to strong Settler and Inuit cultural influences. Inuk Number 3, whom I call Sem in Chapter V, faces somewhat of a dilemma since he both strongly values his Inuit identity yet occasionally hunts and socializes with his Settler affines. He resolves this dilemma by resisting efforts of the Settler elite to recruit him as a middleman between Settlers and Inuit and by continued close contacts with his Inuit kinsmen.

The second major reason for Inuit out migration should be clear from materials presented in Chapter II. That is, Inuit relocated to Makkovik have remained dissatisfied with the district's hunting and fishing potential. Repeatedly, comparisons with other, more northerly districts are voiced by Makkovik Inuit. One man told me, for example, that he would normally trap as many fur-bearing animals during one winter in the Okak area as he had totaled in some fifteen winters at Makkovik. More frequent but similar statements by Makkovik Inuit describe the lack of seals, caribou and char. Makkovik Inuit complain that they are 'always hungry,' by which they refer not to the quantity of food available but to its quality. Commenting on this, Makkovik's most prominent Inuk stated that,

We don't get these things (animals) here in Makkovik because there's nothing to get or hunt. That is why we have lost a lot of money since we moved from Hebron. We people from Hebron and Okak now always long for meat and animals. Here in Makkovik there isn't much animals enough for us.

Williamson (1964:107-108), characterizes the initial reaction of Hebron Inuit to life in Makkovik by saying that,

The Hebron people missed most of all familiar grounds over which to hunt, and seal meat which they had more bountifully in the Hebron district.

Responding in part to the desire of Makkovik Inuit to relocate to their traditional homeland (e.g., the coast north of Nain) and in part to the increased ecological pressure which relocation and population concentration has put on the areas immediately around contemporary northern Labrador communities, Williamson (1964:112) suggested the "re-establishment of a community north of Cape Kiglapait" (see Map I). Some ten years later, an extensive Royal Commission, charged by the Provincial Government with the responsibility of studying 'isolation' in Labrador also recommended the establishment of a new community north of Nain, which it suggested should be settled voluntarily by Inuit. Of the desire of Inuit to relocate north, the authors of the Commission wrote,

During the visit of the Commission to these communities (Inuit communities of northern Labrador), many Eskimo people met publicly and privately as single families and as groups with Commissioners to air their grievances arising from resettlement (south). The Commission was urged, by Eskimos in each of the northern settlements, to request immediate re-activation of the abandoned communities of Nutak and Hebron and, over a period of time, to provide comparable services at these communities as are provided where they now live (RRCL 1974: Vol. VI:1215-1216).

As every year passes, however, the probability that the Newfoundland-Labrador Government will redress the plight of a few hundred disheartened Inuit, a situation which is the major socio-economic problem of modern northern Labrador, decreases. In fact, as I have

suggested elsewhere (Kennedy 1977), government plans for northern Labrador have little per se to do with people and instead involve exploiting the region's uranium, timber, hydro power, and (perhaps) off-shore oil resources.

In the absence of any concerted effort to re-establish a community north of Nain, Makkovik Inuit have slowly but steadily left Makkovik since the early 1960s. It is important to note that Makkovik Settlers attribute Inuit out-migration to the quality of Settler-Inuit social relations. Settler views on Inuit emigration vary widely: some Settlers are not unhappy to see the Inuit leave, though influential Settlers worry that the community might cease to qualify for its share of federal-provincial funding, a subject I develop in Chapter V. For now, however, I emphasize that the Settler interpretation of Inuit out-migration exemplifies the absence of interaction or direct communication between Settlers and Inuit. My data strongly suggest that Inuit out-migration occurs despite rather than because there are Settlers in Makkovik or because the relations between Settlers and Inuit are rare.

Before discussing these relations, I draw upon the material presented in this section to present Makkovik's population as of July 1972. Table 15 lists the population by age and ethnic category. Two facts are clear from Table 15. First, these data reveal that a greater proportion of the Inuit population are aged (e.g., over 50 years of age) than is the case with Settlers. Thus, whereas 15 Settlers (or 7% of the Settler total population) are over the age of 50, 13 Inuit (or 17% of the Inuit total) are over 50. Second, the

TABLE 15.--Makkovik Population: July 1972.*

Age	Settlers		Inuit		Mixed		Others		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
0- 5	15	21	1	4	3		1	4	49
6-10	9	15	6	6	1	1		3	41
11-15	18	15	6	10		1			50
16-20	14	16	2	2		2		1	37
21-30	18	13	6		1		1	2	41
31-40	6	5	3	5	1		2	1	23
41-50	15	9	8	4				1	37
51-60	3	4	3	2					12
61-70	2	4	2						8
71-80	2		3	2					7
81-90	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
TOTAL	102	102	40	36	6	4	4	12	306
	204 Settlers		76 Inuit		10 Mixed		16 Others		

*The category "Others" refers 'outsiders' (and their dependents) temporarily living and working in Makkovik.

percentage of women of reproducing age (e.g., one may notice those between the age of 16-40) is greater among the Settler group than among Inuit. Thus, 34 Settler women (16% of the Settler total

population) are between 16 and 40 years of age, while only seven Inuit women (9% of the Inuit total population) are. The long-term implications of both facts for the 'growth' of the Settler and the Inuit category should be obvious.

Settler-Inuit Relations

Before describing the character of inter-ethnic relations, it may briefly be noted that intra-ethnic social relationships are not always harmonious. As with social groups elsewhere, tensions and discord of varying duration occur within the Settler and Inuit categories. Among Inuit, discord normally takes place between close relatives. Disagreements, jealousy, and occasional long standing feuds also occur between Settlers. Such discord is usually caused by some breach in the Settler normative system. Sometimes jealousies develop between Settlers and a particular 'member' of the Settler elite while in other circumstances, individuals who refuse to support the elite are the subject of gossip or ridicule. However strongly discord between Settlers affects the social relations between disputants, it seldom terminates communication or occasional contact and it is on this point that the character of intra as opposed to inter-ethnic relations can be distinguished. Thus, some Settlers and Inuit seldom (if ever) participate in contact or interaction.

Ben-Dor (1966:169-182) described the differing quality of inter-ethnic relations in three age categories: children, adults, and adolescents. He observed that children, particularly pre-school

children never associate with their peers in the other category. The absence of relations between Settler and Inuit children is explained by the fact that those of each group normally speak different languages. In addition, they are spatially separated (within Makkovik), and their parents encourage associations with others of their own group. As should also be clear, relations between Settler and Inuit adults are circumscribed and rare. Ben-Dor argues that this is largely due to the different kinds of social structures governing each category. Specifically, he maintains that the importance of kinship ties among Inuit restrict possible associations with non-kin, which, of course, implies Settlers. Likewise, while the Settler institution of friendship links non-kin, Settler friendships normally do not extend to Inuit. It was in the final age category, adolescence, that Ben-Dor observed the closest interaction between individuals from the two groups. Adolescents met in school as well as in private homes, English language enabled communication, and close relationships occasionally developed between individuals of both categories.

My data generally support Ben-Dor's conclusions about these three age categories and I shall make little effort to 'up date' Settler-Inuit relations within them. Instead, I seek to describe the tone of Settler-Inuit relations, focusing on settings or contexts where inter-ethnic relations occur. My intention is to provide specific examples illustrating the quality of inter-ethnic relations in particular settings. We shall see that in most contexts, Settlers and Inuit remain as 'strangers' and that the ethnic boundary is as

firm (if not more so) than at the time of Ben-Dor's research. While both peoples have learned to co-exist and do occasionally interact, they do so according to certain unspoken rules which the Settlers appear to control.

In describing inter-ethnic relations, I begin with some mention of the general pattern of daily life, contacts between members of both categories in a number of public settings, such as the Division store, the community wharf, the road, and so on. In the Division store, for example, Settlers and Inuit shop quietly, as if ignoring the presence of the other. Occasionally, a smile may pass between individuals of both groups as one excuses himself to pass by the other. Contact is polite but formal. The characteristics of the store as a forum for inter-ethnic relations should be briefly noted. Normally, the store is used only by Makkovik people and, given the Division's trade monopoly, both Settlers and Inuit are dependent upon the services it provides. During most of the field period, a bilingual Inuk was store clerk and his efficient yet jocular manner livened whatever tedium might surround the task of shopping. In short, both peoples are patient and polite during contacts in the Store: little or no verbal communication occurs across ethnic lines though if an incident arousing humour develops, smiles briefly light the faces of individuals from both categories.

The behaviour of individuals from both categories differs slightly on the community wharf when the coastal boat arrives in Makkovik or on the winter bay ice when the mail plane visits the community during winter. In addition to Settlers and Inuit, both

these settings include outsiders. Settlers normally crowd forward, monopolizing any and all encounters with outsiders (e.g., coastal boat crewmen, pilots, and so on) while Inuit stand in small groups at the rear. In the case of the coastal boat, Inuit venture aboard only after the initial excitement of docking and that accompanying exchanges between Settler and coastal boat crewmen has transpired.

Individuals from each category seldom acknowledge the presence of those of the other when they pass each other on the community road. Spatially, they are 'together but separate,' and the character of contact on the road comes closest to the image that each group existed as if the other were not there.

A further dimension to inter-ethnic relations concerns the way actors perceive of their identity and attitudes they hold regarding the other category. There is much variability as to how individuals view their own and the other category. Generally, older Inuit are proud of their identity as Inuit, citing the successful adaptation of traditional Inuit culture to Labrador. Such individuals make few concessions which would necessitate more than the most minimal interaction with Settlers. They tolerate the social schism which has developed since relocation to Makkovik and do not appear concerned with the question of increasing social interaction with Settlers or of "improving" the quality of Settler-Inuit relations.

Other Inuit, especially those who possess English language skills and who perhaps do not consider their ethnic identity compromised by interaction with Settlers, are more willing to engage in sporadic yet circumscribed relations with Settlers. In general,

these are the younger, more-educated Inuit and their situation may be somewhat more complex than that of the Inuit mentioned above. These younger Inuit were raised in Makkovik, few are old enough to remember the coast north of Nain, yet they have heard much about the hunting and fishing places of what must seem almost like a mythical homeland. Most have a pride in their ethnic identity and will talk about the position of relocated Inuit in Makkovik. They are fully aware of their minority situation within Makkovik and occasionally, pride in identity notwithstanding, feel overwhelmed by the Settler majority, particularly the Settler elite. I recall, for example, at a party held at the home of one of the Settler elite, an Inuk and his wife (who, incidently, happens to be a Settler) were invited, a rare situation. This man is perhaps the best liked (by Settlers) of all Makkovik Inuit. While others were drinking and dancing in the living room, he and I talked briefly in the kitchen. To my surprise, he raised the topic of his being in that particular house and went on to explain that he 'still felt ashamed' and did not feel fully accepted by the Settlers in the adjacent room. In other situations, perhaps prompting other moods, he was among the most outspoken in his pride of being Inuit.

The views of the English-speaking Settler majority are more easily understood. Most Settlers hold rather condescending views regarding Inuit, citing the greater economic success of Settlers as proof of Settler superiority. One Settler fisherman, for example, when commenting on the season's catch of the Inuit cod fishing crew described in Chapter III, remarked, 'if they got that, I would have

cleaned 'er.' While most Settler comments about the Inuit are condescending, particular Inuit, perhaps considered exceptions, are respected and the occasional subjects of praise. I doubt that most Settlers would view their attitude as one of condescension, though all Settlers, particularly Settler leaders, are sensitive about the quality of inter-ethnic relations. Several additional examples illustrate the way in which Settlers view Inuit.

Early in the field period, attempting ethnic neutrality, I lived in an abandoned shack situated between the Settler and Inuit sections. One evening, two Settler men stopped by to visit and talk. Shortly after they arrived, an Inuit couple also stopped by the shack. Prior to the arrival of the Inuit couple, the two Settlers had been animated and verbose, covering a wide range of topics of local interest. However, in the presence of the Inuit couple (along with that of myself, an outsider), their conversation ceased, they responded only when I uneasily attempted to manage what appeared was to them an anxious situation. Their apparent discomfort may have been exaggerated by my efforts, as host, to conduct a conversation, however minimal, with both the Settlers and the Inuit couple. As the minutes passed, the Settlers adapted by passing snide remarks and nervous laughs to one another, usually after and as if in response to the comments of the Inuit couple. The Settlers did appear concerned with my response to the Inuit couple and clearly viewed the comments of the couple as worthy only of nervous laughter.

Another example of the same genre occurred when Inuit and Settler workmen were installing several large fuel storage tanks near

the Division store. One afternoon I visited the site and after being greeted by workers of both groups, observed the following. An Inuk who was shoveling gravel into a cement mixer partially missed the mixer's circular opening with one of his shovel fulls. A nearby Settler workman, upon observing this, shrugged his shoulders and cast an exasperated glance at me, as if to say, 'they can't even shovel properly.' A few moments later, the shovel load of another Inuk workman also missed the mixer opening and again, the Settler, who had not been facing me, turned toward me and repeated the same gesture.

At a St. John's or Toronto construction site, non-verbal behaviour such as that just described might simply be a statement of good humoured joviality toward a fellow workman; indeed, in other cultural settings, it might even act to tie workers of different social or ethnic backgrounds together by exaggerating whatever distinctions are publically considered idiosyncratic to them. In a setting such as Makkovik, however, the meaning of such gestures emerges as part of a pattern of regularly predictable social interaction.

One reason behind the condescension characteristic of Settler attitudes toward Inuit has its roots in the Settler belief that when Inuit were relocated to Makkovik, the best Inuit leaders and hunters were 'culled out' by missionaries and sent to Hopedale or Nain. Settlers are quick to point to Inuit leaders in other northern Labrador communities and qualify that while a few of the Inuit moved to Makkovik are (or were and have since died or

emigrated), 'good men,' few Inuit they claim, possess real leadership qualities, at least as Settlers understand them. In accounting for what he interpreted as the acephelous political organization of the Makkovik Inuit community, one Settler explained that,

It would have made a difference if they (Makkovik Inuit) had someone like that (referring to an Inuk leader in another community) among them. It would have made a lot of difference. You take any crowd of people, if they have a good leader among them, they're going to get somewhere. I think that's one of the failures of how things was done.

This Settler explained his support for government funding to Inuit by saying, 'the Eskimo needs to be helped.' Like other Settlers, however, he did not believe it was his responsibility to "help" Makkovik Inuit but instead, that of the Division or some other outside agency. Thus, Makkovik Settlers see little paradox in their belief that something 'should be done' for Inuit and the fact that Settlers have made little or no effort to foster closer ties with Inuit. Thus, while Inuit are seen daily in the Settler section (in part because of services located there--e.g., the Post Office, school, Mission, and so on), I observed Settlers in the Hebron section on only a handful of occasions during the field period. Indeed, some Settlers claimed to have never been in the Hebron Inuit section and others admitted to not knowing the names of certain Inuit children. These facts are not seen by Settlers as contradictory to the espoused Settler goal (especially of Settler leaders) to improve Settler-Inuit relations.

Open discord between Settlers and Inuit, though rare, occurs when the social separation which many Settlers view as natural

is broken. A Settler woman remarked on inter-ethnic marriages (of which there have been two since Ben-Dor's study) by saying, 'The situation here is really getting bad because whites (Settlers) are even marrying them (Inuit).' As said, however, such direct statements are rare and usually expressed only by Settlers who have been drinking or those ambivalent about the unstated norm which normally prohibits categorical denunciations. Most Settlers restrict their comments on the Inuit to supposedly humorous imitations of Inuit words or nicknames Settlers privately use to characterize individual Inuit.

All of what's been said corresponds neatly to our impressions of socio-cultural systems of racial or ethnic prejudice. Woven alongside the threads of condescension, ethnic pride, and prejudice, however, are the occasional and unpredictable instances of cooperation and harmony. Such instances usually occur outside Makkovik, such as, for example, when individuals of both categories happen to be hunting or fishing in the same vicinity. Even in Makkovik, however, it's not unusual to see Inuit and Settler youths playing a game of soccer on the winter sea ice or hear Settler men praise a particular Inuk as a 'good man to knock around with,' that is, as a skilled hunter. Occasionally also, individuals from one category may borrow from or perform a favour for someone in the other. During the summer of 1972, for example, an Inuk who was working at wage construction lent his speedboat and engine to a person of mixed status who was temporarily awaiting delivery on a new speedboat engine. In another case, a young Settler borrowed the speedboat of an Inuk who was in

prison while the man's motorboat was occasionally borrowed by another Settler. In still another example, a highly respected Inuk hunter provided his services at sighting the rifles of Settlers and Inuit.

All of this simply suggests that Settler-Inuit relations are not simply based on prejudice and a thorough absence of contact. Interaction, while limited, does occur. An Inuk who formerly lived in Makkovik and who returned for a brief visit during the summer of 1972, told me that, in his opinion, Settler-Inuit relations had improved since he left Makkovik several years before. He said that when Inuit first came to Makkovik, there had been some 'discrimination' but that little appeared to occur at present. What surprised him most was the large number of Inuit who had permanently emigrated from Makkovik.

I mentioned above that outside Makkovik inter-ethnic relations can be good, even cooperative. One example of such relations occurred during a hunting trip in the winter of 1972. I had accompanied several Settlers and, as evening approached, we made camp and were boiling a stew of ptarmigan and rice when two Inuit hunters arrived and set up their tent right next to that of the Settlers. Two of the Settlers had killed several seals at the sina (ice edge) earlier that day and when the Inuit asked for some seal livers and ribs, they were invited to take what they wanted. During the evening, light hearted jokes and songs passed between the occupants of both tents. When Settler and Inuit hunters returned to Makkovik, cooperation was necessary to haul the snowmobiles and komotiks over a steep ridge leading to Makkovik. Extensive

cooperation between individuals of both groups occurred and the entire company waited patiently several times while several minor snowmobile problems were repaired. At one point an Inuk had to carve a temporary wooden replacement for a broken snowmobile rear hub, necessitating a delay of about one hour. One young Settler grew tired of waiting and drove on alone, back to Makkovik. Though little direct comment was passed, his action breached the rule that 'one man's trouble is everybody's trouble,' and is the type of behaviour by which a person's reputation is measured. The general point is, however, that when men from both categories are together outside Makkovik and when cooperation is either helpful or absolutely necessary, it can and does occur.

The section above tries to give some idea of the quality of inter-ethnic relations. While such relations are generally rare and their tone dissonant, occasional cooperation and concord obtains between individuals from both categories. In the section to follow, I examine how each category participates in and perceives certain institutions which affect the entire community.

Institutions

This section describes certain institutions important in Makkovik life, organizations which affect both groups--sometimes by underscoring the Settler-Inuit distinctions, sometimes by illustrating the priorities of each category. I shall first consider the Moravian Mission.

As indicated in Chapter II, the Moravian Mission is largely responsible for creating and perpetuating the Settler-Inuit distinction. Its original intention was to insulate Inuit from all types of external contact, of which, of course, the Settlers were one. Even after accepting the Settlers and letting them live in the Moravian communities, the Mission enforced several rules which applied to Settlers. They were prohibited from (a) trading with Inuit, (b) supplying liquor to Inuit, (c) dancing or playing cards, and (d) were required to make financial contributions toward the support of the Mission (Mission Rules:1855-1872). The Mission maintained the ethnic distinction in several ways. Separate Sunday services were (and are) held for Settlers and Inuit; the choir system was subdivided by ethnic category; and church elders and helpers were elected and chosen to represent each ethnic category.

Perhaps more than with any other institution, the meaning the church has differs rather considerably with Settlers and Inuit. To Inuit the church constituted the social, political, and emotional nexus of community life. Gradually, during the period since contact, Inuit attitudes or standards regarding ideal conduct became entwined with values compatible with Christianity: Inuit leaders were supposed to be quiet, strong, generous individuals. To some extent, the church today serves as both a focus for Inuit identity and a familiar link with the past; it represents one of few continuities which links the past with the present and has eased the otherwise difficult adjustment to Makkovik. Consequently, Inuit involvement with the

church and its various activities is intense and contrasts sharply with that of the Settlers.

The Settler association with the church has always been more tenuous. They have always been able to separate or compartmentalize 'religion' from other aspects of life and, unlike the Inuit, never measured a person's moral worth by his/her involvement with the church. To many contemporary Makkovik Settlers, the Mission is viewed as 'old fashioned' and an obstacle to their efforts to become part of a rapidly changing world. While virtually all Settlers welcome the Moravian presence as a part of their community, they do not view the church and community as synonymous institutions. Also, unlike the Inuit, most Settlers accept changes in church organization and, as we shall see, occasionally sponsor them. In sum, the Settlers are far less involved with the church than Inuit. Few Settlers attend Sunday services and their participation in Mission-sponsored activities emphasizes the secular rather than the sacred domain.

Ben-Dor's excellent and comprehensive two chapters on the Moravian organization in Makkovik necessitate that my comments on the church be brief. I present two brief examples which illustrate the different meaning of the church to Settlers and Inuit.

The first describes the manner (and, by implication, the motives) in which each category participates in the maintenance of the church.

The physical and financial logistics of operating the church requires the involvement of the entire congregation. Every so often,

the missionary calls upon members of the congregation for assistance with the physical task of church maintenance. During the summer of 1972, the missionary requested volunteer workers to lay new shingles on the church roof. Several Inuit men worked during the day and evening on this for several days yet no Settlers offered their services. An Inuk who had been employed all summer on housing construction but who did not report for his job so as to work on the church, was reprimanded by the construction foreman. From his point of view, however, his priorities were proper; he was offering service to the community, even if at the expense of his wage position. Settlers were clearly baffled by his sense of priorities. To them, his choice was a flagrant violation of the responsibilities attending wage labour positions. Notwithstanding his reputation as a steady and skilled carpenter, his behaviour served to affirm the Settler view that even employed Inuit are unreliable wage labourers.

A little over a month later, the missionary requested volunteers to help disassemble the old Moravian manse, a new one having been completed and long-since occupied. Volunteers were permitted to claim used lumber and materials for their own use. In this case, with the prospect of obtaining such materials, Settlers needed little additional encouragement in offering their services. Settlers actively participated in the dismantling of the manse and were clearly motivated by the prospect of obtaining building materials, much of which were in good condition and ready for use. Some Inuit also helped in the disassembling of the manse but, in my view, would have done so regardless of the prospect of obtaining materials.

The motives for offering support in the practical task of church maintenance should be clear from these examples. Settlers participate in church activities either when they perceive them to be for the overall good of Makkovik as a community or for personal gain; Inuit 'rewards' are largely social, Inuit are expected to participate in church-related activities and their esteem in the Inuit community suffers proportionally if they do not.

The contemporary importance of the church to each ethnic category is also visible in the way each supports certain elements of the Moravian tradition, such as, for example, the elders. As noted in Chapter II, the elders, as elected representatives of the congregation, worked in association with the missionary and chapel servants to govern mission communities. Elders served a three year term, were elected with a ratio of one elder to every one hundred members of the congregation, and, as just mentioned, were elected to represent the Inuit and Settler factions to each Mission community. During the time of Ben-Dor's study, Makkovik had three elders, two Settlers and an Inuk, and, in the autumn of 1971, a meeting was called to elect new elders for the Makkovik congregation.

At the meeting, the missionary first invited nominations for Settler elders, planning then to invite nominations for Inuit elders. Several Settlers were nominated but all declined until the missionary finally asked a prominent Settler to explain his refusal. This man, a member of the Community Council (see below), explained that Settlers no longer wanted to continue the custom of elders, arguing that contemporary pressures incumbent on elders,

specifically the mediating of an increasing number of violent incidents, were too great. He further suggested that, in the local absence of formal law enforcement personnel (i.e., the RCMP), order could be maintained as effectively by the Community Council. While a few Settlers disagreed with this position, most were willing to support it. Also, the missionary (who, like many of the younger, progressive, Moravian churchmen, preferred to call himself a 'minister') agreed that the time had come for a change and was thus acquiescent to this Settler's position. It was decided Settlers would not longer elect elders and the missionary went on to invite Inuit nominations. After several nominations, an Inuk was elected. Though this man's drinking habits deviated from the ideal behaviour expected of elders, his reputation as a good hunter and a man of strong temperament prevailed. As of the fall of 1971 then, Makkovik was without Settler elders and had the one Inuk elder who, from the Settler perspective, had jurisdiction only in the Inuit community.

The full import of the Settler definition of this elder's jurisdiction became apparent two weeks after his election. At that time, an inebriated Settler wandered aboard the coastal boat, only to be escorted off it by the Inuk elder who, from his point of view, was doing his job of maintaining order. As soon as the two descended to the wharf, another Settler, upon seeing the apprehension, rebuked the Inuk elder, and taking over, escorted the Settler home. The Settler who did so stated unequivocally that the Inuk elder's sphere of influence did not extend to the Settler section of Makkovik.

The few Settlers (primarily Settler chapel servants) who had wanted to continue the institution of elders felt the efficacy of their position during the Christmas season, when, during a well-attended service, several young Settlers were openly jocular at the rear of the church. The chapel servants discussed this flagrant violation of church mores at their next meeting, yet lamented that by lacking a Settler elder, little could be done to punish those involved.

These two examples illustrate that most Settlers believe the institution of elders no longer is necessary or relevant to life in the modern community while, to Inuit, the elder status remains viable and is the aspired leadership position within the Inuit community.

In addition to the Mission and its organizational policies, several other institutions are increasingly important to community organization. In what follows, I devote brief attention to an institutional trinity--the Division, school, and IGA--emphasizing the part outsiders affiliated with each institution play in maintaining the Settler-Inuit distinction and the contact between each ethnic category and such outsiders.

Settlers actively vie for the attention and favours of the Division Store manager, who, as purveyor of credit and decisions on who obtains new technology sold by the Division, is perhaps the most important outsider in modern north Labrador communities. Inuit seldom enjoy intense relations with Store managers. Language and cultural differences make the needs of Inuit foreign to the

Newfoundland managers and Inuit are therefore faced with accepting whatever favours a manager is willing to bestow upon them. Inuit generally evaluate individual store managers according to their willingness to extend store credit.

It is important to note that historically, when many Settlers were bilingual, they sometimes served as middlemen between various outside agents (such as Hudson Bay personnel) and Inuit. While this is no longer the case, most outside administrators, such as Division personnel, being unable to speak Inuttitut, generally accept the Settler interpretation of the Inuit. As should be clear, this interpretation, while based on a decade and one-half of co-residence, is in itself based extensively on a rather minimal and stereotyped knowledge of Inuit culture. The communication link which exists in most northern Labrador communities is one in which information passes between outside administrators and Settlers. In Makkovik, information usually passes from the store manager to the Settler elite and thence, more selectively, to other Settlers who enjoy the frequent company and confidence of the elite.

The Makkovik school contains grades one through eight and has a student enrollment of about ninety-five. As in native communities throughout the Canadian north, Labrador school teachers are primarily 'outsiders' who view teaching in Labrador as a "good experience" and a valuable stepping stone to positions elsewhere. Few remain in Labrador long and this, along with the fact that they speak only English, means that their social relationships are more apt to be with Settlers than with Inuit. Few teachers come to know

the adult Inuit population and most of their knowledge of it is acquired through Inuit children or Settlers.

The International Grenfell Association (IGA) operates a four bed nursing station in Makkovik, permanently staffed by an IGA nurse. As noted several times, the incidence of disease varies somewhat with Settlers and Inuit, occasionally requiring slightly different medical care to each category. The involvement of the nurse in Labrador community life varies greatly; in Makkovik, the nurse maintained few social relationships beyond those required by her professional duties. She administered health care equally to Settlers and Inuit and attempted to maintain a neutral position in the community. Consequently, perhaps more than any other representative of an external agency, the nurse became thoroughly familiar with all individuals in the community. This is by no means typical of all IGA nurses. The ability of the Makkovik nurse to do so rested on the fact that she consciously maintained neutrality and thus remained unaffected by the subtle kinds of social reciprocity which welds most outside administrators to one or another social network within the community, usually to the Settler elite. Most outside administrators are unable or unwilling to accept the social costs (e.g., rumors or gossip about their private lives) which such neutrality usually involves. Her ability to adopt a neutral position was further enhanced by the fact that all segments of the population occasionally require medical services and she thus held, but did not exploit, a position of some power.

Several times thus far, mention has been made of the community council; its importance as an institution now requires additional description. In 1969 the Division, in cooperation with the Provincial Department of Municipal Affairs, held meetings in most north coastal communities to familiarize residents with the advantages of formal incorporation of their communities with the province. The following year, Makkovik elected its first community council, making the community automatically eligible for certain provincial grants and providing a formally elected body which could apply for various federal grants such as the LIP programme described in Chapter III. From the outside, Makkovik Settlers, mostly those of the elite, have been elected to positions on the council. Council elections are openly and democratically conducted and the fact that the elite have been consistently re-elected since 1970 suggests that Settlers and Inuit believe these individuals best able to communicate with government in order to obtain benefits for the community.

The formalization of local government in Makkovik has not produced any changes either in Settler leadership or in the manner in which such leaders traditionally reached their decisions. Unlike councils in other north Labrador communities, which hold public meetings to decide on issues of local importance, the Makkovik council normally holds its meetings in the home of one or another councillor. While the elected council² is entirely composed of

²An appointed Inuk who worked for the Division, served as clerk for the council during the first several months of the field period. When he was transferred to another Labrador community, a young Settler became clerk.

Settlers, councillors have actively sought the election of an Inuk councillor, to serve as broker in order to, as councillors express it, 'translate the idea of community councils to the Eskimos.'

Thusfar, Inuit have not chosen (see Chapter V) to elect one of their number, though in the election I witnessed, they easily could have done so. While I develop the question of why individual Inuit have rejected leadership positions on the council in the next chapter, it may briefly be said here that they do so because they consider the council a Settler institution and are wary of placing themselves between the Settlers and other Inuit. The paradox of Inuit rejection of leadership on the council is that Inuit apparently recognize the council as a legitimate political entity in the community. This is suggested by the fact that Inuit household heads pay the small household tax and willingly accept council sponsored wage labour, when such is available. Settlers view the council as a further step toward the modernization of Makkovik and the community's increased articulation with the Provincial government.

Makkovik people are also politically involved with (and increasingly controlled by) the provincial and federal levels of government and with various organizations which affect the northern Labrador region as a whole. In what follows I single out the involvement of Settlers and Inuit in provincial politics and with two native organizations. In their own way, both examples add a further dimension to the Settler-Inuit distinction.

Makkovik, like other Labrador communities, participates in the election of a Member to the federal parliament and the provincial

House of Assembly. Two of the three major political parties, the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives (P.C.), field candidates for federal and provincial office. A third party, the New Labrador Party (NLP) runs candidates for provincial office but has thusfar had little success in predominantly Liberal northern Labrador. In what follows, I concentrate on the two provincial elections I observed during 1971 and 1972, paying particular attention to how these elections affected Makkovik's two ethnic groups.

To begin, since the early days of confederation with Canada, Makkovik Settlers have supported the Liberal party, a party which held power in the province between 1949 and 1972. In the fall of 1971, the provincial Liberal government announced an election and shortly thereafter, candidates from the three parties began visiting Makkovik.

The Liberal candidate was a wealthy, Newfoundland-born businessman who, for some years, has lived in Goose Bay. On his first visit to Makkovik, a public meeting was held at the community hall, signs were distributed, and a speech was made in which he promised greater economic development for northern Labrador and a frozen fish processing plant for Makkovik. The 1971 election was his first campaign but, after assessing his views, the Settler elite judged him satisfactory and worthy of their continued support of the Liberals.

His main adversary, the P.C. candidate, was an Australian by birth, and, like his rival, had lived in Goose Bay for several years.

He had run unsuccessfully before and, while he was considerably more familiar with the coast than the Liberal candidate, his proposed policies were seen by Settlers as unrealistic. Among other things, he campaigned on a platform advocating that Inuit (and Bay Settlers) would be allowed to resettle their traditional homelands and would, he promised, be given a grant of one thousand dollars per family to enable the move. He also favoured the development of tourism, a craft industry, and economic cooperatives in northern Labrador. In his previous bid for election, the P.C. candidate had received wide support from Makkovik Inuit, particularly because of his resettlement promise. For their part, Settlers were painfully aware the relocation was the major issue among Inuit. Their main worry was that if this man were elected, Makkovik might lose all its Inuit population and, therefore, according to their understanding, Federal funding allocated to Inuit and Indian communities. Thus, Settlers sought to undermine the local credibility of this candidate, citing his business and political failures in Goose Bay and claiming his promises would be difficult to fulfill in the event he was elected.

In any event, the election was held and, much to the relief of Makkovik Settlers, the Liberal candidate won. However, given that the total election returns throughout the province produced a Liberal-P.C. stalemate, a second election was called for in late March 1972. This time the P.C. party ran another candidate who did not promise relocation (but nonetheless received wide support among

Makkovik Inuit) and was, in any case, defeated by the aforementioned Liberal candidate.

So adamant were members of the Settler elite that the Liberal candidate be re-elected in the March election that Settlers conducted what was essentially a filibuster of continuous questions and disrupting remarks during the campaign meetings of the P.C. and N.L.P. candidates. In contrast, when the Settler favourite, the Liberal candidate, held his campaign meeting in the community hall, his speech was completed without disruptions. There can be little question as to the strategy of the Settlers here; they clearly sought to subvert both candidate's efforts to present their positions.

Toward the end and since the initial period, certain political events have occurred which have added a political dimension to ethnicity in northern Labrador. I speak of the introduction of new ethnic minority organizations. At present there are two, one which I shall call the Inuit organization; the other, the Indian organization.³ Given that these organizations represent a new and on-going phenomenon in northern Labrador and that it has been impossible to keep abreast of many recent developments, I restrict my comments to the first few years of each organization's tenure.

In February 1972 a small group of Inuit from the Quebec Inuit Association journeyed overland from George's River, Quebec, to

³What I am calling the "Indian organization" originally entered Labrador as the "Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador." Later this association split into two organizations, one to represent the Island's (of Newfoundland) Indian people; the other, now called the "Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association," to represent Labrador Indians.

Nain, Labrador to inquire whether Labrador Inuit were interested in affiliating with the National Inuit organization. Their inquiries received an affirmative response and a subsequent trip to Labrador Inuit communities was planned for the following summer.

Officials of the Inuit organization arrived that July aboard a regularly scheduled coastal boat. Like the many Makkovik people assembled on the wharf when the boat docked, I noted the large party of men standing on the forward deck but did not give them much thought until I heard that they were representatives of the National Inuit organization. I later learned that upon learning that the party was affiliated with the national Inuit organization, one Settler had remarked that they 'weren't fit to come ashore' as they 'might stir up trouble' among Makkovik Inuit. Once ashore, their behaviour was unobtrusive and indistinguishable from other tourists who visit the community each summer: they explored the community, snapped pictures, and casually chatted with people. That evening, they held a meeting solely for Makkovik Inuit in the community hall. Two Makkovik Inuit were elected to represent the community's Inuit population at a forthcoming meeting of the National Inuit Organization.

As with the Inuit organization, the Indian organization was "imported" to Labrador. Founded in Newfoundland in 1973, the Indian organization sought to bring pressure on the provincial government to formally recognize that native people existed in the province (a point left unclear when Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949--see Chapter II) and that they had rights which had been previously ignored. Though the Indian organization was originally

(and some argue primarily) concerned with the native population of Newfoundland (primarily Micmac Indians on Newfoundland's south coast), its white advisors realized that the large native population of Labrador could vastly increase the organization's membership and potential political clout and thus could not be ignored. Hence, within a year after its founding, representatives of the Indian organization toured northern Labrador communities, inviting Indian, Inuit and Settler membership. During the spring of 1973 the organization received a federal grant to upgrade native housing throughout the province, and the following winter (1974), this grant supported improvements on several Makkovik Settler and Inuit houses, the work employing a number of Makkovik residents.

While the Indian organization was enjoying the support of Makkovik people, particularly Settlers, the Inuit organization was encountering financial and political difficulties in Nain. The Labrador affiliate of the National Inuit Organization was officially 'founded' in October 1973 and its first president was a bilingual Nain Settler, who, having married the daughter of a prominent Nain Inuk, decided to assert an Inuit status. Problems (which incidently were not directly related to this man's proposed ethnic status) arose from his leadership and he was subsequently replaced by a Makkovik man of mixed ethnic status. Ironically, this man was at first apprehensive about the Inuit organization. This apprehension is difficult to explain. Basically, he claimed that the National Inuit Organization was using its Labrador affiliate to 'take over Labrador.' A more reasonable explanation for his apprehension was

his discussions with Makkovik Settlers who, while favorably disposed toward the Indian organization, were (initially) critical of the Inuit organization. In any event, this man eventually agreed to serve as president.

During the next two years, several unsuccessful efforts were made (primarily by white advisors) to merge the two organizations into one. Advocates of such a united organization (including the writer) believed it could mobilize greater political support for native land claims, a goal both organizations planned to pursue separately. Also, as time went on, the position of the Settlers became more dubious. From the point of view of the federal government, the ethnic status of Settlers was, in a manner of speaking, illegitimate--since it only recognizes Indians and Inuit. Having begun its land claims research, the Indian organization, now with a larger Indian membership than it had previously enjoyed, began to show signs that it neither needed nor wanted Settler or Inuit membership. In many respects, the Settlers had become a liability toward obtaining federal funds necessary for the organization's existence and research. For their part, the Inuit were now embraced by their own organization. Nonetheless, even after it became clear that Settlers were no longer "needed" by the Indian organization, they remained skeptical of the Inuit organization, ostensibly because of its initial leadership problems and its absence of programmes, a situation which they contrasted with the Indian organization's comprehensive housing programme. Finally, however, when both separate native organizations had begun land claims research and when it

appeared as if they might not be represented by either, Settlers (cautiously) accepted an invitation to be included under the Inuit organization's land claims project. Under this arrangement, Settlers were to be treated as Inuit, despite the fact that the arrangement did not alter ethnicity as expressed at the local level.

It should be said that in the years since Settlers have been embraced by the Inuit organization, it has been Makkovik Settlers, rather than the community's relocated Hebron Inuit, that have been most active in the Inuit organization. In addition, three of Makkovik's mixed persons have been involved at the executive level of the organization, two of which were elected by Inuit from all northern Labrador communities. The explanation for this apparently paradoxical situation is clear. Labrador Inuit involved with the Inuit organization believe it absolutely necessary that the persons who represent them be fluently bilingual. Mixed persons whom, to outsiders, "look Eskimo," are also believed able to establish a more thorough rapport with the government officials with whom they must deal.

This section has described several institutions and organizations which increasingly affect the lives of Makkovik Settlers and Inuit. Settlers are particularly concerned with Makkovik as the socio-political community. While ostensibly concerned with the quality of inter-ethnic relations, the Settler elite is wary of any external institution which might upset their control of the community. Representatives of outside Institutions are courted by Settlers and usually become involved with the daily activities of Settler society.

learning about the 'Hebron people' through the Settler definition of the situation. Inuit have an entirely different interest in the institutions and organizations which affect life in Makkovik. They tolerate life in the Settler community but their notions of 'community' remain entwined with the Moravian church, an institution representing one familiar link with the past. Far less interested in enhancing Makkovik's image to outsiders, with whom they have minimal contact, Inuit respond favourably to institutions, organizations or individuals who support their central aim--the return to their former homeland north of Nain.

Leisure Time

The final section describes some of the ways Makkovik people consume leisure time. I begin with some discussion of activities which occur at the community hall. Events held there are organized by a hall committee, a group of young Settlers. A weekly schedule of nightly events occur. These include bingo, dances, and movies.

Movies were first introduced in 1954 when one of the Settler elite purchased a 16 mm movie projector and began ordering rented films by mail. At present, a continual stream of relatively recent movies are ordered by the hall committee and shown both in the hall and (for a small fee) in private homes. Given that Makkovik had neither television nor reliable radio during the field period, movies are important in providing residents with some idea, albeit distorted, of the outside world. Like most activities which occur

at the hall, movies are attended by young Settlers and Inuit; adult Settlers usually arrange to view movies in their homes.

Until the late 1960s, most dancing which occurred in Makkovik was traditional step or circle dances, accompanied by traditional or country and western music performed on acoustic instruments--guitars, fiddles, or accordions. About 1968 several young Settlers and an Inuk then working in the community, purchased electric guitars and began learning the popular music of the period. By the field period then, traditional dances and music had given way to rock n' roll music and dance.

In addition to hall events, parties occur very frequently in private Settler houses. Inuit do not hold 'parties' in the same sense as Settlers, though they do gather in small groups to play cards or drink. Inuit gather also to celebrate the relatively auspicious occasions marking an individual's birthday. Settler parties are occasionally selective in composition; individuals or couples are invited by telephone on a particular evening. However, most Settler parties are open occasions at which anyone is accepted. Inuit sometimes attend Settler parties but invariably do so only after drinking. Settler parties also occur to honour outsiders. I recall, for example, an afternoon party and meal hosted by several young Settler women for the crew of the last (before freeze-up) coastal boat.

Drinking is an extremely prominent feature of community social life. Recent years have unquestionably witnessed an increase in drinking among the members of both groups. Only a few individuals

from each ethnic category do not drink and this number has actually decreased since the field period. Drinking, apparently, provides a temporary release from the constraints of life in a small community.

There appear to be several reasons behind increased drinking. First, since the increase in wage labour, there is an increased amount of cash in the community. Related is the fact that Makkovik people claim that unlike hunting and fishing, wage labour allows little freedom. Increased drinking may then be an adaptation to the constrictions inherent in the wage economy. Another reason why drinking occurs is social pressure: individuals are socially ostracized if they do not drink, particularly if they openly voice their views about abstention. One non-drinker told me he was frequently 'called down' or insulted by drinkers for abstaining. More typically, non-drinkers are ridiculed behind their backs. They are accused of being 'too religious' or of 'not being able to take it.' Intoxicants, both locally-made 'home brew' and commercially produced beer or spirits, are also more available than previously. Finally, at least in Makkovik, there is less pressure from the church against drinking.

While drinking definitely has its positive social functions, it is occasionally attended by negative ones, the most obvious of which is various degrees of physical aggression. Fights occur with equal frequency among both categories, the only difference being

that the extent of physical injuries is demonstrably greater among Inuit.⁴

Settlers and Inuit are very reticent to discuss the combination of drinking and fighting, both topics are sensitive ones and when fights occur at parties or in the hall, relatively little mention is made of them the following day. The sensitivity to this topic differs with each category. Inuit are concerned because of what they believe are stereotypes about the relationship between drinking, fighting, and being Inuit. Even after drinking, Inuit would continually assure me that 'me don't fight' and, at other times, would express surprise at finding another Inuk drinking. On the other hand, some Settlers worry that if Makkovik drinking patterns become widely known, the community might acquire a reputation as a 'tough place.'

With the Inuit, excepting accidents (i.e., those caused by hunting or working), virtually all violent injuries leading either to severe physical injury or death are associated with drinking. As can be seen in Appendix III, Nox. 32, 33, and 34 died violently; each of these deaths was alcohol-related and are only some of a longer list of drinking related violent incidents. Since I generally agree with Ben-Dor's (1966:133-139) description of physical aggression and its causes among Inuit, I restrict my comments here to physical aggression among the Settler group.

⁴Ben-Dor (1966:135) incorrectly maintained that "Settlers do not resort to physical aggression" and that their "behaviour when intoxicated is never aggressive." Such is definitely not the case.

Fighting among Settlers has its origins in the period when the HBC operated a store in Makkovik. At that time, a HBC manager reportedly taught Settlers the art of recreational boxing. During the 1950s and 1960s, the increased use of intoxicants among Settlers and their awareness of boxing apparently led to fighting. Initially, Settler fights were highly stylized, occasionally even amusing to onlookers and generally without the intent of causing bodily harm. One incident which occurred during the late 1950s was described to me as follows:

One night they got into a big fight, and X grabbed Y by the coat on each side, and X said Y jumped right out his coat, X just hold his coat like that and Y took off. I suppose he know'd what was coming up. Different ones of the boys what was there, you know, it was 2:00 A.M. Saturday night in the Winter, they thought it was quite a joke, about Y jumping out of his coat

Settler fights erupt quickly, usually at parties or in the hall; the disputants have always been drinking. It is difficult to establish a pattern to explain such fights. While Settlers normally fight with other Settlers, this probably only reflects the fact that Settlers usually drink with other Settlers. I did observe several fights between Settlers and Inuit though such fights are rare.

My observations on what appear to be spontaneous and fortuitous incidents lead me to posit the following 'causes' to physical aggression among Settlers. First, I believe there to be a machismo element behind many Settler fights. Men who avoid fighting are accused of not being able to 'take care of themselves' and fights frequently occur in the presence of a female audience. A second factor relates to Settler notions of authority over specific places

or situations. This is an implication of the fact that Settlers consider Makkovik their community and thus it is their responsibility to maintain order in public places such as the Division store, the community hall, and so on. If a person upsets what Settlers view as 'order' in such places, any Settler may assume the role of policeman to restore equilibrium.

The rare fights between Settlers and Inuit usually begin with a Settler volunteering to maintain order. For example, at the community hall one Winter night, a young Settler (X), claimed that an Inuk (Y), was 'causing a ruckus at the back of the hall.' When Y refused X's order to leave, a fight occurred. Z, another Settler and member of the hall committee, questioned X's authority to eject Y but did not pursue his inquiry to the point of fighting. As it happened, once Y had been forcibly removed from the hall, several other Settlers took turns fighting with him, a fact later strongly criticized by some Settlers.

Many Settler fights occur at house parties. One night, for example, a Settler from another Labrador community sarcastically needled a Makkovik Settler about his political views to the point where a fight broke out. Within seconds, another Makkovik Settler replaced the first against the non-Makkovik man. Order was temporarily restored when a third Makkovik Settler began fighting with the second. About this time, another Makkovik Settler who, until this time had been asleep on the kitchen floor, awoke and realized what was occurring in the adjacent room. With a sudden burst of half-drowsed energy, he invited recruits to go to X (the place where

the non-Makkovik man came from) to 'clean that place up,' a statement arousing the laughter of those nearby.

A final 'cause' which may explain fighting among Settlers is the popular notion of the influence of media on physical aggression. Settlers (and Inuit) see little to dispel the notion that participants in the social world beyond Makkovik use physical aggression to solve disputes. I refer here to information contained in the steady diet of movies (mentioned above) which Makkovik people view, and, in the case of Settlers, the exploits of their hockey heroes (see below) which they follow on radio.

Though drinking and fighting are a recurrent part of the social life of both categories, other leisure time activities are equally important. Both peoples follow and play several different sports, play cards and other table games, and occasionally go on 'round trips' to Nain via coastal boat or to Happy Valley. Sports are particularly popular among the Settler group. Settlers follow hockey on radio, for example, supporting particular teams, betting on the outcome of games and series, and so on. Labrador people have excellent memories and are able to recall the details of the careers of particular players and the outcome of yearly series. Settlers also express some interest in professional boxing and British professional soccer.

Young Settlers and Inuit participate in soccer, soft ball, broom ball, and hockey. Soccer is perhaps the most popular game played, apparently being introduced either by missionaries or HBC personnel some years ago. The sport has become particularly popular

since students were exposed to competitive play at high school (usually in North West River, see Map I). The Makkovik soccer team now plays other Labrador communities. While Inuit youth join in the informal practice sessions of the team in Makkovik, the actual team is entirely composed of Settlers--a pattern of community organization consistent with much of what has been presented in this chapter.

The materials presented in this chapter have attempted to describe the social fabric of Makkovik life. By way of summary, much of the data can be subsumed under two headings: the nature and implications of ethnic status and the different interests each people has in various socio-political and recreational institutions and groups. On the first point, I have tried to describe what makes a person Settler, Inuit, or mixed, and how ethnic status channels a person's social behaviour. Language is noteworthy here, particularly the reluctance of some bilingual persons to speak their "second language" in certain public domains. Excepting mixed persons, such reluctance suggests either a fear that language abilities may be negatively judged or evidence of close familiarity with the other group. Whatever the precise cause, such reluctance is, by itself, a form of boundary maintenance. The section on demographic processes indicates that Makkovik is again becoming a predominantly Settler community though not because of the assimilationist processes predicted by Ben-Dor. For, as the section on ethnicity clearly suggests, Settler-Inuit relations remain generally polite yet rare and formal, despite the fact that outside Makkovik, cooperative pressures can result in somewhat closer relations.

The sections on institutions and leisure time demonstrate not only that each group has very different interests in Makkovik but that Settlers (especially the elite) dominate many socio-political and recreational institutions and activities. However, I maintain that they do so with the tacit approval of Inuit, for whom the Moravian community remains synonymous with the church. Contrary to those who might argue that such Settler dominance represents the outcome of political competition between the two categories, I have suggested that even where Inuit could participate in non-church institutions or groups (i.e., the community council and, more recently, the Inuit organization), they chose not to. Chapter V cites many of the descriptive materials presented in this and the previous chapter which show how Settlers and Inuit claim specific economic and social acts as symbolic of their ethnic status.

CHAPTER V

BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE: SOME EXAMPLES AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This chapter has two fundamental aims. The first is to present several examples of the process by which I maintain Settlers and Inuit sustain their respective ethnic boundaries. My argument follows Barth's (1969a:15-16) suggestion that boundaries have to be continually redefined if they are to persist. Consequently, I consider ethnic boundary maintenance a recurrent and continuous process rather than a once-and-for-all accomplishment. The essential characteristic of this process is one involving the assigning of an ethnic meaning to or deriving such a meaning from specific things, events, or institutions which are evident in concrete day-to-day interaction. I am simply suggesting that Settlers and Inuit observe and interpret daily behaviour, either claiming specific cultural elements as their own or categorizing them as appropriate to "the other" people. Thus, the meaning of such elements is transformed from whatever "original" or intrinsic cultural meaning they may have previously had to one of ethnic significance. The importance of this point would appear to be twofold. First, the meaning of cultural acts or elements, as well as the acts themselves, is subject to change as is, of course, the social group with which they are

associated. Had my research occurred at another time, for example, examples of ethnic symbols other than those presented below would probably have been observed. Over time, different cultural elements are associated with an ethnic group so that any list of ethnic symbols will invariably change. Also subject to change are the circumstances which sponsor the production of an ethnic meaning to cultural elements. For example, had my research been conducted fifty years ago, I would have observed Settlers unproblematically using harpoons to retrieve sinking sea mammals, one cultural element which they now reject as 'Eskimo.'

A second point about the changing meaning of particular cultural elements is that it illustrates how people use culture to realize certain ends or, put differently, to solve particular problems. In Paine's (1977:250) words, "our attention will be directed to action and thence to the ways in which a people use, mobilize, and perhaps transform their culture for the attainment of certain ends." In short, the approach used here exemplifies how a people's culture helps them adapt to new social circumstances. While I developed the rough outline to this approach in Makkovik, I have since sought to synthesize certain relevant comparative and theoretical materials to propose several generalizations about boundary maintenance. I present these generalizations in the final part of this chapter.

Strictly speaking, the issue of a group maintaining its distinctiveness or boundary through the use of symbols and that of restricting inter-group social relations are separate. In the

Makkovik case, however, unlike those in which distinct social groups engage in constant interaction (cf. Mitchell 1956), Settlers and Inuit co-exist with relatively little social interaction. Further, when a particular behavioural act or cultural element becomes metonymically associated with either category, it can also come to imply that actors of the group with which it is not associated, do not do it. In this sense, the process whereby each category claims certain cultural activities or whereby these become associated with either group, acts to subdivide the list of potential behavioural acts 'open' to any given person. This restricts potential inter-ethnic interaction which might result if both peoples practiced and identified with a broader range of common socio-cultural activities. I am simply suggesting that if, for example, Inuit associate leadership roles in the Makkovik Community Council as an appropriately Settler, and therefore avoid such roles, then one potential common activity which might create a communicative link between Settlers and Inuit is nullified.

Ethnic Boundary Maintenance: Some Examples

My first two examples of cultural activities which now serve as boundary markers were described in Chapter III. One surrounds contemporary caribou hunting west of Nain while the other involves the different technology each ethnic category uses to retrieve sinking sea mammals.

As noted above, since the mid-1960s, the introduction of snow-mobiles, insufficient caribou herds south of Makkovik, the doubling

of Makkovik's population, and knowledge that large numbers of caribou occur near Nain, have changed the territory where Makkovik people hunt caribou. However, the barren country west of Nain is unfamiliar to Settlers, and their customary Winter hunting shelters, canvas tents heated by wood-burning stoves, are impractical in it. Therefore, Settlers are dependent on the services of an Inuk pilot who serves as guide and snowhouse contractor and who, in return, Settlers are required to compensate with shares of caribou meat. I am less concerned here with the patron-client relationship (cf. Pain 1971) which attends this new caribou hunting arrangement (i.e., Settler clients requiring an Inuk patron to obtain caribou) than I am with Settler reluctance to acquire the very skills which might free them from it. I asked Settler hunters why they did not learn to construct snowhouses and the skills necessary for traversing barren country. They invariably answered my question by stating that 'only Eskimos build snowhouses' and that 'they (Inuit) know every rock in the barrens.'

Several points strike me as important about this new arrangement and the Settler role in it. First, given that it is a recent development (since the late 1960s), it is fair to ask whether Settlers have had the time to acquire the skills they now "purchase" from and associate with Inuit. The only evidence on which to answer this question comes from Settler culture history. Historically, Settlers were required to and did learn numerous complicated Inuit (and to some extent, Indian) cultural traits. They did so successfully and, as seen in Chapter III, many remain unproblematic aspects

of contemporary Settler culture. Settler reluctance to acquire the new skills involved with caribou hunting in barren country then can be explained in two ways. On the one hand, it can be argued that external sources of sustenance make it increasingly unnecessary for Settlers to learn such skills. In effect, UIC payments, LIP grants, or other sources of income will provide for Settlers, regardless of whether or not they obtain caribou. On the other hand, Settler dependence on Inuk pilots would appear related to the fact that both Settlers and Inuit view snowhouse construction and other skills associated with Labrador's barren interior as appropriately Inuit domains. On this point, a theme which repeatedly and (often) unexpectedly arose from my discussions with Makkovik Inuit, was whether or not they could build snowhouses. This skill was apparently viewed as one qualification for consideration as someone still able to live by the traditional Inuit lifestyle. Nonetheless, many of Makkovik's younger Inuit men cannot make snowhouses, much less navigate barren country. Having been raised in Makkovik, where wood supplies are plentiful and snow conditions poor for snowhouse construction (that is, deep and soft), such young men have not been in a position to need or learn such skills. While this may eventually diminish their prestige within the Inuit community (i.e., by not being able to independently hunt caribou), it does not disenfranchise their status as Inuit. In short, any single cultural element which becomes associated with either category does not imply being Settler or Inuit. Instead, it is the total configuration of

such symbols which acts to further demarcate a boundary already based on language, place of residence, kinship, and so on.

My second example from the economic sector pertains to the Settler reluctance to adopt a technological trait superior to that they use and one which happens to be used by Inuit. I refer to the prevalent use of fish jiggers by Settlers to retrieve sinking sea mammals as opposed to the Inuit practice of using harpoons or lances. As noted in Chapter III, during the historic period Settlers used harpoons and it may be assumed that, at the time, their cultural origins were not considered important. Some older Settlers of the Makkovik-Kaipokok area recall their use, while Kleivan (1966:109) reports the use of harpoons by Nain Settlers. The basic question then becomes: when (and why) did harpoons cease to become part of the Settler cultural kit and, given their acknowledged efficiency when compared with fish jiggers, why Settlers are reluctant to use them?

Settlers of the Makkovik area discontinued using harpoons during the early part of the present century. This was apparently related to the increased emphasis on the netting of harp seals and, during the open water season, the fact that most attention was directed toward cod fishing rather than hunting seals from open boat. Thus, the fact that contemporary Makkovik Settlers do not use harpoons is partially explained by the fact that harpoons have not been part of their recent hunting technology. As I said in Chapter III, one might also explain the Settler rejection of harpoons by the fact that dolphins are not highly valued by Settlers

and that retrieving such sea mammals is secondary to the actual pursuit or hunting of them. However, we are still left with the fact that Settlers also use fish jiggers to retrieve sinking seals and that seals are definitely valued by Settlers.

Noting the obvious inefficiency of fish jiggers in retrieving sea mammals, I asked several Settlers why they did not use harpoons. Their responses ranged from disinterest to a polite affirmation that it might be a good idea. Furthermore, Settlers are well aware that Inuit use harpoons; in the words of one young Settler, 'none of the boats over there (the Hebron section of Makkovik) leave Makkovik without a harpoon and (empty) oil drums (as floats).' In addition, virtually all Settlers questioned on the topic volunteered that harpoons were more reliable and efficient than jiggers. Nonetheless, the Settler pattern of using fish jiggers persists.

As I remarked near the end of Chapter III, one Makkovik Settler is reported to have used a 'dart' to retrieve sinking sea mammals, though I never saw it. This man was one of those referred to as 'Bay Settlers,' having been raised in a small Settler homestead south of Makkovik. It should also be noted that so-called 'mixed persons' use the Settler practice of fish jiggers rather than harpoons. This is most likely explained by the fact that most of Makkovik's mixed persons (that is, those old enough to hunt) have Settler fathers. However, had they learned to hunt from Inuit fathers, they might well use harpoons. Finally, language usage does not influence

the choice of using jiggers or harpoons; bilingual Inuit use harpoons, bilingual Settlers use jiggers.

I suggest that Makkovik Settlers reject adoption of the more efficient harpoon because it is (at this time) considered appropriate Inuit technology. Settlers are reluctant to use harpoons because the meaning harpoons convey to Settlers is one of being "Eskimo." As in the previous case (snowhouses), Inuit, if questioned about their use of harpoons, nonchalantly respond that harpoons (when compared with fish jiggers) are another example of the superiority of the Inuit cultural tradition when compared with that of the Settlers.

My next two examples relate to the Moravian Mission: one has been described in Chapter IV, the other has not received much comment. That mentioned in Chapter IV involves the differential meaning of the Moravian institution of elders to Inuit and Settlers. It should be clear from Chapter IV that the meaning and importance of the church differs rather significantly with each people. Among Inuit, the Moravian church and its various institutional bodies is the modern Labrador community, whereas to Settlers, the Moravian church is one of many external agencies within the community.

Unlike most Settlers, Inuit steadfastly oppose all changes in church procedure. Brantenberg provides an interesting example of such "conservatism" in Nain. Because Brantenberg's example is related to my point, I quote it in its entirety. He states that,

A Settler related to me how he came to church as a candidate from the Confirmation service in his new dark suit. On entering, he was stopped by an (Inuk) Elder who told him to go back home and change into a white silapak (ceremonial

parka) which the (other) Inuit candidates wore. Refusing to accept this, he (the Settler) went over to the missionary who readily gave him permission to remain as he was. This action resulted in a heated discussion between the elder and the missionary The Settlers, for their part, conceive the silapak to be an Inuit garment in precisely such a setting (a formal church ritual)--and an ethnic symbol (1977:379).

It should be noted that because Nain's ethnic composition differs radically from Makkovik's (i.e., Inuit have always outnumbered Settlers in Nain), the quality of ethnic interaction differs from that in Makkovik. Nonetheless, as the Nain case illustrates, Inuit resist changes in Church policy and consider a multitude of Moravian themes vital to their existence. In Makkovik, Inuit continue to accept the position of Moravian elder as the primary leadership role in the community and believe any discontinuation of it as tantamount to the erosion of community life.

Since the relocation of Inuit to Makkovik, Settlers have clearly noted the differential importance of the church to themselves and the Inuit. Every Sunday, Inuit walk past the Settler houses on their way to church--a steady procession which eventually includes virtually all of Makkovik's Inuit. In contrast, excepting Christmas and Easter, only a dozen or so Settlers attend weekly services. Increasingly, Settlers consider the church and its related institutions as not important and, at the same time, as properly Inuit.

While I believe that the Settler decision to cease electing elders was partially based on their association of church activities and institutions with the Inuit, it also had a political motivation. Specifically, some Settlers viewed the political authority of the

elders as an obstacle to the emerging authority of the Community Council. In the end, the distinct interests of both ethnic categories was perhaps most obvious in the statement of some Settlers that 'they (the Inuit) can have their elder' as long as, as we've seen in Chapter IV, he did not exert authority over Settlers.

A second example concerns the brass band. Since the early 19th century, the missionaries encouraged (what they saw as the "natural") Inuit musical abilities. While this aspect of the Moravian experience is not extensively discussed in the literature, we do know that in addition to the choirs (see Chapter II), each Inuit community had a string ensemble and a brass band. For example, Gosling writes that,

Their (the Inuit) love of music and singing was very early noticed, and the singing of hymns became a regular practice and delight to them. Later on they were taught to play on instruments of various kinds, and their musical capacity has been encouraged until now they have both a brass band and a string band which perform quite acceptably (1910:281).

Hutton describes the Okak brass band preparing for Christmas festivities as follows:

In the evenings I used to hear the bandsmen practising Christmas music. Samuel, the performer on the tenor horn, lived in a little hut not ten yards from my window, and there he sat, hour after hour, making the walls rattle with the most weird and awful hootings; and just behind us was the cooper's house, where Solomon, the cooper's growing lad, was taken first lessons on the cornet, and settling all the village dogs a-howling in the moonlight (1912:65).

In addition to church festivities, such as the outdoor Easter 'sun rise' service and Christmas services, brass bands also played at formal occasions, such as when important dignitaries visited the

mission stations. For example, Sir William MacGregor, Governor of Newfoundland during the early part of this century, describes his arrival in Nain by saying, "the Nain brass band played on the wharf as I landed to inspect the town" (1909:171).

It is important to note that in Makkovik, the only Settler station at the time of relocation, Settlers had actively participated in the Mission brass band. However, with the arrival of Inuit, this changed. Ben-Dor describes the situation at the time of his field-work:

The second factor which plays a role during holidays is the presence of the choirs and brass band. Only the Eskimos have a brass band. The Settlers use to have one and some of the brass instruments are still available to them, but it has not functioned for some time (1966:117).

It's fair to ask then, why and with what significance did Settlers cease involvement in the brass band? The precise answer remains uncertain. Thus, the Rev. F. W. Peacock, long time Moravian missionary in Labrador, suggests that Settler emigration from Makkovik during the 1940s and 1950s (primarily to work at the Goose Bay military base, see Zimmerly 1975), resulted in several Makkovik Settler band members permanently leaving the community, effectively terminating the band (Peacock, personal communication, 1976). However, Peacock was not in Makkovik at the time and his impression is rejected by a young Makkovik Settler who was. This man remembered that while a few Settlers continued playing in the band even after the initial arrival of the Inuit, they 'lost interest' shortly thereafter. In my view, it is probably that the Makkovik missionary, who had previously served at Hebron, probably encouraged Inuit, rather

than Settler, involvement with the band. Like residential segregation and separate church services, this missionary may have believed that the brass band would help ease the adjustment of Inuit to Makkovik. In any event, certain facts are clear, namely, that by the time of my research, the brass band was considered appropriate only for Inuit. It would also appear that with relocation and the fact that there could only be one brass band, the problem emerged as to who would play in it. While I've suggested the missionary may have intervened to resolve this problem, the band is today associated with Inuit. As the years pass, the present meaning of the band becomes more firmly entrenched. Older Settlers reminisce about their former participation in the band while younger Settlers, many of whom cannot know the Makkovik prior to relocation, smile or snicker when Inuit bandsmen occasionally play a note incorrectly. To such younger Settlers especially, the band and its music are appropriate to Makkovik's other kind of people.

My next example concerns the community council and its policies. I presented the broad outline of the council in Chapter IV. What I want to do here is to describe two events which suggest that the Community Council and its policies are viewed by Inuit as a Settler institution in which they prefer to avoid active participation.

A consistent theme which has plagued Settler leaders during the past several years is Inuit emigration, a pattern described in Chapter IV. I also noted above that Settlers misinterpret the causes of Inuit out-migration, believing it related to the quality of

Settler-Inuit relations, specifically that Inuit have not been 'made welcome' in Makkovik. Two points trouble Settler leaders about Inuit out-migration: the effect that it might have on Makkovik's reputation as a community and that if all Inuit leave Makkovik, the community will no longer be eligible for federal funds designated for Labrador Inuit. On the latter point, a Settler leader told me,

I think the people (Settlers) should try to do more for the Eskimos what's here because once they loose them, they're going to miss it. If the Eskimos most all move north and there is only Settlers here, it's going to make a lot of difference.

I asked him how it might make a difference, to which he responded,

The Eskimos . . . that's the most the government's doing for, Eskimos isn't it. I mean they're not so much interested in Settlers as they are Eskimos, Eskimos and Indians

However, I emphasize that Inuit emigration is primarily a concern of Settler leaders because it is clear that most Makkovik people are unaware that the federal-provincial agreement affecting northern Labrador originated because of that region's Inuit and Indian population. Thus, one of the questions in the previously cited Indian organization's housing survey (cf. Chapter III), conducted in 1973, asked "are you aware of the agreement between this Province and the Federal Government concerning native people?" Of the 53 Makkovik householders asked this question, only five (9.4%) answered affirmatively, whereas some 45 (84.9%) answered 'no,' and three (5.7%) had no answer (Native Association Newfoundland-Labrador Housing and Demographic Survey 1974:319). This underscores a point I sought to establish in Chapter IV, that is, the private manner in which the

Settler elite carefully manages information entering Makkovik from the outside world. There is no doubt as to the identity of the five householders who responded affirmatively to the Indian organization's question, they were, without question, those whom I've referred to as Makkovik's Settler elite, most are also councillors. Politically, the position of the council benefits from the fact that most Makkovik people are not aware of the origin and rationale for increased federal funding: it further elevates the status of the council as the purveyor of local employment.

In any event, it is clear that Inuit emigration troubles Makkovik's Settler leadership. Given the Settler explanation of Inuit emigration, Settlers are faced with a dilemma: how to (from the Settler point of view) improve Settler-Inuit relations (without actually increasing them) and how to erase Makkovik's image (to outsiders) as a residentially segregated community.

The two examples which follow illustrate how Settler councillors sought to resolve this dilemma, and also, how Inuit view the council.

The first describes the efforts of Settler councillors to persuade an Inuk to accept a position as councillor so as to act as broker between the Settler Council and Inuit. Late in 1971, the time had arrived (according to provincial regulations) for the election of a new council. In the days preceeding the election, informal efforts had been made by a few councillors to persuade Sem, a young, thoroughly bilingual Inuk, and a man well-respected by Settlers, into accepting election as councillor. While born in Hebron, Sem

had lived most of his life in Makkovik and had married a Settler woman (cf. Figure 3). He enjoyed full-time employment with the Division. These facts, as well as his close social contact with his Settler affines, are undoubtedly responsible for Sem asserting his Inuit identity by constant hunting and sharing with Inuit to whom he is closely related.

On the evening of the election, some 47 voters were gathered at the community hall and no less than one half of these were Inuit. The large number of Inuit present appeared to insure the election of any Inuk nominated. However, Sem was not in attendance. By remaining at home, he had voluntarily disqualified himself from nomination. This did not surprise me as his comments prior to the election indicated his knowledge that he would be nominated and what the implications of election to the council would mean.

The meeting began with the Settler Council Chairman making a short speech, after which two impartial moderators (the missionary and school principal) offered their services to help conduct the vote. A bilingual Settler (who had been raised in Okak Bay) consented to translate the voting procedures to Inuit. These procedures called for a total of eight nominations, of which the four persons receiving the greatest number of votes would constitute the new council. Predictably, in the absence of Sem, Elias (another Inuk), was nominated and seconded by Settler voters. Though not as fully bilingual as Sem, Elias could make his views understood in English and was also respected by Settlers. The remaining seven individuals nominated were all Settlers, with 47 voters present in the hall, each of which

could cast four votes, a total of 188 votes could be cast. However, when the votes were tallied, only 169 votes had been cast and of the four Settlers who had won seats on the new council, three had served on the former council. Elias, the Inuk nominated, had placed fifth, receiving fifteen votes. I later learned that of these, at least five had been cast by Settlers.

A couple of points should be made about this election. First, the 19 vote discrepancy between the potential total number of votes which could be cast and those which were cast is difficult to explain. Most likely, certain individuals misunderstood the instructions and voted for only one candidate. This point notwithstanding, the total votes received by the four newly elected Settler councillors (e.g., the re-elected chairman received 41 of 47 possible votes) illustrates that many of the Inuit present voted for Settler candidates and, by contrast, not for Elias. It would appear that Makkovik Inuit supported Settler candidates both because they were hesitant to elect an Inuk to the council and quite possibly, because they believed positions on the council better filled by the English-speaking Settlers. This latter assumption is supported by the material presented on leadership in the Inuit organization (see Chapter IV). It will be recalled that in that case Inuit voted for a totally bilingual Settler, or for persons of mixed ethnic status. Such persons were considered better able to communicate with the English-speaking government official with whom they must deal. In short, I maintain Sem and Elias were constrained, either voluntarily (as with Sem) or through not obtaining enough votes (as with Elias), from

penetrating what Inuit view as a Settler institution: the community council.

The second example whereby the Settler council sought to arrest the tide of Inuit emigration has been its policy of 'integrating' Makkovik by relocating Inuit into a new, 'integrated' neighbourhood just west of the main Settler section (see Map II). In this case, Settler councillors were particularly concerned with the impression which de facto segregation made on outsiders visiting Makkovik, particularly government officials.

Thus, in 1970, the council began 'phasing out' the Hebron neighbourhood by developing a new 'integrated' neighbourhood where houses constructed by the Division's housing programme were to be built. In 1970 and 1971, two Inuit households, totalling six persons, moved into this new neighbourhood as did another family of five in 1972. Councillors are proud of 'their' relocation programme as are the few outsiders who have thusfar commented on it. In its visit to Makkovik, for example, the previously mentioned Royal Commission on Labrador noted that,

It is to the credit of the local people that the village council plans on relocating the Eskimo people within the village and making available to them potable water and sewage services now being installed (RRCL, Vol. VI:1214).

However, my discussions with Makkovik's Inuit population revealed that not all Inuit intend to accept new homes in this neighbourhood. One aging Inuk told me, for example, that he would not move there and that if he moved anywhere, it would be 'back north.' Thus, approximately six years after the council began its relocation

programme, some Inuit families had still refused to move, despite the promise of new and substantially better homes and services in the integrated neighbourhood.

The reasons behind Inuit reluctance to move into the new neighbourhood are twofold. First, Inuit who have not yet moved appear to tolerate Makkovik's social schism and are reluctant to increase interaction with Settlers. Furthermore, the effects which relocation into the new neighbourhood might have, particularly if Inuit were required to accept homes scattered throughout the neighbourhood, it clearly was unacceptable to them. A second reason involves ethnicity. Inuit fully realize that the relocation programme is a policy of the Settler Council. Those Inuit who have not accepted new homes in the neighbourhood deeply resent the fact that the decisions of others have profoundly changed their lives. They view the council relocation programme as another example of being told to move and are particularly reluctant to abide by it, given that it originates among Settlers, into whose community they were originally relocated without their consent.

The final example I present suggests that Settlers and Inuit use personal names to communicate ethnic status. Weil (1977) has noted how personal and patronyms communicate a person's ethnic or national background. Generally, it may be assumed that the patronym O'Reilly is associated with persons of Irish background; Chesneaux with persons of French background; Giglioli with persons of Italian background; and so on. Patronyms also serve as reliable indicators of ethnic status in northern Labrador. For example,

persons with the patronyms Obed, Tuglavina, Igloliorte, or Pijogge are (at least at present) Inuit; whilst persons with the patronyms Gear, Flowers, Sheppard, or Webb are normally Settlers. However, certain other patronyms can be more ambiguous. For example, persons whose last name is Winters, Edmunds, Lucy, or Andersen may be either Settler, Inuit, or of mixed status.

While parents have no choice over the patronym of their children, they can and do exercise the choice of Christian or personal names and these also communicate ethnic status. For example, a woman named Tabea Winters is most likely an Inuk, because, while she has a patronym which could be either Settler or Inuit, her Christian name is unquestionably Inuit. Christian names such as Boas, Julius, Nikodemus, and Gustav are common names for Inuit males; whereas Naemi, Augusta, Sabina, and Sofia are typical for Inuit females. Likewise, Settler male Christian names include Wilfred, Harry, Norman, and Chesley; while Settler female names include Emily, Prissy, Charlotte, and Alice. Again, while ambiguity is possible when only Christian or Patronym is taken into consideration, the combination of first and last name is an extremely reliable indicator of ethnic status. One final point by way of introduction. In certain cases, individuals of either ethnic category may receive the same name at birth. For example, Settlers or Inuit may be baptised as 'William.' What normally happens in such cases is that the name by which the person is addressed will serve to indicate ethnic affiliation. Inuit given the name William will be called "William" while, for Settlers, it will become "Bill" or "Billy."

My concern here is with the ethnic message implicit in personal or Christian names. After a few weeks in Makkovik, I became aware that certain names were normally given to Inuit children and likewise with the Settler group. In the fall of 1971, after some three months in Makkovik, I travelled by small boat to Nain and on my return to Makkovik, spent several days in Hopedale, thus obtaining some idea of both communities and of how they compared with Makkovik. Once back in Makkovik, over the next several weeks, Makkovik people patiently answered my questions which the trip had prompted. Sometimes my questions related to the ethnic identity of particular people whom I had met. I began to notice that in addition to parentage and language use, Makkovik people attached significance to the names of individuals while explaining to me their identity. A pattern thus emerged: certain names were never given to Inuit and certain names were never given to Settlers.

Some time later, an incident occurred which made me further realize the importance of what I had now begun to accept without question. Some Settler and Inuit names are, by accident, similar in sound and pronunciation. One day, while talking with a Settler man (who is addressed by a name I shall call "Sam"), I jokingly inverted his name, calling him Sem, a similar sounding but commonly used Inuit name. While my relationship with Sam was close and he accustomed to our conversations on themes of local importance, his prompt and serious reaction to my humour startled me: he sternly corrected my inversion, reminding me that his name was Sam. He said nothing more, nor did I pursue the topic, but I was left with the

very clear interpretation that the aforementioned pattern of giving particular Christian names to children of each group was anything but accidental: the names are themselves a symbolic statement of expected ethnic affiliation.

Discussion

By way of summarizing the material presented thus far, particularly the examples described in the previous section of this chapter, this final section presents four interrelated generalizations about boundary maintaining processes in Makkovik. These conclusions reflect my bias toward concentrating on the uses to which "a people" put their cultural past to meet the particular social circumstances which confront them in the present.

1. For an ethnic category (or group) to maintain its distinctiveness, boundary maintenance must be continuous, rather than a once-and-for-all accomplishment. This conclusion summarizes my emphasis on process rather than on the form of ethnic categories. There can be little doubt that the Labrador case influenced this emphasis; specifically, we have seen how the categories Settler and Inuit were formed in the last century and how, following the relocation of Inuit to Makkovik, new measures were necessary to insure their persistence. My conclusion that ethnic boundary maintenance is a continuous process, also stems from the work of Barth, as summarized in Chapter I. Holzner also emphasizes the processual dimension by which actors perpetuate group status. He writes, "the maintenance of a continuing group identity requires its continuing

reconstruction" (1972:44). I suggest then, by concentrating on the dynamic aspect of boundary maintenance, as well as on how individuals within groups maintain group affiliation, our concern shifts from merely cataloging the cultural inventory equated with a group, to examining how cultural elements are used by a group and to how new circumstances a group faces requires new attention to particular cultural elements. All this presupposes that individuals believe that ethnic status is important. A corollary to this assumption is that certain aspects of an actor's everyday behaviour are consistent with the constraints of group status. Such role behaviour is implied by my consideration of ethnic identity as a type of social status.

Kleivan stresses the processual nature of elements (idioms) signifying groupness as well as how such elements (and the groups with which they are associated) are subject to redefinition. Kleivan comments that, "Everywhere in interethnic contexts the fact is in front of us, that idioms are being re-defined. Ethnic identities are subjected to idiomatic shifts or re-definitions" (1970:228). Just as Settler and Inuit identity itself acquired a new importance and meaning after Inuit relocation, particular cultural traits, previously and unproblematically part of each people's respective heritage, become the subject of concern and their meaning re-defined.

2. In addition to being continuous, the process which serves to define and defend ethnic categories is conscious and deliberate; groups create their social reality, within the cultural and structural

limits available. This conclusion assumes that individual behaviour is meaningful and based on an established and socially mediated life-style. It also assumes that individuals are able to alter the social system of which they're a part, rather than simply receiving and accepting it. The essential concept here borrows from recent ethnomethodological and symbolic interactionist studies, specifically Berger and Luckman (1967), Holzner (1972) and Dreitzel (1970). For example, Berger and Luckman argued that individual actors construct their social reality by observing, communicating, and negotiating typifications which may, eventually, become legitimized into objective reality. To cite one of their examples,

If I typify my friend Henry as a member of category X (say, as an Englishman), I ipso facto interpret at least certain aspects of his conduct as resulting from this typification--for instance, his tastes in food are typical of Englishmen, as are his manners, certain of his emotional reactions, and so on (Berger and Luckman 1967:31).

Most relevant here is the viewpoint that these "mutual typifications" are the result of a continuous process of defining and re-defining the meaning of daily social encounters and whatever "objective reality" is obtained is inherently transient and subject to revision. When applied to the present study, I am suggesting that the meaning of such typifications is one of association with either the Settler or Inuit category and that the process whereby individuals of either group arrive at them is conscious. That is to say, it is through intra-ethnic mediation, that the meaning of specific cultural elements is agreed upon. I believe that this process occurs in the following way. Members of each category observe and discuss

subjective observations of "other category" behaviour; such observations serve as the basis for typifications or generalizations of relatively predictable behaviour expected by individuals from the other category. Some of these typifications are descriptive (e.g., 'most Settlers are afraid to walk on early winter ice'), some are perjorative ('Eskimos are always having a racket [fight] over there [the Hebron section]'). Still others can be complimentary, expressing respect for the other category's cultural assets. For example, while Settlers are reluctant to travel in barren country or acquire the skill of snowhouse construction, the fact that Inuit can perform such skills is seen as admirable, at least by some Settlers. Characterizing the expected behaviour of individuals of the other group, actors usually lend anonymity to their generalizations, claiming that 'not all (Inuit or Settlers) are like that' In short, while actors from both categories occasionally communicate their collective observations to the other group, over time, such generalizations become known and serve to render inter-group interactions, to the extent they occur, predictable.

3. The most elementary aspect of the process by which actors perpetuate a collective sense of ethnic identity, is one in which a potentially changing inventory of the category's perceived heritage--things, institutions, events, and so on--become symbols, in order to adapt to the continuously changing problems and circumstances confronting it. The view that social groups select certain symbols as essential to group solidarity is certainly not a

recent one. In their Introduction to African Political Systems, for example, Fortes and Evans-Pritchard write that,

Members of an African society feel their unity and perceive their common interests in symbols, and it is their attachments to these symbols which more than anything else gives their society cohesion and persistence (1964:17).

In relation to what he calls "ethnic symbols," Bessac writes that,

Symbols of ethnic awareness sometimes derive from calling attention to differences between one's culture and that of neighbours (1968:60).

Likewise, Spicer discusses what he calls "identity symbols" by cautioning that,

One cannot expect that any universal roster of ever-present symbols, in terms of aspects or traits of culture, will be discovered. What is most characteristic of these symbols is that there is great flexibility with regard to the kind of cultural element which can be included (1971:798).

What I am referring to as symbols, diacritical cultural elements considered as both appropriate to and associated with a particular social or ethnic group, appears to be what Barth (1969a) calls idioms. In discussing cases where political interest and ethnic groupings overlap (e.g., where ethnic membership serves as the modus operandi for political articulation), Barth states that a central concern of political innovators is with the

Codification of idioms: the selection of signals for identity and the assertion of value for these cultural diacritica, and the suppression or denial of relevance for other differentiae (1969a:35).

In other words, successful political innovators mobilize particular cultural idioms (or symbols) whose meaning evokes the desired ethnic response among a potential political following.

Two important corollaries follow from my conclusion about the role of symbols in boundary maintaining processes and are evident in the Makkovik material. The first has been noted above and is, simply stated, that the cultural elements which become symbolically associated with either category are continuously changing, as is the group with which they're associated. On this point, Kleivan remarks that,

There is no one-to-one relationship between specific "culture traits" (culture contents) and a specific identity Within wide limits, culture content (of "culture traits," if that is insisted upon) of the members of an ethnic group can be substituted without rendering the identity of the group meaningless or objectionable, granted that the people who share it have had the possibility to re-define it in the process of communication, to make it fit the changes in total circumstances of the group (1970:228).

Nor does it matter where the cultural elements (or "traits") associated with a group (at one time) originate, a point which should be clear from the Makkovik case. For example, Inuit claim certain Moravian institutions, Settlers unproblematically utilize certain elements of aboriginal Inuit culture such as the komatik, skin boots, and so on. It would not appear possible then, to predict which cultural elements will be chosen to symbolize an ethnic unit. Usually, however, they are chosen from a people's perceived heritage.

The second corollary is that the extent of difference between cultural elements in two or more ethnic groups or categories need not be great for them to be significant. I consider this important, let me explain.

Anthropological descriptions of cross-cultural contacts are generally based on cases where cultural differences, say between culture A and culture B, are pronounced. Two examples of such cases are Turnbull's (1962) Bantu agriculturalists and pygmy hunters and Douglas' (1963) Lele and Bushong.

While the importance of such cases cannot be denied, there are also other cases of culture contact where cultural differences are far less dramatic but nonetheless of very real significance. In many ways, differences between Settlers and Inuit are of this type.

During the field period, I was aware that many of the differences between Settlers and Inuit were subtle, yet were locally considered important. The full significance of such subtle differences has become more obvious to me since leaving Makkovik, during my five years on the Island of Newfoundland. Geographically isolated from the Canadian 'mainland' with which it is not politically and economically linked, Newfoundland remains an enigma, culturally unique yet gradually infiltrated by North American culture. Newfoundland's strong English language dialect (or dialects--actually a blend of Irish, English, and Scottish), its four hundred year old maritime culture, and a nationalistic Newfoundland identity, rejuvenated since the province's confederation with Canada, all unite to distinguish Newfoundlanders from those not born and raised there. For the non-Newfoundlander, his place of origin is immediately in question, his values and life-style subtly at odds with those of Newfoundlanders and his identity signaled by clothing, language dialect, dietary preferences, social relationships, and so on. The

result of these sometimes subtle differences (alongside the not-so-subtle sense of Newfoundland identity) is that the 'mainlander' can interact with Newfoundlanders but not assimilate into their society.

I mention the Newfoundland example because it helped me understand how two or more cultures in contact need not have dramatically opposed cultural features for existing differences to be significant. Irons' (1972) comparison of the Yomut and Basseri makes a similar point. In the Makkovik case, there are both extreme differences (e.g., language, dietary preferences, priorities given to various institutions, and so on) as well as more subtle ones, such as ways of retrieving sea mammals, values regarding appropriate interior house temperatures, and so on. What is important then, is not the extent of culture differences, but the interpretation and uses of perceived differences.

4. An implication of these boundary maintaining processes is to restrict the range of potential behaviour available to any actor since actors engage primarily in behaviour locally associated with their own category and correspondingly, avoid that associated with the other category. This generalization assumes that boundary relations are usually public relations and that the behaviour of actors is judged according to its performance in relation to the norms and values of a group. In certain instances, this means that actors "are required" to adopt one form of behaviour which may not be the most "rational" (e.g., Settlers using fish jiggers) or efficient behaviour possible and that, while consistent with proper

ethnic evaluation, actually results in economic loss to the individual. As argued in Chapter III, however, the behaviour in question is "rational" insofar as realizing appropriate ethnic group interests. Horowitz (1972) explains how Manga farmers (of the western Sudan) continue their adaptation instead of adopting the more economically profitable one as pastoralists. They do so because "being Manga" assumes an agricultural adaptation. Likewise, I should hope it clear from the several examples presented thusfar, that Settlers and Inuit, in accepting ethnic status, accept the implications of such affiliation, implications which require behaving in an ethnically specific manner.

Thus, the notion of ethnic boundaries developed here implies that there are maximal limits of acceptable ethnic behaviour and that Settlers and Inuit are "ethnocentric" (cf. Campbell and Levine, 1972) insofar as evaluating their norms and values above those of the other category. In this sense, the boundary distinguishing Settlers and Inuit resides in what people can and cannot do. At one level, both peoples behave very much as they did prior to becoming neighbours, be it in eating the raw stomach contents of caribou, using fish jiggers, placing priority on the Moravian church, or whatever. What has changed since Inuit were placed juxtaposed to Settlers is that these and other cultural elements are now open to scrutiny by both categories and become the focus of being Settler or Inuit. As new neighbours, other behaviour such as involvement with the brass band or community council, has been sorted out and become appropriate to either side of the ethnic border.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Given the data described above, one might logically conclude that we are presented with a rather paradoxical question, namely that of why Settlers and Inuit continue to claim new symbols of distinctiveness if the social and conceptual boundary between them was relatively well-established when they were first brought into continuous contact? This question, ultimately one of causality, is very difficult to answer in the Makkovik case, especially given the absence of competition over scarce resources (cf. e.g., Despres 1975) or, perhaps more accurately, the lack of attention Settlers and Inuit give to potential competition. While my focus has primarily been on the processes by which Settlers and Inuit maintain their ethnic boundaries rather than on why they do so, the issue of final causes can, I think, be addressed in two ways. On the one hand, when one considers the degree of historical differences between the two peoples, differences generated by geographic separation, distinct socio-cultural adaptations, and language, it would appear appropriate to ask whether or not one could have expected them to have behaved differently than they did when they became neighbours. On the other hand, some of the Makkovik data suggest that there is a

certain potential for more overt conflict and that by circumscribing inter-ethnic relations and proliferating upon an historically established set of cultural practices, both peoples act to remind their 'members' of the existing ethnic distinction, thereby avoiding situations of potential conflict. Viewed in this latter sense, the kind of boundary maintaining processes I've sought to describe can be seen as an adaptive mechanism for reducing the potential for conflict.

With these preliminary remarks in mind, my concluding comments focus on the kind of relationship Settlers and Inuit have with each other and to the boundary maintaining process described in the preceding chapter.

In my judgment, there are two facts about the Makkovik data which emerge as paramount. One is the relocation of the northern Inuit and the problems it created for both Inuit and Settlers. The other involves Makkovik's relation to and increasing dependence on the "outside world." I shall argue that relocation required that Settlers and Inuit make some kind of adjustment to their new situation as neighbours, an adjustment which eventually led each people to conclude that many aspects of its traditional life-style were important and in many ways preferable to those of the other.

A major characteristic of this adjustment is that both categories have little to do with each other. In many respects, by avoiding each other, they avoid both socio-economic interaction, as well as any final solution to the problems generated by relocation. That such an adjustment can occur is explained by Makkovik's

decreasing control over essential conditions of polity and economy. In short, while relocation led both peoples to maintain their ethnic boundaries and engage in minimal contact, "outside" sources of power and sustenance provide an environment in which such "relations of separateness" can persist.

Accommodation and Boundary Maintenance
as an Adaptation to Relocation

My descriptions of relocation (see Chapter II) and subsequent demographic processes (see Chapter IV) make it necessary here only to briefly reiterate certain important points before discussing the adjustment of Settlers and Inuit to one another in Makkovik. The fact that Inuit relocation was involuntary is important. Makkovik Settlers learned of the decision after plans had been finalized. In any event, the manner in which officials of the IGA, Division, and Moravian Mission closed Hebron and relocated the community's residents clearly illustrates the amount of control Settlers and Inuit had over their lives in the late 1950s.

Once the decision was reached and the Inuit were moved, aspects of the initial contact between both categories would appear significant. Specifically, had only the small group of Okak Bay and Nutak peoples arrived in Makkovik, it is unlikely the community would have been greatly altered. However, the arrival of the Hebron Inuit, enmasse, primarily during the summer of 1959, was a dramatic event posing real problems to the small community of English-speaking Settlers. The Mission's subsequent efforts to cushion the adjustment of the Inuit, by establishing a separate Inuit neighbourhood, may well

have exacerbated the situation, namely by superimposing a residential division on one already based on socio-cultural differences.

Initially, the task of each people was to take stock of its changed situation. Inuit surveyed their new natural environment and found it both largely controlled by Settlers and severely lacking in the resources they had known and valued. Nevertheless, even though strangers in this new land, some things remained familiar landmarks with the past, most importantly, the church. The situation also created real problems for the Settlers and it would appear that, at least initially, some of these problems involved competition for natural resources. Such competition is most apparent in each people's distinct manner of acquiring harp seals but also probably pertained to their more similar acquisition of cod fish, caribou, and other species of seals. Ben-Dor writes that Settlers "resented" the Inuit, most likely because the latter group shattered the Settler monopoly over natural resources.

As important as whatever economic competition initially occurred are the changing circumstances which appear to have reduced it. Thus, the decline of the cod and harp seal fisheries, voluntary Inuit emigration, and the exploitation of new caribou grounds near Nain, all of which occurred in the late 1960s, presented new possibilities for the relationship between Settlers and Inuit. Furthermore, dramatically increased federal funding for Labrador's native peoples underwrote opportunities for wage labour on a scale never before available. Wage labour (and the new salmon fishery) cushioned the decline of the cod fishery, created employment for most who

sought it, and convinced members of Makkovik's new Community Council that the Hebron Inuit assured the community's continued development and prosperity, a goal councillors strongly favoured.

As Settlers and Inuit gradually came to know each other, each came increasingly to the view that its way of life remained important in the new situation it faced. Such conclusions were essentially ethnocentric, that is, made in reference to the other category. The emergence and crystallization of mutually ethnocentric generalizations was facilitated (or at least not retarded) both by relocation itself (i.e., by bringing together two peoples with different languages, values, and principles of social organization) and which arose following relocation (i.e., separate church services, de facto residential segregation, and so on). In short, after the mid-1960s, the differing interests Settlers and Inuit had as neighbours increasingly meant that potential conflict was largely replaced by accommodation. Informal rules emerged severely restricting interaction with or open discussion about the members of the other category, particularly in the presence of outsiders (see Appendix II). Such rules appeared to imply that both Settlers and Inuit "knew their place" in Makkovik. In addition, initial incidences of economic competition were gradually replaced by complementary or contrasting adaptations.

Today, the complementary adaptations of Settlers and Inuit and their accommodation to one another does not mean both share equally in Makkovik life. The Settler standard of living and control over community organizations clearly exceeds that of the Inuit.

While Inuit are less successful in obtaining the values their culture holds important, this is not necessarily because Settlers control Makkovik. Instead, Inuit chose not to participate in the institutions Settlers control. When compared with Settlers, Inuit interests in Makkovik remain minimal, essentially revolving around their one link with the past, the church. Inuit still resent relocation though I did not see any evidence that they blame Settlers for the conditions they now confront. Using Ben-Dor's multicellular characterization of Makkovik, the manner Inuit keep to themselves in Makkovik, seems, at times, as if it were a denial that relocation had ever occurred.

Even though changing circumstances and the different interests each people has in Makkovik have acted to reduce initial differences and potential points of contention, these same changing circumstances have introduced new phenomena and/or exposed each ethnic category to previously insignificant characteristics about the other. This presents new opportunities to two peoples considering their ethnic status worthwhile. For example, the very circumstances which led to the decline of harp sealing required the acquisition of the snowmobile, subsequently familiarizing Settlers with the traditional adaptation Inuit practiced in the barren interior. Snowhouses or, for that matter, the long abandoned Settler custom of using harpoons now had to be fitted into the existing ethnic system. At the socio-political level, the community council, Moravian elders, community hall, or brass band all require a semantic presence within the local ethnic system--in short, a new meaning.

Charsley (1974:361-362) has written that once an ethnic system such as I have described above is formed and its organizational principles adhered to, the likelihood of it changing, diminishes. In the Makkovik case, I have tried to show that new institutions and (older) cultural elements which enter or otherwise become part of Makkovik's social system are claimed by two peoples who continue to believe that their ethnic status is important and worth maintaining. It is important to note that what I have called ethnic symbols are not shared by both categories, but, instead, are allocated to either Settlers or Inuit. I have also suggested that the meaning of ethnic symbols is transitory and factitious and that the adaptation both peoples have made to their new situation is based more on accommodation than competition.

External Factors

While mutual ethnocentrism and changing circumstances appear responsible for Settlers and Inuit ascribing an ethnic referent to what I've called symbols, the adaptation of Settlers and Inuit to their new situation is largely explained by factors beyond the local level. In my view, the "agreement" that "as neighbours, we will continue to live as strangers" remains an unusual and to some extent incomplete one. Settlers and Inuit are able to perpetuate such a relationship largely because important formal economic and political structures control the essential conditions of their existence.

The historical data presented in Chapter II indicate that throughout much of their cultural history, Settlers and Inuit lived

rigorous yet relatively independent lives. However, since Confederation (1949), the economic and political autonomy of both categories has eroded and been replaced by sources of control and sustenance originating beyond Labrador. Thus, the economic independence of both peoples has given way to an economy which is either directly (e.g., forms of social assistance and statutory payments) or indirectly (e.g., UIC payments, LIP grants, and so on) based on federal and provincial resources. In fact, the concentration of northern Labrador's formerly dispersed population by external authorities has erased the possibility of Settlers and Inuit existing solely on local resources, as had their ancestors. These facts have a political as well as economic dimension: most important decisions, policies, or new institutions which affect Makkovik people originate beyond the community. Such policies, be they new fisheries regulations, native organizations, or the decision that Makkovik should have a community council (ostensibly, to promote local government), mean Makkovik people are increasingly less isolated from yet more dependent on external factors. Clearly, the rate at which new economic and political changes are occurring is accelerating and many Makkovik people are confused and overwhelmed by them. While most people agree life is easier since confederation, they also complain about having to obtain formal licenses to hunt and fish. Surely, both such changes are different sides of the same coin. In effect, Makkovik people have paid for their vastly improved living conditions (to the extent they had a choice) by decreased control over their present (and, it would appear) future existence.

The same external factors which assure that Settlers and Inuit will continue to be taken care of remove any urgency that they resolve what are essentially the non- (or scarce) relations between them. The accommodation which Settlers and Inuit have obtained postpones a more finalized, complete relationship, one either based on some form of conflict or dialogue. It may be suggested that in a more autonomous social system (like a band or chiefdom), a more finalized "solution" to inter-group relations, perhaps based on permanent asymmetrical relations, would be obtained. In Makkovik, however, the "agreement" that Settlers and Inuit neighbours will continue to live as strangers and maintain their boundaries occurs because of decisions and economic ties to the world beyond the community. In short, while relocation created the type of ethnicity found in Makkovik, the community's increasing dependence on external sources of sustenance and authority allow for its persistence.

By claiming new ethnic symbols as their own or by ascribing these as appropriate to the other category, Makkovik Settlers and Inuit appear to be acknowledging the importance of ethnic boundaries and the potential for more overt inter-ethnic conflict. While I've focused on describing the symbolic process of boundary maintenance itself, it would appear that the characteristics of ethnicity in Makkovik and the production of new symbols of ethnic distinctiveness act to reduce whatever potential for conflict may exist. By way of concluding, I relate an incident which occurred in 1963 yet remains in the memories of Makkovik Settlers and Inuit. At the annual outdoor games held on Easter Monday, A Royal Canadian Mounted Police

officer, temporarily visiting Makkovik, encouraged a tug-of-war competition between Settlers and Inuit. As Ben-Dor (1966:129) relates, members of both ethnic categories took their positions on the rope and at a given signal, pulled for all their worth. In the end, the Settlers are said to have won, yet both sides disputed the outcome. This argument eventually led Makkovik people to conclude that such overt competition between Settlers and Inuit had been a bad idea; both agreed that such a contest must never again be held. As should be clear from the materials presented in this study, informal rules prohibiting such competition were even more pronounced by 1971-1972. The contemporary process of symbolically demarcating Settler and Inuit domains suggests that even today, both peoples are "holding the line."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LABRADOR NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

APPENDIX I

LABRADOR NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The purpose of Appendix I is to describe those features of the natural environment which affect contemporary Settlers and Inuit. Concentration is given to the Makkovik area, rather than to other regions within Labrador. In addition, my emphasis is generally on renewable natural resources since these are, at least at present, of greater significance to Makkovik people than are non-renewable resources (e.g., offshore oil, uranium, and so on).

Physiography

The predominant geological feature of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula is its rigid, Precambrian plateau composed of basement rocks, the remains of ancient mountains severely folded and metamorphosed before being reduced to their present peneplain level (Montgomery 1949:13). This peneplain or worn rocky surface, neither plain nor mountainous (cf. Tanner 1944:74), is primarily composed of gneiss granites. During the Pleistocene, glacial accumulation in the Labrador interior may have reached a depth of one mile or more (Fitzhugh 1972:13) and its expansion gouged postglacial lakes and rivers, many having an east-west orientation. The relatively late recession of the Wisconsin-Laurentide glaciation

accompanied rising sea levels, which after about 5000 B.P., rose at the rate of about two feet per century (Fitzhugh 1972:31).

Coastal physiography south of Hopedale is more regular than that further north. The interior of the more southerly region is drained by several major river systems. Unlike the littoral north of Hopedale, that of the Makkovik area has fewer island skerries which act to protect the capes and fjords on the mainland north of Hopedale. Dyke (1968:128) has observed that Labrador has two coast-lines, that of the inner (mainland) coast and of the offshore islands. While this observation is certainly true of most of the coast, it is, I'm suggesting, less appropriate in describing the Makkovik area. Thus, a predominant coastal feature of the Makkovik area is the several capes lying exposed to open ocean. During the open water season, travel around these unprotected capes is often dangerous, a fact effectively restricting inshore travel. Winter travel over the frozen sea is similarly affected since the absence of large offshore islands retards formation of reliable sea ice around the capes. Hence, winter travelers venture overland across forested necks instead of travelling around the capes.

While capes and headlands hinder travel north and south of Makkovik, bays and rivers emptying into them become the nexus of human subsistence activity. Dyke (1968:132-133) notes that these rivers have always functioned as highways, providing access to the interior. Obviously, certain river systems provide better access to and from the coast and many of those were used historically by Indians who moved out to the coast during summer. Adlatok Bay, for

example, just fifty miles north of Makkovik, means (in Inuttitut) "the place of many Indians," while twenty miles south of Makkovik, Adlavik Bay means "the place of killing Indians," both obviously locations where Inuit once encountered Indians (Wheeler 1953:8).

One final point should be made concerning the river systems along the coast. Generally, river systems found in the north central coastal region, between Hamilton Inlet and Nain are more extensive than those north of Nain (see Map I). It also appears evident, partially because of their length and the generally level, forested country through which they flow, that the chemical and nutritive character of the more southerly rivers differs from that of those further north. Coady (personal communication 1975) refers to the type of water found in more southerly rivers as "mud" water in contrast to the "gin" water of more northerly rivers. As will be seen below, these differing river systems and the type of water characteristic of them is ecologically important since it affects the distribution and abundance of particular fish species.

The coastal topography between Cape Harrison and Hopedale varies considerably. Generally, however, capes and headlands rise rather abruptly from the shore, occasionally to elevations of 1000 or more feet. Nowhere, however, do these equal the more dramatic cliffs of the Kiglapait, Kaumajet, or Torgat mountains north of Nain which often rise 5500 feet from the sea edge (Fitzhugh 1972: 12). Likewise, topographical characteristics of the bays near Makkovik contrast with their fjordal counterparts north of Nain. Thus, for example, the hills surrounding Aillik Cape, about ten

miles from Makkovik are described by King (1963:7) as gently sloping, reaching an average elevation of about 200 feet. In the southeast portion of the Makkovik area, between Stag Bay and Jeanette Bay, the Benedict Mountain chain rises gently from the coast, seldom exceeding 1200 feet. A handful of solitary mountains provide useful landmarks, dotting the rolling and wooded interior west of Makkovik.

Notable among these is Monkey Hill, about five miles from Makkovik and Post Hill, just across Kaipokok Bay from the village of Postville. In short then, the topography of the Makkovik area is that of a hilly plateau, penetrated by several extensive river systems and bordered by a handful of prominent capes.

Oceans and Ice

All coastal biota (as well as those of insular Newfoundland) are directly affected by the Labrador current. The Labrador current flows south along the coast and is comprised of the Baffin Island and Irminger currents. According to Montgomery (1949:35), the speed at which the current moves is faster along the northern portion of coastal Labrador than further south. Estimates of this speed vary from an average of 10 mph (Nutt 1963) to 12 mph (Montgomery 1949:35) to 14 mph (Tanner 1944:257-258). According to Templeman (1966:23), the earth's rotation causes the current to turn to the west, deflecting shoreward along the Labrador coast. The coastal contour requires that the current's southward flow bend at Cape Harrison, thus depositing icebergs and pack ice there during early summer (Tanner 1944:260).

Water temperatures and salinities along the coast vary according to the effects of the Labrador current, depth, and season. In addition, temperatures and salinities out on the coast differ from those in bays and deep fjords. Such variations effect the presence or absence of fish species. Thus, for example, large stocks of Atlantic cod do not penetrate bays or fjords while Atlantic salmon are not similarly restricted by the low salinities common to such waters (Dyke 1969:131).

Ice conditions profoundly affect the nature of human habitation in northern Labrador. Williamson (1964:9) distinguishes between three kinds of sea ice: land fast ice, pack ice, and icebergs. Land fast ice is that which forms along the sea shore in early winter and gradually extends seaward during winter. Pack ice is arctic ice carried south by the Labrador current, outside the edge of the fast ice. Icebergs are similar to pack ice but originate in Greenland where they are calved from Greenland glaciers.

Several species of sea mammals associated with pack ice (e.g., walrus, bearded seal, polar bear) during winter traditionally made hunting amidst such ice important to Inuit (Taylor 1974:21). With the decline of the walrus, however, and with federal restrictions on polar bear hunting, such hunting is rarely practiced today. Instead, hunting from the edge (locally called the 'sina') of fast ice is important, with ringed seals being the most important game. The conditions and formation of the sina vary daily in response to changes in temperature, currents, and wind. In the Makkovik area, fast ice extends between 10 and 17 miles from the community.

The primary effect of icebergs on human habitation is a negative one, that of damaging fishing nets and gear. This happens whenever onshore winds push the ice toward shore where fishing gear is set.

Each autumn, land fast ice forms shortly after the onset of freezing temperatures, usually between November 15 and December 25. This process begins with the formation of small, loosely connected, circular ice pans (locally called 'slob') which gradually merge into a continual surface. In December 1971, for example, slob ice formed a continuous surface about two inches thick on December 6. The following day, this thickness had doubled and by December 12 was between eight and ten inches thick, allowing travel over it. Even after 'freeze up,' holes of open water sometimes remain unfrozen due to currents and tides. Just as fast, ice initially forms close to shore and extends seaward, so in spring it deteriorates and breaks apart, first near land, a process often encouraged by the run off of fresh water from the land and/or rivers. Eventually, fast ice either breaks apart and melts or joins the floating ice pack drifting south.

Climate

In addition to ice, two environmental features combine to influence climate in the Makkovik area. These are the Labrador current and the prevailing continental air masses which pass south of the Labrador peninsula toward the North Atlantic. While the Labrador current affects such climatic conditions as fog and temperature, the effects of air masses is seen on winds and barometric pressure (and

thus precipitation). According to Tanner (1944:313), these prevailing air masses exert a greater climatic impact on the southern portion of the Labrador coast (e.g., south of Hopedale) than on the region further north. This is explained by the fact that southern Labrador is tangential to the track of certain barometric minima which pass in a northeasterly direction from the United States toward Iceland. Thus, for example, if a low pressure mass passes along this track, north or northwest winds affect the Makkovik area. The overall effect of this barometric track is to render prevailing wind direction, air pressure and consequently precipitation more variable south of Hopedale than further north. This explains the greater incidence of fog and greater snow accumulations of southern Labrador compared with those to the north. Finally, Makkovik's proximity to this barometric track makes its climate more susceptible to sudden storms, produced by small cyclones (secondaries) which sweep in from the sea, accompanied by dropping barometric pressure and sudden, onshore winds (Tanner 1944:315).

Northern Labrador has long, cold winters and short warm summers. Such short summers are, according to Hare (1950:224), microthermal since they are characterized by an even distribution of precipitation over four months having a mean temperature of 50°F, or over. Summer weather is highly unpredictable and given to sudden changes. Snow can occur during summer but is unusual during July. During autumn, winds become more violent and westerly winds lose their warm character. Ice forms on fresh water bodies after mid-October and snow cover normally permits ground travel after about

mid-November. Estimates of snow accumulation in the Makkovik area range between 50 and 80 inches (Montgomery 1949:116) and about 100 to 125 inches (Hare 1951:657). My observations during the Winter of 1971-1972 support the latter figures, though it is likely that amount somewhere between the aforementioned estimations are the norm.

Tanner (1944:293) states that yearly average temperatures range from -2.8°C at Rigolet to -5.2°C at Ramah. Given this, yearly average temperature of about -3.0°C at Makkovik could be expected.

Vegetation and Forests

The incidence of vegetation and forests of the Labrador coast is influenced by relative northern latitude, seasonal temperatures, exposure to and/or protection from sea winds, soil fertility, moisture, and elevation. Despite Makkovik's harsh climate and relatively exposed coastline, the bays and interior portions of the district are well-forested. Coniferous species, notably black spruce (Pices mariana) and larch (Larix laricina) are most numerous but balsam fir (Abies balsamae), white spruce (Pacea glauca) and juniper (Juniperus communis) also occur. Along river terraces and in low, relatively moist areas, alder (Alnus crispa) and willows (Salix argyrocarps) are very common while white birch (Betula papyrifers) is occasionally found. Williamson (1964:15) reports large stands of white birch at Adlatok Bay, fifty miles north of Makkovik, but similar stands are rare near Makkovik.

Of these species, black spruce (used for heating fuel) is the most important conifer for hunting habitation. Generally, individual trees in closed (dense) forests, characteristic of the

Makkovik area, do not exceed 10 m in height, but Hustich (1939:30) notes solitary spruce trees at Makkovik measuring 14 m in height with a 30-40 cm trunk diameter. Such stands are, Hustich adds, associated with good humus soil, often 15 cm deep. Also noted by Hustich (1939:21) is the relatively large percentage (about 30%) of dry (dead but not rotted) spruce on hills near Makkovik. Such wood is excellent for use as fuel.

The rich vegetation of sheltered spruce and larch forests contrasts with that of exposed capes and headlands. Here, we usually find rocky and barren ground, interspersed with grasses and lichen. However, even along exposed coastlines we occasionally find small clumps of dwarf spruce growing, especially in harbours and ravines protected from the cold and dry sea winds. Less apparent, though not entirely absent, are larger spruce stands, sometimes reaching almost down to the water. Tanner (1944:355) notes that the Makkovik region marks the northernmost area where such stands occasionally grow to the ocean edge, even in locations having a northerly exposure.

Numerous berrying plants occur in the Makkovik district. Several of these are gathered for domestic consumption. These include the bakeapple or cloudberry (Rubus chamaemorus), the blueberry (Vaccinium pennsylvanicum) and the crow or blackberry (Empetrum nigrum). Another plant, formerly used as a beverage is Labrador tea (Ledum latifolium).

Land Fauna

A variety of small rodents inhabit the Labrador peninsula. These include lemmings (Dicrostonyx hudsonicus) and the large Labrador vole (Microtus enixus). Both are vegetarians, whose diet includes the shoots and fruit of such plants as the crowberry (Empetrum nigrum). Even more plantiful is the red squirrel (Glaucomys sabrinus) which, along with larger rodents, are the food of several larger predators important to man, such as the fox, weasel, wolf, marten, and occasionally, the bear (Elton 1942:253).

Two species of fox are found throughout Labrador, the coloured fox (Vulpes rubri cosus) and the white fox (Alopex lagopus). Coloured foxes occur in several varieties (e.g., red, cross, silver, and blue). Of these, red foxes have, by default, enjoyed a selective advantage over the remaining, more valuable, coloured varieties since the beginning of the fur trade in the 1830s (cf. Elton 1942:280-285). My analysis of unpublished fur sales records, covering the period between 1943-1956, support Elton's conclusion and also suggest that both species of foxes are more numerous in more northerly districts (i.e., the Hebron area) and diminish in numbers as one proceeds south. Generally, however, coloured varieties occur in wooded environments where white foxes frequent either the barren taiga or headlands. During the winter and early spring, white foxes move to offshore islands and to the fast ice where they forage for animal remains discarded by polar bears or human hunters. They also attempt to locate ringed seal lairs to attempt to kill newborn seal pups (McLaren 1962:171).

Aside from foxes, most fur bearing animals inhabiting the Makkovik area are found in the interior, either along forested river valleys or on the barren uplands. What might be called "riverine species" include two large rodents, the muskrat (Ondatra zibethicus aquilonius) and the beaver (Castor canadensis labradorensis), as well as the mink (Mustela vison lowii) and the otter (Lutra canadensis chimo). Most important of these, the otter, occasionally enters estuaries but is more commonly found in river pools and ponds where it feeds on trout and young salmon. Other large fur bearing animals, notably the lynx or 'mountain cat' (Lynx canadensis canadensis), marten (Martes americana brumalis), and wolf (Canis lupus) feed primarily on small woodland animals. However, the wolf, along with the comparatively rare wolverine (Gulo luscus), also occupy a barren ground niche, depending on small rodents and caribou. Both black (Ursus americanus) and polar (Thalarctos maritimus) bears are sometimes seen in the Makkovik area though wildlife regulations only allow the hunting of the more common black bear.

Four species of land fauna are very important for their meat. They are the porcupine (Erethizon dorsatum), varying hare (Lepus americanus), arctic hare (Lepus arcticus labradorius), and the caribou (Rangifer tarandus). Porcupine meat is highly prized by Makkovik Settlers and they are quite numerous in the heavily wooded Makkovik area. Despite their importance, caribou are rare near Makkovik; the few infrequently seen or killed are probably part of the Double Mer herd, numbering less than two hundred

animals. This herd winters in the Double Mer mountains and the coast north of Grosswater Bay. In summer it migrates to the Seal and Nipishish Lake area (RRCL, Vol. III;607). Caribou hunted by contemporary Makkovik hunters near Nain are part of the "Hebron herd," numbering over several thousand animals and believed to be increasing (RRCL, Vol. III:607).

Sea Fauna

Sea mammals, particularly those of the family Phocidae (seals) have always played a critical role in human habitation along the Labrador coast. Three species of the genus Phoca are especially important. These are the Harbour or 'ranger' seal (P. vitulina), the ringed or 'jar' seal (P. hispida) and the harp seal (P. groenlandica). Three other species occur more rarely. These are the bearded or 'squareflipper' seal (Erignathus barbatus), the hooded seal (Cystophora cristata) and the grey seal (Halichoerus grypus). These last two species are particularly rare at Makkovik; I saw, for example, only one grey seal killed during the field period. Table 16 depicts sealskin sales by Makkovik hunters during the period from April, 1971 to March 31, 1972. As can be seen, jars account for some 60 percent of the total kill. The primary reason for this is explained by the habits of the jar seal, particularly its year-round residence along the coast.

Jar seals are associated with fast ice, their seasonal movements vary during winter in accordance with changing ice conditions and during summer to fluctuations in hydrographic conditions. Thus, jars can be and are pursued throughout most of the year. Most jars

TABLE 16.--Seals Sold to the Division, 1971-1972.

		Number of Seals	Percentage of Total Kill
Jars		117	60.00%
Ranger		56	29.00
Harp:	Adult	10	5.00
	Immature	10	5.00
Hood:		<u>1</u>	<u>.05</u>
	TOTAL	194	±100.00%

are killed either from the sina in winter, or on the fast ice during early spring.

Jars feed primarily on planktonic crustacea (such as Mysis oculata or Themisto libellula) and only rarely consume fish. Thus, unlike other seal species (notably the harbour seal), their diet compliments rather than competes with that of man. Jars are not gregarious but are perhaps the most inquisitive of all seals, enabling hunters to literally lure them to within range by calling or whistling. Finally, according to McLaren (1962:1972-1973), local populations of ringer seals appear governed more by the quality of fast ice than by the presence of food.

Harbour seals occur near Makkovik primarily during the open water season. Little is known of their winter habits, though it is usually reported that they are rarely associated with fast ice (cf. Dunbar 1949:9; Mansfield 1967:4). However, Nelson (1969:221)

states that they occasionally rest on pack ice. Uncertainty also surrounds the question of migration though Frauchen and Solomonsen (1958:176) assert that they move from the Labrador Coast to the Gulf of St. Lawrence when the fast ice begins to form. Makkovik people report that harbour seals are not entirely absent during winter months and are occasionally found in ice-free estuaries at the heads of bays. It thus appears that some harbour seals remain year round residents while others move south of the Makkovik area, attempting to locate ice-free areas.

The summer niche of harbour seals overlaps with that of the jar. That is, harbour seals are commonly found in bays and river estuaries. Like the jar, but even more commonly, harbour seals ascend fresh water rivers, particularly in spring (Dunbar 1949: 9-10). Makkovik people, for example, report sighting harbour seals at lakes near the headwaters of Rattling Brook (about 15 miles southeast of Makkovik) while other sightings (and some kills) occur at English River, in Kaipokok Bay. Unlike the jar, the diet of the harbour seal is almost exclusively fish, frequently those species also sought by commercial fishermen. Thus, the harbour seal's rather omnivorous tastes place it in competition with man, explaining the bounty placed on it by the Canadian government (cf. Mansfield 1967:6-7). Labradorians, however, need little extra incentive to pursue harbour seals, their excellent meat and highly prized furs being sufficient reward.

While jar seals are non-migratory and the seasonal movements of harbour seals remain uncertain, harp seals are a truly migratory

species, breeding in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Labrador straits area. They migrate northward along the Labrador coast each spring and return south along the same route each fall. Harps avoid fast ice but, during their southward migration, they occasionally get trapped in bays by thin fast ice which forms overnight. When this occurs, harps attempt to use open water holes to reach open water. In such cases, harps are helpless prey for Labrador hunters and many may be killed in a single hole. During the past 20 years, however, the southward harp migration has occurred later than formerly, meaning harps arrive at sealing places after formation of stable fast ice, thus migrating well offshore (RRCL III:555).

Harps are gregarious animals, moving in herds (locally called 'skuls') comprised of both sexes and all ages. Their distinctive swimming style (both fast and lively) cannot be mistaken for that of other species. Harps are large seals, adults weigh up to 400 lbs. Their diet varies somewhat with age. According to Mansfield (1967:11-12) 'bedlamers' (immature harps) feed primarily on planktonic crustaceans while adults eat both these and a variety of fish species.

The bearded or 'squareflipper' seal is the most common of the remaining species found near Makkovik. The bearded seal's long whiskers help locate bottom food (molluscs such as the whelk Buccinum and the cockle Cardium) which form much of its diet (Mansfield 1967:24-25). The summer niche of bearded seals resembles that of harbour seals (see above) but the solitary and non-migratory bearded seal is associated with moving pack ice during winter. Like

the ringed seal, the bearded seal is a truly arctic species and is thus more numerous in the coastal region north of the Makkovik area.

Hooded and grey seals are infrequent but occasional visitors to the Makkovik area. Both are migratory species and the annual migrations of hooded seals follows that of the harp but occurs well offshore, explaining the fact that relatively few hoods are killed along the coast. Grey seals occur along the entire coast but their distribution is scattered and their numbers small. As noted above, during the field period, I observed only one grey seal, an adult female, killed by Makkovik hunters. This occurred in mid-August in shallow water off Bear Island. Significantly, the young hunter who shot the seal was uncertain what kind of seal it was. However, upon returning to Makkovik, it was identified by older Settlers as a grey seal, locally called an uppa.¹ Like the harbour seal, the grey seal's diet includes several commercial fish species, explaining the federal bounty placed on them, at least in the Miramichi (New Brunswick) estuary (cf. Mansfield 1967:10).

Large whales, notably the Greenland right whale (Balaena mysticetus) formed the backbone of the pre-contact Labrador Inuit economy (cf. Taylor 1974:24-25). Though several species of large whales remain, none occurs in sufficient numbers to affect the local economy. Those species occasionally seen include the north Atlantic

¹While the Settler term for grey seals (uppa or upper) is undoubtedly based on that of the Inuit (Appak--cf. LIA 1977:375), contemporary Settlers were uncertain of its derivation. In fact, some Makkovik Settlers claimed that the term uppa originated from the fact that in the water, grey seals resemble an overturned or uprighted boat.

bottlenose (Hyperoodon ampullatus), the fin whale (Balaenoptera physalus), the sei whale (Balaenoptera borealis), the minke whale or 'grampus' (Balaenoptera acutorostrata) and the pilot or 'pothead' whale (Globicephala melaena). Killer whales (Orea gladiator) also occur, as do many stories of them frightening the occupants of small boats ashore. Finally, beluga whales or 'whitefish' (Beluga catadon) are occasionally taken in seal nets; one or two were inadvertently caught in this manner during the field period.

Excepting seals, the most important marine mammals today are the white beaked dolphin (Lagenorhynchus albirostris) and the smaller harbour porpoise (Phoncoena phoncoena). Dolphins, locally called 'jumpers' because of their playful swimming style, inhabit Makkovik waters during August and September. Jumpers eagerly approach and accompany boats and are capable of swimming at speeds up to 20 knots (Sergeant 1961:16). While both jumpers and porpoises are gregarious animals, their pods seldom exceed twenty animals.

Jumpers measure between 8 and 10.5 feet in length and weigh between 300 and 600 pounds at maturity (Peterson 1966:369). Their diet includes squid and other fish species, notably cod (Sergeant and Fisher 1957).

Porpoises are about one half the size of dolphins, measuring between three and six feet and weighing between 100 and 150 pounds. Porpoises prefer inshore waters (even estuaries) to deeper waters offshore. Their diet includes a variety of fish species, primarily herring, but also hake, pollack, and occasionally, squid (Peterson 1966:379).

Birds

The avifauna of Labrador is representative of two habitats, the Canadian element in wooded southern areas and the Hudsonian element in the north (Tanner 1944:430). While, as Tanner notes (1944:420), there are over 225 species of birds in northern Labrador, only about 10 percent of these are year round residents. In what follows, I describe some of the more important species, both permanent and seasonal residents of the Makkovik area.

Perhaps the most important of the permanent species are two species of ptarmigan (genus Lagopus), the Rock ptarmigan (L. rupestris) and the Willow ptarmigan (L. lagopus). Also important is the spruce grouse (Canachites canadensis), locally called the 'spruce partridge.' Rock ptarmigan, locally called 'barreners' (because they are found on high barren country), are less common in the Makkovik area than are Willow ptarmigan, locally called 'brookers.' Both species of ptarmigan are locally lumped into the broader category 'white partridges.'

Willow ptarmigan are transhumant, migrating from their summer habitat in the high barren country each winter to the well-willowed dells and river valleys. This migration is explained by the fact that early winter snow and ice cover the food (low willows) prevalent in the high country. In contrast, rock ptarmigan, though rare near Makkovik, remain year round in high country. Rock ptarmigan are locally believed to be smaller and 'less wild' than willow ptarmigan. Spruce grouse are permanent residents of dense coniferous forests when they feed on the seed pods of evergreen

species. They are extremely 'tame' and thus easily shot or snared.

Several species of migratory waterfowl are important. At least two of these species are usually found in fresh water ponds, the Canada goose (Branta canadensis canadensis) and the black duck (Anas rubripes). Other species of migratory sea birds common to the Makkovik are listed in Table 17.

TABLE 17.--Migratory Sea Birds.

Common Name	Labrador Name	Taxonomic Classification
Black guillemot	'pigeon'	<u>Cepphus grylle</u>
Common eider	eider duck	<u>Somateria Mollissima borealis</u>
King eider		<u>Somateria spectabilis</u>
Red-breasted Merganser	'shellbird'	<u>Merganser serrator</u>
Harlequin duck	'ducks and drakes'	<u>Histrionicus histrionicus</u>
Red-throated loon	'whabby'	<u>Gavia lumme</u>
American Goldeneye	'sleepy diver'	<u>Glaucionetta clangula americana</u>
Oldsquaw duck		<u>Clangula hyemalis</u>

Other species, such as the Kittiwake or 'tickleass' (Rissa tridactyla) are common summer residents but of no economic importance. Still other species are important for their eggs which are gathered each summer. These include several species of gulls (genus Larus),

notably the Great black-backed gull or 'saddleback' (Larus marinus) of terns (genus Sterna) and of murrelets (notably Uria aalge and U. lomvia).

Sea Invertebrates

The cold waters off Makkovik appear to contain few edible species of marine invertebrates readily accessible to local people. Two species which do occur are the soft shell clam (Mya arenaria) and the edible or blue mussel (Mytilus edulus). These species, especially clams, are numerous and easily gathered (but eaten only by Inuit) at low tide on the mud flats in front of the village.

Fish

Despite the relatively large number of fish species present in the Makkovik area, only a handful directly affect the local economy. Many unused species, however, are consumed by 'economic' species and are thus of secondary or even tertiary ecologic importance. However, with a few exceptions, the following account is restricted to species of primary or direct economic importance.

Currently, three anadromous species within the Suborder Salmonidae are of primary importance. These are the Atlantic salmon (Salmo solar), the Arctic char (Salvelinus alpinus), and the brook trout (Salvelinus fontinalis).

Salmon is the most important fish species presently exploited by Makkovik fishermen. While salmon occur along the entire north coast, few appear to spawn in rivers north of Flower's River, just south of Davis Inlet (see Map I). Chemical and nutritive

parameters of rivers south of Davis Inlet encourage spawning whereas island skerries north of that region restrict the numbers of salmon along the inner coastline. Rivers south of the Davis Inlet area may be called 'mud' rivers in that their chemical-nutritive make-up is affected by the wooded peneplain country through which they flow to the sea. To the north, what might be called "gin" rivers drop more abruptly out of high, barren country. Gin rivers do host spawning populations of char and brook trout. This broad ecological relationship between mud rivers and salmon is further supported by the fact that several rivers emptying into Ungava Bay (e.g., the Koksoak, George, and Wheeler River) are chemically similar to southern Labrador rivers and all support salmon runs (see Map I).

According to on-going studies by Environment Canada, most salmon taken along the Labrador coast are endemic to Labrador rivers. The relatively high incidence of salmon tag returns from Maritime Canadian and Maine (US) rivers indicates more extensive (than in Labrador) tagging programmes in these areas (Coady, personal communication).

The movement of salmon into the Makkovik area in early summer is from the south and is apparently triggered by changes in surface water conditions (particularly temperature), occurring after ice break up. Lingering pack ice affects inshore salmon movements because salmon are a surface swimming species and normally avoid ice. Ice conditions can also affect the type of salmon caught. Thus, for example, during the summer of 1974, easterly winds jammed pack ice near both the shore and the offshore islands throughout the Makkovik

region. This resulted in poor salmon catches throughout the early part of the season and in an unusually high proportion of kelt (locally called 'slinks'), that is, spent salmon, which, after over-wintering in fresh water, have reentered the sea. In this case, the kelt were probably prohibited from swimming out along the coast by the pack ice and, therefore, from normal feeding activity.

Upon entering the Makkovik area each summer, some salmon enter their natal rivers while others continue swimming north along the coast; their destination is, however, as yet not known. Salmon swimming north go at least as far as the Nain-Okak area; some may then reverse their direction and swim south. In any event, a second "run" of salmon, not necessarily containing the same fish as in the first, enters the Makkovik area in late August. Beyond what's been said, the more general migration routes of Atlantic salmon are not fully understood. Some Labrador salmon obviously migrate to Greenland and Europe during late summer (cf. May 1973) while others may over-winter well offshore in the Labrador Sea, probably on the Hamilton Banks (Coady, personal communication, 1975).

Labrador salmon spend four or five years in fresh water prior to smolting (entering salt water) as opposed to about three years for Maritime (Canada) salmon (cf. Peet and Pratt 1972). The size of salmon taken at Makkovik depend on the time of summer they are caught. The first run is comprised of large fish while the second run is a mixture of large and small salmon and the third run contains small salmon and big males or 'jack' salmon.

Unlike the salmon, whose international migrations are acknowledged, even if not fully mapped, Arctic char and brook trout seldom stray far from their natal rivers. Instead, after entering the sea in June, a move apparently triggered by increased water temperatures (cf. Smith and Saunders 1958), most char and trout remain in nearby estuaries or bays. There, the external colour of trout changes to a brilliant metallic green. Char also change colour, their sides and bellies obtaining a silvery appearance (cf. Coady 1974:9). Once in salt water the meager fresh water diet of both species (Weed 1934:133) is replaced by one including caplin, young sculpin, and other small fish (Andrews and Lear 1956:858). By August both species are ready to ascend their home rivers to spawn during September or October. Once again, feeding becomes minimal and their external colouration changes. Overwintering in the sea is unknown (Coady 1974:9). The localized nature of char and trout movements make both species vulnerable to over exploitation. In addition, local idiosyncrasies in available food produce variations in internal flesh colour (and, subsequently, in market value) and in growth rates. Coady, for example, notes that approximately 90 percent of char taken between Makkovik and Nain have white internal flesh colouration (and thus, little market value), while 95 percent of those caught north of Okak Bay are red (1974:10). These latter char have prime market value. Generally, all species of Salmonidae grow faster in southern regions of the coast (Andrews and Lear 1956:851) but Coady (personal communication,

1975) reports local pockets of accelerated or retarded growth along the north coast.

While brook trout and char are not particularly abundant in the Makkovik region, their combined importance to the household economy compares today with that of cod fish. Given that char and trout seldom venture outside bays, low catches at Makkovik may, at least partially, be explained by the fact that Makkovik fishermen fish near the headlands or capes, concentrating on salmon. Thus, by emphasizing salmon then, Makkovik fishermen set nets outside the main summer concentrations of char and trout, catching these species unintentionally. This interpretation is supported by relatively larger char and trout catches (than by Makkovik fishermen) realized by Postville fishermen, most of whom fish within Kaipokok Bay (see Map I).

As mentioned in Chapter III, cod fish (Gadus morhus) has dramatically declined in numbers and economic importance. Probably more than any single resource, cod fish played a pivotal role in the early European settlement and historic economy of Labrador. The decline of cod fish is generally attributed to intensive foreign fishing on the Hamilton Banks spawning ground, particularly after about 1960. This decline is apparent when average yearly cod fish production from the 1930s and 1940s (about ten million pounds) is compared with the 1972 catch of about five million pounds (RRCL, III:537). Fortunately, the full economic impact of this decline in northern Labrador was cushioned by the development of the salmon-char fishery.

Because of their inshore migration in early summer, Labrador Atlantic cod are considered biologically distinct from other cod stocks (RRCL, III;538). It appears that the cod populations inhabiting particular locales are relatively stable, the populations moving seasonally from deep water to an individual shelf adjacent to it (Templeman 1966:45). These inshore migrations are triggered by warming water temperatures and follow the shoreward movement of caplin (Mallotus villosus) and herring (Clupea harengus harengus), small fish on which cod feed. As a result, when cod fish first arrive inshore each summer, they are plentiful but thin. Only by late summer, after having dispersed and fed voraciously, are they large and fat (Taylor 1974:3). Traditionally, this fact profoundly affected the strategy of Labrador fishermen (cf Williamson 1964: 87-88).

A number of other fish species, none exploited commercially, are caught by Makkovik people for household consumption. Of these, Rock cod (Gadus ogak) is probably the most important. Rock cod are plentiful when they approach shallow inshore water in March, apparently to spawn under the sea ice. Caplin are also extremely abundant when they come ashore to spawn during early summer, usually in July. Until recently caplin were caught for use as dog and human food. Today, however, their use is greatly restricted. Several other species, which though present remain unused, include the smooth flounder (Liopsetta putnami), the lumpfish (Cyclopterus lumpus) and, more rarely, the Atlantic mackerel (Scomber scombrus). Two deep water species, the redfish (Sebastes marinus) and the Greenland

halibut or turbot (Reinhardtius hippoglossoides) are also known to inhabit the southern part of the Hopedale channel but concentrated efforts to obtain them are restricted by an absence of gear and knowledge.

Conclusion

The detailed description presented above is intended to complement my description of how Makkovik Settlers and Inuit exploit the natural environment, as described in Chapter III. While many of the resources described are also common to the former homeland of Makkovik Inuit, there are also significant differences.

Briefly, the Hebron environment is abundant in seals, caribou, char, and fur-bearing animals. On the other hand, it lacks both forests and animals associated with them, both of which are common to the Makkovik area.

APPENDIX II

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

APPENDIX II

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Methods and Problems

This thesis was based on some thirteen months of field research in Makkovik, most of which was conducted between 1971-1972. Shorter visits to Makkovik (and other Labrador communities) took place in June 1973, August 1974, and late December 1976-early January 1977. Unless otherwise noted, all descriptions refer to the 1971-1972 field period, the ethnographic present of data described.

During the first several months of the field period, I resided in an abandoned shack situated between the Settler and Hebron neighbourhoods, a location chosen for its neutrality. Subsequently, and on my brief return visits, I lived with an Okak Bay man of mixed ethnic status, a situation I believed offered potential advantages for rapport with both peoples. However, given Makkovik's small scale and distinct pattern of ethnicity, neutrality was sometimes difficult to realize. After some months, I was able to establish rapport with several informants in both categories whose assistance and patience I acknowledge.

Most data were obtained through standard participant-observation techniques. Directed and non-directed interviews were also conducted and a questionnaire was presented to grade 2 and 3

school children. For reasons apparent in the text, Settlers and Inuit were generally reluctant to discuss ethnicity, minimizing the utility of directed interview techniques. Instead, most data were gathered in less formal local settings, as well as on hunting and fishing trips with individuals from both ethnic categories. Such trips also informed me that ethnic relations beyond Makkovik sometimes differed from those within the community.

The Merits of Restudies

As noted in Chapter I, my research was originally designed as a restudy to Ben-Dor's work; specifically, to investigate the adjustment of Inuit to Makkovik some years after Ben-Dor's research.

I think it fair to conclude that whatever their strengths, ethnographies tend to "freeze" our understanding of "a people" or "a culture" in time. Thus, anthropologists reading on the Nuer today, learn about them as recorded in the 1930s. By studying one community or culture at two or more times, restudies should, at least in theory, increase our understanding of process and change, as well as of factors explaining stability.

There are two kinds of restudies. In the first, an ethnographer returns to a community where he or she previously conducted research, either to revise and/or update earlier findings. This approach is best seen in Mead's 1953 return visit to Manus, some twenty-five years after her initial research (Mead 1968). In the second and less commonly employed type of restudy, a separate ethnographer studies a community some years after another's research.

Lewis' restudy of Redfield's Tepoztlan is perhaps the best known example of this approach and illustrates how our understanding of one community is increased by the unique interpretations of two ethnographers. In supporting this second type of restudy, Kaplan and Manners remark that:

Perhaps if anthropology had followed more systematically a policy of restudies (especially by different researchers), the cumulative individual biases would have tended to cancel each other out and to yield understandings that more closely approximate what we conceive to be objectivity (1972:25).

Whatever the limitations of my interpretations, the overall findings of the Makkovik restudy would appear congruent with the merits of restudies, as suggested by Manners and Kaplan.

APPENDIX III

INUIT DEATHS: MAKKOVIK 1959-1969

APPENDIX III

INUIT DEATHS: MAKKOVIK 1959-1969

	Sex	Approximate Age	Cause
1.	Male	8 months	heart failure
2.	Male	6 months	bilateral pneumonia
3.	Female	11 months	meningitis
4.	Female	2 weeks	premature
5.	Male	8 days	premature
6.	Female	2 months	unknown
7.	Female	75 years	botulism
8.	Female	5 months	unknown
9.	Female	71 years	heart attack
10.	Female	35 years	malignant lymphoma
11.	Male	at birth	premature
12.	Male	69 years	lung trouble
13.	Male	14 days	bilateral pneumonia
14.	Male	10 months	tuberculosis-meningitis
15.	Male	76 years	cardiac disease
16.	Male	8 months	gastro-enteritis
17.	Male	45 years	asphyxia by drowning
18.	Male	30 years	asphyxia by drowning
19.	Male	37 years	bronchial pneumonia
20.	Male	41 years	chronic pulmonary tuberculosis
21.	Male	19 years	asphyxia by drowning
22.	Male	1 month	heart failure-pneumonia
23.	Male	65 years	terminal pneumonia-diabetis mellitus
24.	Female	28 years	heart failure
25.	Female	1 month	pneumonia
26.	Female	3 years	virus pneumonia
27.	Male	1 hour	premature
28.	Female	53 years	chronic bronchitis-pulmonary fibrosis
29.	Male	59 years	heart attack
30.	Male	4 years	unknown
31.	Female	1 month	unknown
32.	Male	42 years	head injury-asphyxiation-pneumonia
33.	Male	22 years	suicide by gun shot
34.	Male	43 years	gun shot
35.	Female	6 years	accidental gun shot
36.	Female	53 years	coronary thrombosis
37.	Male	8 months	unknown
38.	Female	46 years	suffocation
39.	Male	20 days	virus pneumonia

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¹Despite administrative changes, all above are labeled "the
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