

# UNVEILING NUNATUKAVUT



Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland

**DESCRIBING THE LANDS AND PEOPLE OF  
SOUTH/CENTRAL LABRADOR**

**NUNATUKAVUT, 2010**

# Preface Notes

This document was not designed for general publication. Its purpose is firstly, to inform members of NunatuKavut about recent research undertaken on their behalf, so that their knowledge and recollections of past events can be linked to academic research and current legal understandings of aboriginal rights and titles. The second purpose is to act as a foundation treatise to the Federal Department of Justice and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, in an effort to illustrate present day rights and titles held by the Inuit descent people of South/Central Labrador.

Since 2002, the people of South/Central Labrador have been researching, to some depth, their aboriginal roots from antiquity into the twentieth and twenty first centuries. For many years their limited knowledge of past historic events and for a number of expedient political reasons, they called themselves the Labrador Metis Association. In their quest for further identity in the nineteen nineties they identified as the Labrador Metis Nation with a continuing degree of uncertainty.

In recent years, the increased knowledge of their aboriginal ancestors before living memory, has led people to identify strongly with their predominant Inuit ancestors and traditional community. They now call their territory NunatuKavut and identify as members under the incorporated name of the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc.

The complex nature of the recent research and the reporting and recording of that work has led to the following deviations from what may be considered normal patterns for the submission to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada;

- (1) The documents are organized into two parts, (a) the descriptions of the research and analysis of recent statements, facts and theories, entitled, "Unveiling NunatuKavut; Describing the People and Lands of South/Central Labrador", and (b) Supplementary Documents (total 65) which have been submitted to INAC in two packages during the course of the research activities,
- (2) Given that the lists of Figures, Tables and Photographs were rather extensive, they are placed at the back of the submission document for expediency sake,
- (3) We have endeavored to annotate all footnotes which connect with the Supplementary Documents by noting the Supplementary Document number in the footnote for ease of the reader.

## **Primary Authors**

D. Bruce Clarke, Burchells LLP,  
Gregory E. Mitchell, NunatuKavut Community Council Inc.

## **Contributing Authors**

Alicia Elson, NunatuKavut Community Council Inc.,  
Tammy Lambourne, NunatuKavut Community Council Inc.,  
Robert Groves, Aboriginal affairs Group,  
Derek Simon, Burchells LLP,

## **Research Support and Editing**

Chris Montague, President, NunatuKavut Community Council Inc.,  
Patricia Way, Labrador Genealogist/Consultant,  
Eva Luther, Elder/ Consultant,  
Lloyd Pardy, Elder.

## **Contract Researchers**

Baehre, Rainer  
Bezzina, Edwin  
Flack, Elsa  
Groves, Robert  
Handcock, Gordon  
Hanrahan, Maura  
Kennedy, John  
McDonnell, Roger  
Miller, Christopher  
Muller-Wille, Ludger  
Nielson, Scott

Penney, Gerald  
Piggot, Paul  
Ramsden, Peter  
Rankin, Lisa  
Rollmann, Hans  
Stopp, Marianne  
Tompkins, Edward  
Way, Patricia  
Webb, Jeff  
Wharram, Douglas  
Wicken, William

# Table of Contents

## Chapter One Introduction

The People and their Story	1
Dedication to Elders	3
NunatuKavut Community Council Claim	4
Multiple Inuit populations	6
Archaeology	7
Cartography	15
Early European Observers	16
Toponymy	19
Inuit Tribal Names	22
Seasonal Land Use Patterns	23
Contact-Period Inuit Social Structure	25
Inuit Trade	26

## Chapter Two The Labrador Treaty of 1765

Summary	27
Background to the Treaty	27
The Inuit Treaty of 1765	31
Events Leading up to the Treaty	32
Preparations for the Treaty Conference	33
The Treaty Event	46
What Did the Inuit Treaty Mean?	51
The Legal Status of the Labrador Treaty	53
The Beneficiaries of the Labrador Treaty	56
International Context of the Inuit Treaty of 1765	57
Historical Context Prior to the Treaty	57
Economics: Fishing, Sealing and Whaling	62
Aboriginal-Settler Relations and Patterns of Settlement	65
Conclusion on the pre-Treaty context	67

## Chapter Three The Post Treaty Period

Historical Context: After the Treaty	68
Economics; Fishing and Sealing	73
Aboriginal –Settler Relations and Patterns of Settlement	76
Conclusion on the Treaty Context	76
The Early Influence of the Moravian Missions	77
Continuity of Occupation post-1765	79

## **Chapter Four            Demographic Analysis**

<b>The Contact/Exploration Period</b> -----	<b>99</b>
<b>Overview</b> -----	<b>104</b>
<b>Data Sources, Analytical Approaches and Scope</b> -----	<b>105</b>
<b>Analytical Sources and Challenges</b> -----	<b>106</b>
<b>Geographic Conventions and Cautions</b> -----	<b>113</b>
<b>The Methodists</b> -----	<b>118</b>
<b>Defining ethnicity</b> -----	<b>121</b>
<b>Endogamy in Labrador Inuit Labradorians</b> -----	<b>123</b>
<b>Preference of Marriage Partners</b> -----	<b>126</b>
<b>Identity and Naming</b> -----	<b>126</b>
<b>European names and Inuit Men</b> -----	<b>134</b>
<b>Inuit Records in the Nineteenth Century</b> -----	<b>141</b>
<b>Inuit Movement to and from the South in the Moravian Records</b> -----	<b>167</b>
<b>Comparison of the Moravian Hopedale Records with other Records for the Period (Church, Merchants, Journals. etc.)</b> -----	<b>178</b>
<b>Inuit Death Records</b> -----	<b>179</b>
<b>Inuit Mobility</b> -----	<b>181</b>
<b>Who were the Inuit that did not go North?</b> -----	<b>187</b>
<b>Census Data</b> -----	<b>188</b>
<b>Summary of the Hopedale Records</b> -----	<b>192</b>
<b>Demographic Picture over Time</b> -----	<b>193</b>

## **Chapter Five            Inuit Cultural Continuity**

<b>The state of “Inuit culture” in 1763</b> -----	<b>196</b>
<b>IS “Inuit culture’ a static or monolithic construct?</b> -----	<b>204</b>
<b>What Are the markers in Inuit Culture to Allow for the Tracking of them over time?</b> -----	<b>208</b>
<b>The Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador from the date of British sovereignty to the modern time</b> -----	<b>209</b>
<b>Observations of Anglican Clergy</b> -----	<b>210</b>
<b>Charles and Mary Williams</b> -----	<b>212</b>
<b>Casual (and Untrained) Euro-Canadian Observers</b> -----	<b>216</b>
<b>Visions and Dreams</b> -----	<b>220</b>
<b>Inuit Women</b> -----	<b>220</b>
<b>Cross Cultural Marriages</b> -----	<b>227</b>
<b>Inuit communal law</b> -----	<b>232</b>
<b>Traditional Ecological Knowledge</b> -----	<b>233</b>
<b>Commensality</b> -----	<b>233</b>
<b>Seasonal Transhumance</b> -----	<b>234</b>
<b>Relationship with the Territory</b> -----	<b>234</b>
<b>Generational Transmission</b> -----	<b>239</b>
<b>Inuktitut</b> -----	<b>240</b>

## **Chapter Six South/Central Labrador in Modern Times**

### **Impacts of Political Separation and**

<b>Government Interference Since World War II-----</b>	<b>244</b>
<b>Impact of “Passing” to Avoid Discrimination-----</b>	<b>247</b>
<b>Procurement and uses of Sea and Land Resources in the Ancestral Lands.--</b>	<b>252</b>
<b>Historical Land and Sea Use-----</b>	<b>253</b>
<b>Species Resource Utilization-----</b>	<b>256</b>
<b>Resource Procurement, the People and their Culture - A Case Study-----</b>	<b>256</b>
<b>What families of people harvested these species of the study area in the historic period?-----</b>	<b>270</b>

## **Chapter Seven Exclusivity of Other Groups**

<b>Evidence for Exclusivity-----</b>	<b>284</b>
<b>Forms of Evidence-----</b>	<b>286</b>
<b>Proof of Exclusivity-----</b>	<b>286</b>
<b>Use and Occupation-----</b>	<b>287</b>
<b>European accounts-----</b>	<b>288</b>
<b>Intention and capacity to Exclude-----</b>	<b>290</b>

## **Chapter Eight Re-claiming NunatuKavut**

<b>Summary-----</b>	<b>296</b>
<b>The NunatuKavut Communities as Aboriginal People-----</b>	<b>296</b>

## **Chapter Nine Present Day Residents of NunatuKavut- 334**

## **Chapter Ten Conclusions----- 347**

## **Bibliography----- 350**

## **Lists of Supplementary Documents----- 359**

## **List of Tables----- 365**

## **List of Figures----- 366**

## **List of Photographs----- 369**

## **Appendix I ----- 373**

## **Appendix II ----- 374**

## **Appendix III----- 386**

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **The People and their Story**

This discourse is being told by and for our people, the men, women and children of South/Central Labrador and their ancestors, with the help of some experts from outside the homeland.

During the 1960's and 1970's, with the onslaught of globalization in Labrador and the influx of many people from outside, the people of Labrador, in general, began to look back at themselves to re-examine their very unique identity which they knew was different from these newcomers. They now had a comparator group.

In the ensuing years, the people of South/Central Labrador especially were left out of mainstream political organizations which had been funded in searching for and identifying ethnic roots. It was clear that that South/Central Labradorians did not look like or act like the people which they encountered who were now in their communities as Government workers, trades people and so on. Many of them wondered why. By the 1980's, many of the people from South/Central Labrador found themselves to be members of a new political organization called the Labrador Metis Association since they were excluded through geographical and racial considerations from the newly formed Labrador Inuit Association.

Who are these people who were not even given the franchise of representation in any representative government until confederation with Canada in 1949. And, more specifically were either rejected from, or not accepted by, other 'sanctioned' political aboriginal representations in the latter half of the same century.

The following pages are a story of their roots, culture and their struggle since time immemorial. It is a story mostly about change, adaptation, strength, racial stigmatism and a few successes. To survive a Labrador winter in and of itself is an accomplishment of great proportions even today with the advent of improved transportation, wage economies and somewhat functioning communities of people. To have survived a winter in a lonely bay in 1750 is even a little beyond belief for anyone who is vaguely familiar with Labrador and its cruel and harsh, yet ever beautiful landscape. History has proven that newcomers to these lands could only survive Labrador's hinterland if they became a part of the land and its people.

As in much of what we call Western Society today, there are things which institutions, groups or individuals say must ultimately be 'proven'. This is accomplished through academic queries, legal analysis and finally societal acceptance. That is the framework within which this work was undertaken. In 2006, the Labrador Metis Nation (as the

political organization was then called) in partnership with Memorial University, organized the first ever conference to bring community people and experts in their various fields together in order to discuss how to go about finding (in a Western Society sense) what the community members knew to be true about their untold roots, their adaptations to drastic outside interventions since the Basques first shadowed their shores and their struggle to deal with life in an unforgiving land.

The discussion itself took two days of interactions between community members and the experts. With the kind permission of all who attended, their conversations were recorded. Ever since that conference which was held at Corner Brook in 2006, the results have been used to identify gaps in our knowledge and to guide research parameters. As a partial result of this seminal discussion, a new research program has been initiated between a group of researchers with funding from the Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) program. This research initiative entitled, 'Understanding the Past to Build the Future', officially began in June of 2009 and will be ongoing for the next five years in the fields of Anthropology, Archaeology, Historic Research, Ethnography and Education.



Conference participants pictured above are (L to R); Tammy Lambourne, Greg Mitchell, Ken Reynolds, Bob Groves, Roxanne Notley, Jim Wollett, Percy Davis, Gerald Penney, Christa Turnbull, Rainer Baehre, Matthew Beaudoin, Nina Pye, Carter Russell (partial image), Peter Whitridge, Adrian Tanner, Bruce Clarke, Geoff Hancock, Lisa Rankin and Chris Montague. Off camera are; Susan Kaplan, John Martin ,Amelia Faye, John Kennedy, Trent Parr, Stephen Mills, Marianne Stopp and Stephen Loring.

Picture by Peter Ramsden.

In total, twelve NunatuKavut Community Council representatives were present, fourteen experts, one representative of Parks Canada and one representative from the Provincial Archaeology Department.

The second very important result of this meeting was the guiding principles for proposal writing and subsequent research for Comprehensive Land Claims submission to the Federal Government. This document, Unveiling NunatuKavut, is the sum total, and hopefully an accurate depiction, of the original research initiated from the Corner Brook Conference. With the preliminary results from research under the CURA program and the culmination of four years of work funded by the Federal Government from two different programs<sup>1</sup>, we can now begin to tell this story.

The new research sheds a different light on the history of South/Central Labrador, often described as the long forgotten coast, and for the first time it has been initiated by Labradorians from their guiding thoughts and inspirations.

It is only hoped that this work will inspire the youth of Southern Labrador to be proud of their history and to inquire and study further into their very rich past which saw their ancestors come in contact with other aboriginals, Basques, Maloians, Dutch, other French, British, people who became Americans and finally the people of Canada itself.

In the end, it is expected that Canada will give a fair review of this work. The loss of some ancient language, some Inuk toponyms and a few other physical elements are evident, but as we are told constantly, 'the people are still here'.

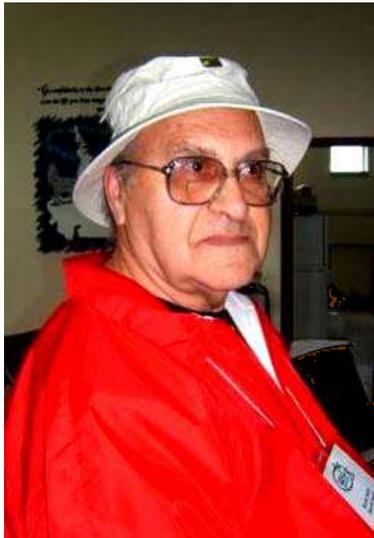
## Dedication to Elders

A further goal of this work is in the hopes that it will satisfy the curiosity of what elders did not know about their past and why they were the way they were. Unfortunately, too many to name have passed on during this five years of work. The document is certainly a tribute to them for their inspiration, love and kindness extended to outside people who ended up being friends. This work, even though it may seem to be somewhat 'legal', or dry and academic, is a work of heart.

We have unveiled NunatuKavut (phonetically, Non - a - too - ha - voot) for them.

Pictured below are just a few of the elders who inspired and helped with this research;

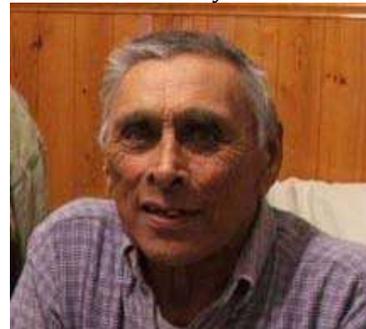
Bernie Heard



Charlotte Curl



Ira Holley



Charles Lethbridge

We apologize to elders and other readers for the cumbersome nature of the document. It is what western society demands in the twenty first century. It will always be a draft, since both the landscape and the people are constantly in change.

## **NUNATUKAVUT COMMUNITY COUNCIL LAND CLAIM**

The relevant date for determining Aboriginal Title is the date of recognition as a matter of international law of British Sovereignty to the Territory.

The Supreme Court of Canada stated in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010:

*(at para 144): “In order to establish a claim to aboriginal title, the aboriginal group asserting the claim must establish that it occupied the lands in question at the time at which the Crown asserted sovereignty over the land subject to the title.”*

*(at para 142): “whereas the time for the identification of aboriginal rights is the time of first contact, the time for the identification of aboriginal title is the time at which the Crown asserted sovereignty over the land.”*

*(at para 145): “First, from a theoretical standpoint, aboriginal title arises out of prior occupation of the land by aboriginal peoples and out of the relationship between the common law and pre-existing systems of aboriginal law. Aboriginal title is a burden on the Crown’s underlying title. However, the Crown did not gain this title until it asserted sovereignty over the land in question. Because it does not make sense to speak of a burden on the underlying title before that title existed, aboriginal title crystallized at the time sovereignty was asserted. Second, aboriginal title does not raise the problem of distinguishing between distinctive, integral aboriginal practices, customs and traditions and those influenced or introduced by European contact. Under common law, the act of occupation or possession is sufficient to ground aboriginal title and it is not necessary to prove that the land was a distinctive or integral part of the aboriginal society before the arrival of Europeans. Finally, from a practical standpoint, it appears that the date of sovereignty is more certain than the date of first contact. It is often very difficult to determine the precise moment that each aboriginal group had first contact with European culture.”*

In *Labrador Metis Nation v Newfoundland*, 2007 nlca 75 (Can LII), the Court of Appeal noted (at para. 12) that *“The British became the only European country asserting sovereignty over Labrador after the Treaty of Paris in 1763.”*

For Labrador, the date of “British sovereignty” would be around the Treaty of Paris in 1763. It may be arguable that the actual date could be a few years before (perhaps 1758 or 1759). However, there is no material change in the facts of Inuit occupation in the 1750s or 1760s (and Inuit occupation had existed since the 1500’s) and it is proposed to

use the date of 1763 as the date that a court would accept as being relevant for British sovereignty.

There is academic consensus that Inuit were in regular, constant and widespread occupation of south and central Labrador long before the mid-1700s. All recent, and emerging, evidence proves a generalized occupation of south and central Labrador by Inuit prior to the mid-1500s.

The following are examples:

- The intention of the Inuit living in southern Labrador was to occupy the land during multiple seasons of the year, exploiting a typical Inuit land use pattern. The Inuit occupations of southern Labrador were of a permanent nature<sup>2</sup>.
- Inuit were routinely encountered by Europeans in southern Labrador<sup>3</sup>.
- The lengthy, significant and year-round Inuit presence in southern Labrador is now clearly documented through the archaeology projects conducted in the Sandwich Bay area.<sup>4</sup>

Thule Inuit seem to have spread into Labrador in periodic waves. The first wave of Inuit likely arrived by 1200<sup>5</sup>. A second wave, or multiple waves, may have pushed into Labrador around 1400 to 1500.<sup>6</sup> A final wave moved into Hebron and area in the 1900's<sup>7</sup> to off-set the loss of population from disease, including the Spanish Influenza.

The Inuit population of Labrador appears to have always consisted of sub-groupings. This would account for the differences in dialect and the inter-group hostility that were noted and documented by early European visitors.

Some Thule expansion into Labrador would have been around the coast: some Thule expansion may have been overland from Ungava Bay. The major Thule expansions across the north of Canada occurred during the Medieval Warm Period, a process in which the Thule displaced certain of the Indian peoples of those areas. The early Thule in Labrador would have had an encounter with the Dorset people.

During their expansion across the Arctic, the Thule became experienced in the harvest of caribou<sup>8</sup>. Expansion over-land from Ungava Bay to the Hamilton Inlet area would have been easily accomplished, using the George River to reach the Nescaupie, Goose and Churchill Rivers, particularly following the attraction of the caribou herds<sup>9</sup>. All evidence

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<sup>2</sup> Natalie Brewster thesis, 2005, page 111 – Doc # 146

<sup>3</sup> Stopp and Rutherford, Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey, page 21. – Doc # 136

<sup>4</sup> See various archeology reports referred to herein.

<sup>5</sup> An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change, James M. Woollett, 2003, page 615.-Doc # 130

<sup>6</sup> Max Freisen and Charles Arnold, The Timing of the Thule Migration, - Doc # 138

<sup>7</sup> 1945 Nominal Census of Labrador, refer to Place of Birth.

<sup>8</sup> See Nature of Things documentary, 2009, “Thule Odyssey”

<sup>9</sup> The Inuit report to Fornel that Eskimo Bay (Hamilton Inlet) has two “branches”, one of which takes them to Hudson’s Bay. – Doc # 124

tells us that the Thule engaged in a more varied environmental usage after 1400, taking greater advantage of land-based resources.

The increased ice experienced in the Little Ice Age (beginning in the 1300's<sup>10</sup> and at its peak around 1550<sup>11</sup>) would have hindered passage around the coast line and encouraged inland expansion through Labrador following the caribou resources and the river systems.

Inuit occupation extended into what is now the Quebec North Shore. Dr. Hancock<sup>12</sup> states: "Thus one may confidently assert that Inuit occupation reached as far as St. Paul's River (... 1632) ... In accordance with other evidence this interpretation has now received fairly wide acceptance."

## Multiple Inuit populations

The evidence in favour of the existence of at least two separate Inuit populations in Labrador is very strong. For example:

- There were two different Inuit toponymic systems in the 1700's<sup>13</sup>;
- By 1765, the Inuit of south and central Labrador seemed unfamiliar with toponyms for the area north of Groswater Bay;
- The Inuit themselves identified the existence of different culture groups, with little social interaction (and in fact hostility) between them<sup>14</sup>;
- The Inuit of south and central Labrador had a different language system than those of northern Labrador<sup>15</sup>;
- The Inuit that met with Moravian missionaries in 1765 denied that the area around Davis Inlet was "their land" but accepted Esquimaux Bay (Hamilton Inlet) as being their territory<sup>16</sup>;
- The inhospitable coastline around Davis Inlet may have served as a permeable buffer zone between the two Inuit populations. The voyage by John Davis in 1586 to Davis Inlet found no evidence of Inuit occupation at that site. However, after coasting further south to the Sandwich Bay area, he encountered Inuit who attacked and killed two of his men and wounded three others. Similarly, the Moravian voyage in 1765 found no Inuit in the Davis Inlet area, nor any signs of

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<sup>10</sup> An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change, James M. Woollett, 2003, page 629. Doc # 130

<sup>11</sup> Natalie Brewster Thesis, May 2005, page 52.- Doc # 146

<sup>12</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 53 – Doc # 150

<sup>13</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 30

<sup>14</sup> Hans Rollmann, Research Reports on the 1765 Map of Jens Haven and related Sources, page 22 – Doc # 164

<sup>15</sup> Hans Rollmann, Research Reports on the 1765 Map of Jens Haven and related Sources, page 19-20; Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 31

<sup>16</sup> Hans Rollmann, Research Reports on the 1765 Map of Jens Haven and related Sources, page 22

occupation of that area by them. The Davis Inlet area, with its access to river systems into the interior and its location near the tree line, seems also to have been a location frequented by the Nascaupi and therefore avoided by both Inuit groups to each side of it;

- Cartwright noted the difference between the two groups, observing that the southern Inuit tribes did not hunt whales. It is the southern Inuit group that Cartwright frequently meets during his years in Labrador<sup>17</sup>;
- Frank Speck describes “Inland Inuit” in Hamilton Inlet area of south central Labrador<sup>18</sup>;
- Youle Hind describes a map of Labrador naming the present day Churchill River as the “Eskimo River”;
- The Inuit of Lake Melville adapted very quickly to going inland post-contact, including upriver for weeks to pursue inland resources, for trapping and to hunt caribou. This suggests that they were already a land-oriented people;
- The archaeology maps have a gap around 55° north with no identified Thule sites<sup>19</sup> (see Figure # 1);
- The Inuit of south and central Labrador travelled regularly to Newfoundland, including to acquire pine for arrow shafts.
- The Inuit of south and central Labrador report having to trade with the Inuit of the north for certain goods (presumably metals). This suggests that they did not have access themselves as of right to that area.
- Early European observers frequently observe (although with differences) cultural distinctive names for different sub-groups of Inuit.
- Subsistence practices for the southern Inuit were dual-concentrated on both trade and harvest, while the Northern Inuit were focused predominately on whale harvest<sup>20</sup>.

## Archaeology

Although all experts in the 1970s recognized Inuit presence in southern Labrador, there were three competing hypotheses at that time as to the nature and purpose of Inuit presence by the date of contact (circa 1540). All three hypotheses accepted the presence

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<sup>17</sup> Stopp and Rutherford, Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey, page 17.

<sup>18</sup> Frank Speck, Inland Eskimo bands of Labrador, pages 317, 321

<sup>19</sup> Figure # 1 – This text.

<sup>20</sup> John C. Kennedy, Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit, page 31 –

of Inuit in south and central Labrador by 1540, but disagreed as to the precise extent and purpose of that presence.<sup>21</sup>

Each of the experts who published in the *Inuit Studies* journal in 1980 acknowledged that archaeology and other social sciences dealing with Thule culture were at that time in their infancy and that their theories were therefore developed without the empirical evidence to support them. They were simply theories. There was a paucity of actual information since the research had not then been done<sup>22</sup>. Many of the historic and secondary documents relied upon in those days were replete with European commentaries which were filled with negative categorization of Inuit as savages, lazy, child-like, etc.

Since in the 1970's, there has been a great deal of research and firm conclusions can now be drawn. William Fitzhugh<sup>23</sup> has synthesized the various theories into a comprehensive paradigm. He confirms the expansion on the Labrador coast around 1250. By 1400-1450, the Thule had replaced or absorbed the Dorset people and the Innu. By 1550, Thule were established in Hamilton Inlet and were occupying the Straits of Belle Isle. After 1600, Inuit were winter-settled around Cartwright, had regular seasonal occupation of the Straits and may have had settlements in northern Newfoundland.

Fitzhugh confirms the excavation at Seal Island, at the north end of Chateau Bay, as being a verified Inuit winter site. He endorses Stopp's survey of the coast in 1997 and 2002. He also:

- reports two semi-subterranean house pits at Baie des Belles Amours (between Brador and Middle Bay) as accommodating 15 – 20 Inuit each, dating from the late 1600s or early 1700s;
- confirms the finding of an Inuit sod house at Seal Islands in Chateau Bay dating from the 1700s;
- describes an Inuit house structure at Snack Cove from 1396-1686;
- identifies three Inuit tent-rings from Snack Cove Island East;
- reports Dr. Rankin's findings of two winter houses at Snack Cove from late 1600's/early 1700s<sup>24</sup>.

Dr. Fitzhugh opines that Snack Cove was a year-round Inuit settlement. The winter house at Seal Islands shows that some Inuit families were accustomed by the mid-1700's to living in close proximity to Europeans. Some of these may have been 'middlemen' traders. There would have been Inuit women at that time who had established households with European men as well as mixed households in nearby Inuit communities. Fitzhugh traces these changes and confirms that they followed similar

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<sup>21</sup> Bezzina, *The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland*, page 21 – 29, Doc # 212; Natalie Brewster, *The Inuit in Southern Labrador; a View from Snack Cove*, page 14 \_ Doc # 146

<sup>22</sup> Natalie Brewster, *The Inuit in Southern Labrador; a View from Snack Cove*, Abstract and page 5; Bezzina, *The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland*, page 29

<sup>23</sup> William W. Fitzhugh, *Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec* – Doc # 192

<sup>24</sup> William W. Fitzhugh, *Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec*, pages 6 and following. – Doc # 192

paths as identified for other Inuit peoples. He further states that Labrador Inuit culture remained intact and continues strong today, despite traumas of disease, loss of key species like walrus and whales, and nearly 500 years of European engagement at its southern boundary.<sup>25</sup>

The report by Dr. Lisa Rankin, Ph.D. on the “Current State of Knowledge – Interim Report, March 2009” and her final draft<sup>26</sup> are an excellent summary of accepted academic understandings of Inuit occupation of south and central Labrador. Dr. Rankin’s report makes it clear that Thule Inuit were not isolated middlemen traders or occasional visitors to European settlements from Inuit communities in the north to “raid or trade”.

Dr. Rankin, building upon the work of others, confirms in her March 2009 report that the Inuit were in year round settlement of south and central Labrador well before the mid-1600s. They were present in extended family groupings as part of their usual, customary and traditional territory. They were not engaged in mere seasonal trading journeys.

Among Dr. Rankin’s observations:

*“Recent archaeological evidence has suggested that there was year-round Inuit settlement on the coast of southern Labrador by the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, and that the Inuit presence was not simply a matter of seasonal trading journeys”.*

There is now a substantial body of archeological data that illuminates the transformation of the traditional subsistence-based Inuit economy into one that was linked to the world economy of the time.

Based on current thinking about the chronology of Thule culture, the first Thule/Inuit to arrive in Labrador brought with them a ‘Classic Thule’ material culture and way of life, and that the event probably dates to sometime in the 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In “An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador”, Dr. Lisa Rankin identifies the Thule culture as an ancient whale hunting culture predating the contemporaneous Inuit societies of the Canadian Arctic. Amongst the artifacts traditionally associated with Thule are harpoons, snow knives, ulu, sled parts, dog teams, lamps and bowls. Thule winter houses were usually round to sub-rectangular, semi-subterranean structures with a seaward facing sunken entrance passage. Interior features typically included a raised flagstone sleeping platform at the rear, a paved floor, one or more stone lamp stands and often a small paved alcove or pantry inside. Other structures that commonly occurred on Thule sites were tent rings and quarmat structures<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> William W. Fitzhugh, Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The ‘Invisible’ Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec, pages 12 – 15 – Doc # 192

<sup>26</sup> Lisa Rankin, An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador, – Doc # 172

<sup>27</sup> Lisa Rankin, An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador, pages 4 – 5 – Doc # 172

Thule migration across the Canadian Arctic was very rapid and was accomplished during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. A number of archaeologists have worked in Labrador and the sites of their various digs are shown on page 7 of Dr. Rankin's report. The result of this work, even though is much less intensive in Southern Labrador, has resulted in the location of many Inuit sites on the entire coast and unto the island of Newfoundland.

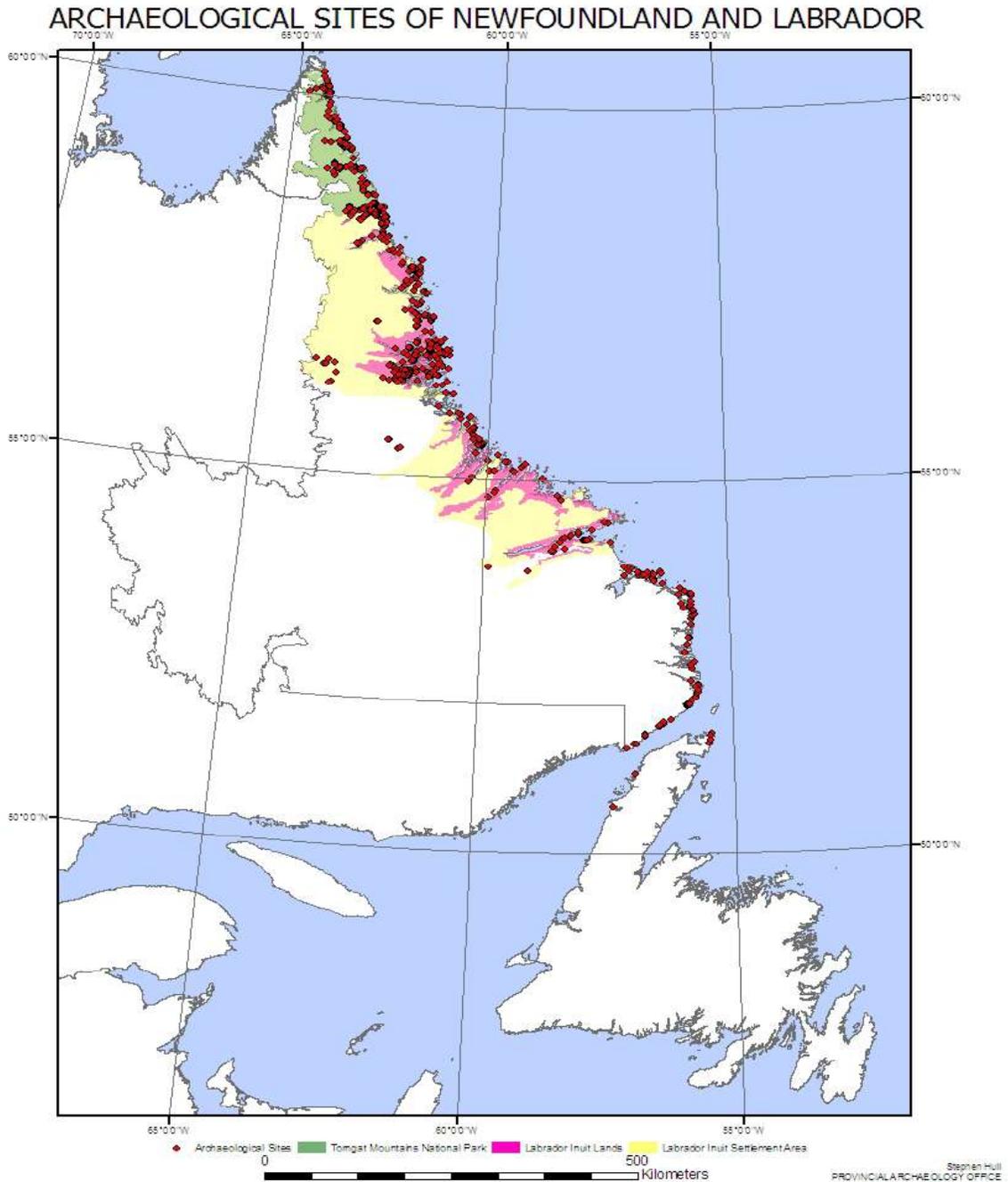


Figure 1 Showing identified Inuit sites along the Labrador coast and into the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland. NL Government web site.

Fifteen years ago, Dr. William Fitzhugh described the state of Thule/Inuit archaeology in Labrador as “undeveloped”. Since that time, there has been progress made in various areas but carbon dating remains difficult. It is unknown whether there was a single continuous migration of Thule people or whether there were a number of discreet movements into Labrador at different times. Some portion of this migration would have come from Baffin Island or Ungava. Thule people arrived on southern Baffin Island in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. Thule movement on to the Labrador coast may have been a reaction to the collapse of the Norse settlement and a search for new sources of European goods. “Contact” with Europeans was early and often indirect. This meant that Thule were familiar with some European goods but were not impacted by European culture. Certainly, Thule visits to European outposts in southern Labrador were common in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup>

During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, winter settlements were established at least as south as Hamilton Inlet. According to Dr. Rankin, Stopp’s work demonstrates year round Inuit residence in southern Labrador and along with Quebec North Shore from the mid-1500’s to the mid-1700’s<sup>29</sup>.

The Snack Cove sites, and other survey data from the Porcupine Strand Project, indicate a year round mid 17<sup>th</sup> century occupation by Inuit who had access to European goods and were incorporating them, often modified, into their traditional material culture. Emerging archaeological data supports the conclusion that the Inuit presence in southern Labrador was comparable in nature to that further north and that Hamilton Inlet was not the southern boundary of Inuit settlement.<sup>30</sup>



Stone Floor paving of 17<sup>th</sup> Century Sod House at Snack Cove, Huntingdon Island

The Labrador Inuit of the 18<sup>th</sup> century lived in a comparative mild climate and a benign environment. That allowed them considerable economic security. The development of trade with Europeans and between local Inuit groups produced a new degree of economic complexity and encouraged new social and economic roles<sup>31</sup>. This began, in some cases, as early as during the Basque period, with Inuit families

<sup>28</sup> Lisa Rankin, An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador, pages 24 - 26 – Doc # 172

<sup>29</sup> Lisa Rankin, An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador, page 27

<sup>30</sup> Lisa Rankin, An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador, page 28

<sup>31</sup> Lisa Rankin, An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador, page 33

(men, women and children), living in community with Basque whalers as early as the 1500's.<sup>32</sup> By 1700, goals such as service employment, collaboration, and social reciprocity were seen as safe ways for Inuit to engage with the growing number of European visitors to their territory.

Following European contact in the 1500's, Inuit in south and central adapted very quickly to include European trade as a part of their subsistence lifeways. Southern Inuit (between what is now Nain and Strait of Belle Isle) practiced a dual economy of hunting and trading.<sup>33</sup> Some areas, such as Arvertok (later Hopedale) came to focus mostly on trade, with a resulting reduction in harvest activity. Other communities in south and central Labrador remained more balanced between the two economies. They continued to be a single cultural group, with some differences in resource emphasis.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the security of a varied and stable economy, permitting the accumulation of surpluses, enabled communities to engage in high risk pursuits like whale hunting, of which the most beneficial harvests were prestige, self-esteem and commercial by-products valued by Europeans.<sup>34</sup>

The early success in trade can be seen by the encounters of Jolliet (1694) and Swaine (1753). When Jolliet rounded Cape Charles on July 11, 1694, he saw an Inuit sod house, with evidence of long-term occupation of more than twenty people. Three days later, he encountered a party of Inuit on a biscayner boat on its way to Newfoundland and engaged in trade with them. The Inuit were traveling in a two-masted vessel of around 40 feet in length, capable of carrying freight and up to 50 people. The Inuit trading party was headed by 2 men, who followed what became a classic Inuit protocol for a trade encounter, involving (a) landing; (b) laying down weapons at some distance; (c) concealing the rest of the Inuit community from the Europeans; and (d) engaging in trade, with a keen eye for value.<sup>35</sup>

In St. Francois Bay, Jolliet counts eleven spring-time houses, with evidence of both kayaks and the repair and use of biscayner ships. This happens again in Sandwich Bay (9 winter lodges, 3 new biscayner boats, numerous kayaks, 180 Inuit). Jolliet then encounters the Inuit Chief Quignac and his ten men, who, following a strictly understood protocol, engage in trade. Further north, near what is now Hopedale, Jolliet next describes meeting Chief Alienak, whose community has three biscayner boats and 14 kayaks<sup>36</sup>.

Jolliet's 1694 encounters show how prevalent trade was among the early-contact Inuit, that it was common to find Inuit communities in most areas, and that those communities had quickly adapted to at least the use of European boating technology.

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<sup>32</sup> Whales, Codfish and Basques, page 16 – Doc # 193

<sup>33</sup> John C. Kennedy, Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit, page 27 – Doc # 213

<sup>34</sup> “An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador”, page 33 Doc # 172

<sup>35</sup> John C. Kennedy, Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit, page 28 - 29

<sup>36</sup> John C. Kennedy, Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit, page 28 – 29 – in Doc # 213

Captain Charles Swaine's experiences in 1753 mirror those of Jolliet 50 years earlier. Swaine sails out of Philadelphia, seeking to find the Northwest Passage and search for the lost Moravian missionaries from the year before. As Swaine proceeds up the coast, he finds numerous Inuit traders, some transient on the coast seeking trade opportunities. The same kind of trade protocol was experienced; (a) use of smoke signals to draw attention; (b) sending a few males to trade while keeping the other community members at a safe distance; (c) using spoken French words; (d) using iron tools and wearing some European clothing; and (e) being very appreciative of the relative value of the items that were trading for.<sup>37</sup>

As can be seen, by the late 1600's, the southern Inuit communities were experienced in European trade, and practiced a combined trade/harvest economy. Although still clearly "Inuit", they had acquired knowledge of the use of many European goods, had mastered certain European technologies, and learned some European words.

Along with the social and economic benefits came somewhat less visible costs and penalties. By the late 1700's, the Moravian missionaries were causing considerable disruption in the area of social relations among the Inuit, and in the reliability of traditional, social and spiritual institutions. The missionaries publicly ridiculed and threatened the shamans, tried to undermine the influence of successful hunters by offering food to converts and disrupted traditional alliances and networks by isolating Christianized Inuit from un-Christianized ones. It was a time of great social, spiritual and emotional stress, in spite of unprecedented economic wellbeing.<sup>38</sup>

Kaplan and Woollett suggest that the establishment of communal households can be seen as part of a program of resistance, making a show of solidarity and "Inuitness".<sup>39</sup> Kaplan and Wollett argue that something as complex as a massive change in household architecture is not reducible to one causative factor and that climate and the introduction of aliens (Europeans) cannot be seen as playing no role at all. The communal house phase is a complex issue of different factors and processes<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> John C. Kennedy, *Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit*, page 30

<sup>38</sup> Lisa Rankin, *An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador*, page 33 – Doc # 172

<sup>39</sup> "An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador", page 33

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*,

This dig only included one side of the the duplex but revealed four stone lamps indicating a possible occupancy of four nuclear families in the 1550 to 1600 time period<sup>41</sup>. Any European goods found were probably as a result of pillage or shipwreck and likely do not reveal any kind of direct contact. Since the site has just recently been dug, the faunal remains have not yet been analysed but should be typical of late sixteenth century Historic Inuit in the rest of Labrador (Pers. Comm, Dr. Lisa Rankin).



This communal house has a common entrance passage serving the two houses. It is apparent that up to forty people may

have lived in this house at one time and is typical of the very early time period of the communal house phase in Labrador probably spanning the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century<sup>42</sup>. The early date of this house and it's inherent characteristics are such that a theory is developing which may indicate that the 'Communal House Phase' may very well had it's infancy in Southern Labrador and spread North rather than vice-versa (Pers. Comm., Dr. Lisa Rankin, 2009). An intense investigation of this site and further investigations of all sites and factors, will be necessary in order to understand this very complex change in house styling and communal living habits.

Floor of a double occupancy 16<sup>th</sup> Century Inuit house at Huntington Island (FkBq-3). Findings include; four stone lamps indicating several separate families, stone side benches, a large door lintel and a large paved area at the entranceway serving as a work area for dogs.

<sup>41</sup> "Indian Harbour Labrador", Dr. Lisa Rankin, 2010, Report to Provincial Archaeology Office, Doc # 207

<sup>42</sup> "Indian Harbour Labrador", Dr. Lisa Rankin, 2010, Report to Provincial Archaeology Office, Doc # 207

There were also internal changes in Inuit society. The emergence of a feminist, or engendered archaeology has led to a recognition of the roles of women in the formation of the archaeological record and as agents of change in society. For example, the introduction of European technology may well have had a different effect on Inuit men and women. European items that women incorporated into their daily lives served to make them more “domestic” and more sedentary, whereas those adopted by men served to make them more mobile. The result was an increase in dichotomy between the activities of men and women and the result in breakdown of one of the traditional and enduring cooperative partnerships in Inuit society.<sup>43</sup>

## Cartography

Cartography is another science which demonstrates Inuit occupation of Labrador from earliest contact times. Early European cartography clearly shows notorious and extensive Inuit occupation of south and central Labrador beginning in the 1500s. Each map clearly demonstrates European knowledge and acceptance of Inuit occupation of south and central Labrador from as early as 1540s all the way through to the mid 1700s.

The following maps from the 1600s and 1700s demonstrate this early European awareness of Inuit occupation:

Descelier Map 1546	Ludoviciana map 1698
Mellert Map 1546 -7	Codex Canadensis map 1699
Desceliers Map 1550	Franquelin map 1700
Gustaldi-Ramusion Map 1556	Sanson map 1700
1685-1691 Anonymous Map	Delisle map 1700
De Fer Map 1669	Delisle map 1703
Visscher Map 1690	Senex map 1710
Dorre Map 1689 (in Barkham Materials)	D’Anville map 1746
	Seutter map 1750

The cartographic-related sources clearly evidence Inuit occupation south of Hamilton Inlet prior to the mid 1700s. The Report entitled “Toponymic and Cartographic Research” prepared by five scholars (Drs. Hancock, Ramsden, Rankin, Rollmann and Wharram) provides an excellent summary of the early maps. This work clearly shows that the “Eskimo” occupation was well-known and consistently experienced by early European visitors to the area. This presence was sufficient to cause southern areas to be identified as Esquimaux River, Esquimaux Point, Coste des Eskimaux, Isle des

<sup>43</sup> “An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador”, page 34, Doc # 172

Esquimaux, etc. or for graphics of igloos to be added to maps of the area prepared prior to British sovereignty.

## Early European Observers

Significant Inuit populations lived all year round on the Quebec North Shore and in the Strait of Belle Isle area throughout the 1600's. In 1652, Father Ragueneau reported Inuit residents on the Quebec North Shore. The Inuit were described by the Jesuit Jacques Fremin in 1659 as "the people living at the extreme northeast of New France at 52 degrees latitude, 330 degrees longitude" (the Chateau Bay/Cape Charles area), living on caribou, otters, seals and cod.

Louis Fornel in 1743<sup>44</sup> described the "Coste des Eskimaux" (from Alexis Bay north to Hamilton Inlet) with four Inuit settlement groupings. It is obvious that the area from Alexis Bay to Hamilton Inlet was controlled and occupied by the Inuit, and in significant numbers.

Although Fornel did not spend extensive time on the coast, everywhere he went, he encountered Inuit. The following encounters show a consistent and extensive use by Inuit of this area:

- Baye des Meniques (St. Michael's Bay), July 4<sup>th</sup>, encountered six "canoes" and three boats.
- Baye d'Hape (Martin Bay), July 5<sup>th</sup>, 9 canoes with one boat, including women and children.
- Baye d'Amargo (Hawke Bay), July 6<sup>th</sup>, 3 boats and a few canoes. Met with an Eskimaux Chief. Met with a Captain Araby who had encountered 9 canoes and 22 boats of Esquimaux;
- Isle des Eskimaux (Hamilton Inlet), July 7<sup>th</sup>, saw evidence of Eskimaux occupation, "who are always roving in these islands or making their residence there";
- Baye des Meniques (St. Michael's Bay), July 16<sup>th</sup>, 14 canoes;
- Baye des Meniques (St. Michael's Bay), July 17<sup>th</sup>, 24 canoes and 18 boats including women and children.

Dr. Hancock<sup>45</sup> adds additional information with respect to the voyage of Fornel in 1743 as follows:

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<sup>44</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 9 – Doc # 161

<sup>45</sup> W. Gordon Handcock, A Cartographic and Toponymic Analysis of the Jens Haven Maps of coastal Labrador 1765- Doc # 167

- That Fornel named Baye d' Hape and Baye d' Amargo after Eskimaux Leaders in that location;
- Baye des Sauvages is in the area of Caplin Bay or Comfort Bight;
- Mille Isles is the Eskimaux Isles or Kickertet;
- Riviere Aux Sable is in Sandwich Bay;
- Pointe Beubarbois is Cape Porcupine or Kessessakiou.
- Baye St. Louis is Esquimaux Bay.
- that one branch of the River St. Louis (present day Churchill River) goes to Hudson Bay and the other to the Big Village of Esquimaux which is 12 leagues from St. Jilles Point (the entrance to Groswater Bay).

Cartwright's journals<sup>46</sup> describe a large over-wintering Inuit population in Ivucktoke Bay (Hamilton Inlet). This location served as a wintering area for the Inuit who occupied the southern Labrador areas at other times of the year. Cartwright also describes meeting with 300 Inuit at Cape Island (off Cape Charles) in 1771. Cartwright identified Sandwich Bay as an area frequently used by Inuit as a snug harbour. He describes Inuit at Batteau Harbour (which he called Igloo Harbour), Isle of Ponds, Chateau Bay and Alexis Bay. He also described numerous other encounters with Inuit in over a dozen other places in south and central Labrador.

As Dr. Handcock observes<sup>47</sup>, Cartwright's journals provide evidence of Inuit families occupying Hamilton Inlet, Island of Ponds and Sandwich Bay during the 1770's. These may have constituted year-round settlement–occupation areas, as well as serving as over-wintering locations for portions of the Inuit nation who spent the rest of the year in the south. The number of houses in Hamilton Inlet suggest a winter population of 160-200 persons.

Although Cartwright describes events in the 1770's, the same Inuit occupation would have existed in the 1760's prior to British sovereignty.

Captain James Cook mapped portions of Labrador in 1763, 1764 and 1766<sup>48</sup>, with his associates Joseph Gilbert (1767) and Michael Lane (1769-1771). His 1763 map describes "Esquimeaux head" located west of Quirpon Harbour (Northern Newfoundland), reporting that the English did not occupy it for fear of attack from the Inuit. This is clear demonstration of the extent of Inuit occupation of the Strait of Belle Isle area.

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<sup>46</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 13 – Doc # 150

<sup>47</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 14

<sup>48</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 15

Gilbert completed a survey in 1764 (done from the vessel *Guernsey*) and also identified Esquimeaux Island (Chateau Bay). Gilbert also describes an Inuit caribou-hunting people described as “Ca-tuc-to”, a derivative of the Inuktitut word for caribou, near what is now called the Caribou Islands. Cartwright in 1771 also described the Inuit practice of caribou harvest. Gilbert also describes a place called Ikkigockeatue at Cape Charles as being a prominent locale of Inuit visitation. No translation of that phrase has yet been completed.

The Michael Lane charts in 1770 and 1771 done in Cape Charles and Sandwich Bay shows Esquimeaux names in Riviere St. Paul and at Chateau Bay. Lane reported that the British were trying to restrict Inuit to the area north of Hamilton Inlet.

Dr. Handcock opines<sup>49</sup> that it was very probable that both Gilbert and Lane had numerous encounters with Inuit. In the years 1767 and 1770-1, “the coastal areas being charted were teeming with Inuit in their kayaks, umiaks and shallops traveling up and down the coast.”

Lieutenant Roger Curtis undertook a mapping program and his 1773 census identifies Ogbucktoke (near modern Hopedale) as an Inuit tribe, north of the Strait of Belle Isle<sup>50</sup>. Curtis described<sup>51</sup> the continued presence of Inuit in the southern regions of Labrador (Chateau Bay and Cape Charles), who would have then gone north to the Hamilton Inlet area for the winter. Curtis identifies 16 “tribes” of Inuit, which he describes by name and to which he assigns projected population numbers based on the number of boats he personally observed (totaling 1623 inhabitants). The validity of this method of projecting population numbers is questionable. Even many of Curtis’ contemporaries held his work in contempt, since most of his information about the southern areas was gathered in two summer voyages to the environs of Chateau Bay. His population divisions and estimates are simplified and largely inaccurate<sup>52</sup> but still give testament to the ongoing Inuit occupation of the area.

Dr. Hans Rollmann’s Report<sup>53</sup> confirms, at page 1, that Chateau Bay has much evidence of Inuit occupation by 1765. The historic record shows that Inuit in kayaks “were swarming the Straits”, but did not come close to the European boats due to fear of gunfire from them. The Moravian Jens Haven found Inuit burial sites, tools, old clothing and footprints that were recent. Dr. Rollmann<sup>54</sup> advises that the custom of the Inuit was to gather at the St. Peters Cape before proceeding to Chateau Bay, for safety in numbers. As many as 600 Inuit had been on the coast of Newfoundland in 1765<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 19 – Doc # 150

<sup>50</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 23

<sup>51</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 37

<sup>52</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 41

<sup>53</sup> Hans Rollmann, Remarks about the Location of the Inuit and the Map of 1765 in the German Trip Diary – Doc # 168

<sup>54</sup> Hans Rollmann, Remarks about the Location of the Inuit and the Map of 1765 in the German Trip Diary, page 2

<sup>55</sup> Hans Rollmann, Remarks about the Location of the Inuit and the Map of 1765 in the German Trip Diary, page 3

## Toponymy

There is a clearly cohesive Inuit place name system for south and central Labrador, indicating a sophisticated degree of Inuit spatial organization. This toponymic system was in place from the earliest European encounters<sup>56</sup> through the date of European sovereignty and at least into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The intent of the Inuit was to occupy lands of south and central Labrador from at least the mid-1500s throughout the relevant time period, during multiple seasons of the year, utilizing a typical Inuit land use pattern.

Inuit place name systems are the cultural and linguistic representation of the adaptation to an appropriation of the specific environments by Inuit populations over time immemorial<sup>57</sup>. Inuit place names, their patterns, clusters and content express how Inuit have observed, analyzed and organized their physical environments and have applied their linguistic tools and capabilities to coin and phrase proper names that they have attached to spaces and places. Through oral tradition, Inuit created mental maps for geographically contiguous areas as well as an oral record of geographical perception and environmental knowledge. Thus toponyms are a reflection of spatial organization and land use practices that have established human territoriality.<sup>58</sup>

Inuit toponyms for south and central Labrador are encountered from the first European explorers (Fornel in 1743), continue in use at the time of British sovereignty (Moravian missionaries in 1765<sup>59</sup>) and are reflected in subsequent maps (such as the 1773 Curtis map<sup>60</sup>). Inuit toponyms continued to be found by E. W. Hawkes in 1914<sup>61</sup>.

The map entitled “Historic Inuktitut Toponyms in Central & Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland”, in Figure 2, shows a consolidation of Inuit toponyms from Cape Charles to Cape Harrison, combining certain names from the Moravian maps with toponyms from the Curtis and Gilbert charts. This map should be read in conjunction with the comprehensive report done by Drs. Handcock, Ramsden, Rankin, Rollmann and Wharram<sup>62</sup>. The map is on the following fold out page and a larger version can be found at Appendix I.

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<sup>56</sup> For example, the French concession to de Courtemanche in 1702 stretched to the River “Kessessakiou” (usually identified as what is now the Churchill River), James K. Hiller, *Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European Perspective*, page 36. The 1749 Concession was actually entitled “Baye des Esquimaux”.

<sup>57</sup> Ludger Muller-Wille, *Assessment of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven’s Map of 1765*, page 1- Doc # 166

<sup>58</sup> Ludger Muller-Wille, *Assessment of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven’s Map of 1765*, page 2

<sup>59</sup> Douglas Warram, *Linguistic analysis of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven Map of 1765 and related Documents – Doc # 165*

<sup>60</sup> *Toponymic and Cartographic Research*, page 24 – Doc # 150

<sup>61</sup> *Toponymic and Cartographic Research*, page 45

<sup>62</sup> *Toponymic and Cartographic Research*



Dr. Rollmann<sup>63</sup> confirms that the toponyms on the 1765 Haven map are fully representative of and comparable to other Inuit place name systems.

They are rooted in Inuit “*land use, occupancy and territoriality*”. Reflecting local geographical and environmental knowledge and a coherent territory for living and subsistence, the place names identify “physical conditions and locations, resources and possibilities for human occupancy” including those pertaining to culture and religion.

Dr. Rollmann states<sup>64</sup> that the principal area of Inuit settlement of Haven’s 1765 informants was Kangertlorsoak (today’s Hamilton Inlet), with three settlement clusters at the entrance, together with areas represented by Sandwich Bay (Aviktome) and an island group to the south (Kikertet).

The toponyms on the Haven map have been the subject of detailed analysis by Dr. Douglas Wharram<sup>65</sup>. As well, Dr. Ludger Muller-Wille<sup>66</sup> opines that the place naming occurred with a strong utility in mind, focusing on the location, orientation and identification of resources, as well as an assessment of the physical topography for the placement of settlements and travel routes on land, sea and ice. Dr. Muller-Wille asserts that; “*The maps by Jens Haven (Herrnhut Archive No. 1784, 1785, and 1786; cf. Lysaght 1971:185, reproduction of Map No. 1784) seem to represent the earliest detailed record of Inuit toponyms in northern Canada of a contiguously used territory along the Central Labrador coast (for exact location see report by Gordon Handcock 2007).*”

The range of area covered by Inuit toponyms, as recorded, stretches from Quirpon and Sacred Bay in Newfoundland, all the way up the coast past and into Hamilton Inlet<sup>67</sup>. The 1872 and 1873 maps<sup>68</sup> show that these usages remained extant through that time period. The names include both regional areas and specific place names. Taken together, it demonstrates a sophisticated cohesive spatial utilization system, through which the Inuit identified themselves as the people of and from that place.

The island of Newfoundland was named 'Ikkarumiklua', from the questions posed by Moravians in 1765. This, according to Dr. Charles Martijn, means '*place of enormous shoals*'<sup>69</sup>. We learn from the Richardson Journal some six years later, that Inuit have yet another name to describe the island of Newfoundland. From very recent work conducted by Mr. Paul Piggot on a newly acquired word list in the Richardson Journal of 1771, it is interesting to note that the island of Newfoundland was given the name '*Callanosilik*'<sup>70</sup>. There seems to be some significance to the meaning of this word to Inuit, since it means '*in the process of having white people*'. The Inuktitut linguist Piggot passes along this suggestion, “*As a result, I translate Kallunasillik as ‘in the process of having White-people’. It’s a pretty interesting geo-political statement that*

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<sup>63</sup> Hans Rollmann, Research Reports on the 1765 Map of Jens Haven and Related Sources, page 24

<sup>64</sup> Hans Rollmann, Research Reports on the 1765 Map of Jens Haven and Related Sources, page 25

<sup>65</sup> Douglas Wharram, Linguistic analysis of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven Map of 1765 and related Documents

<sup>66</sup> Ludger Muller-Wille, Assessment of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven’s Map of 1765, page 3

<sup>67</sup> See “Historic Inuktitut Nomenclature” map, Figure # 2

<sup>68</sup> Rollman report, documents C-17 and C-18

<sup>69</sup> Eighteenth-Century..Inuit Toponyms., Martijn, 2001, page 325

<sup>70</sup> Linguistic Analysis of the Richardson Word List, page 24 – Doc # 205

*suggests Inuit knowledge of Newfoundland prior to contact and of the European colonization happening at the time of Richardson's visit".*

## **Inuit Tribal Names**

Hawkes (1916) reports two main Inuit tribal names in southern Labrador, "Netcetemuit" and "Putlavamuit".<sup>71</sup> Curtis describes the southernmost tribe of Inuit when "*Leaving the Straights of Belle Isle...*" as the Ogbuchtoko in the text of his document<sup>72</sup>. However, it is interesting to note that the map accompanying the Curtis document lists the Sandwich Bay area as 'Netshucktoke' which aligns quite well with Hawkes description of the people from there as the 'Netsetemuit', one hundred and forty two years later.

Dr. Wharram<sup>73</sup> advises that Netcetemuit can be translated as "people from the place abounding in jar (ringed) seals". It was a descriptor for the people in the Sandwich Bay area. This is quite understandable since the inner reaches of Sandwich Bay contains three polynya (open water areas) and abounds in several species of seals.<sup>74</sup> Further research into the German Hopedale Diaries accurately describe 'Netsektok' which is sometimes called 'Nietsektok'<sup>75</sup>. Numerous references to Netsektok are given from the diaries during the period of 1772 to 1850 (the end of the period investigated). This well used place name fits very well the people description (Netcetemuit) given by Wharram.

Dr. Wharram also considered the word Putlavamuit<sup>76</sup>, is associated with the Battle Harbour area. The word literally means "people from the big trap(s)". Dr. Wharram was unable to determine whether this might be a reference to a land-based stone trap system, as is used for hunting caribou, or to a marine rocky area (like Trap Cove). He surmises that this may mean a "*particularly treacherous chunk of water*". This last interpretation falls perfectly in line with the place name for the Strait of Belle Isle as recorded by Richardson in 1771. The name Caractucchuac (Belle Isle), according to Inuit linguist Paul Piggot, means "*really wavy place that's huge*".<sup>77</sup> The Strait of Belle Isle is very well known for its increased tidal actions (sometimes up to two knots) which tend to increase the frequency and height of ocean waves when the tidal stream is running against the wind direction, making this area particularly treacherous.<sup>78</sup> Thus, we have both a place description in Inuktitut (treacherous water place), with a corroborating description of the people, the 'Putlavamuit' (people of the treacherous water place).

The map contained in "Toponymic and Cartographic Research" at page 105 places some of these tribal names in location. Of interest, and possible confusion, are the four locations translated in English as "Whaling place".

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<sup>71</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 73

<sup>72</sup> Curtis, 1774, Transactions of the Royal Philosophical Society, pg 372 - 388 and accompanying map

<sup>73</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 98

<sup>74</sup> Clarence Morris, Sandwich Bay elder, Personal communications.,

<sup>75</sup> Inuit Mobility to and From the South in the Hopedale Moravian Diaries, page 1 – Doc # 200

<sup>76</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 99

<sup>77</sup> Linguistic Analysis of Richardson Word List, 2010, page 24 – Doc # 205

<sup>78</sup> Sailing Directions for Newfoundland and Labrador

## Seasonal Land Use Patterns

Thule villages usually consisted of three to five families together<sup>79</sup>. This allowed them to have maximum access to all seasonally available resources. A pattern of seasonal transhumance was followed, providing each family grouping with a resource utilization area that constituted the regular use of a definite tract of land.

For example, the Snack Cove One site shows a summer occupation in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Snack Cove Three site shows a fall occupation between 1625 and 1700, including the construction of a quarmat, made of wood. The Thule exploited every possible coastal and inland ecological niche. This included headlands, islands, bays, rivers and reachable land areas.

Edwin Bezzina<sup>80</sup> tells that there were Inuit in the Strait of Belle Isle during the voyage of Jacques Cartier in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Basque whalers had contact with Inuit in the 1540s. There was an Inuit presence in southern Labrador well before the 1700s. Inuit artifacts were found on the Quebec north shore from the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>81</sup>. There was a burial site on Spotted Island, together with a permanent settlement in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. By the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, there was a permanent Inuit population on the lower north shore of Quebec<sup>82</sup>.

The Tourism, Culture and Recreation website<sup>83</sup> of the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador confirms that there are numerous archaeology sites in southern Labrador.

Thule Inuit had a range of land use which included all of coastal Labrador and inland areas accessed by river systems. Frank Speck<sup>84</sup> confirms that there had always been caribou hunting in interior areas and a continual residence inland from Hamilton Inlet and Lake Melville. At page 320, Speck describes the annual life cycles of the Inland Thule.

At page 321, Frank Speck tells us that there was even more extensive inland use south of Lake Melville, including Inuit in the Strait of Belle Island, until at least the 1760's. Although both the French and the British tried to push the Inuit out of the Strait of Belle Isle, there were still several hundred Inuit at Chateau Bay in 1765 who were identified as the "Pallavamiut". That cultural descriptor is still being used during Frank Speck's time in the 1930's (although spelled "Patlava'miut") to self-describe the Inuit descendant people of the Battle Harbour area.

Dr. Hancock<sup>85</sup> reports that one may confidently assert Inuit occupation as far as St. Paul's River in 1632 and that there was wide acceptance of this fact.

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<sup>79</sup> Brewster Thesis, page 108. – Doc # 146

<sup>80</sup> Edwin Bezzina, The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland – Doc # 212

<sup>81</sup> Edwin Bezzina, The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland, page 19

<sup>82</sup> Edwin Bezzina, The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland, page 24

<sup>83</sup> [www.tcr.gov.nl.ca/tcr/pao/Arch](http://www.tcr.gov.nl.ca/tcr/pao/Arch)

<sup>84</sup> Frank Speck, Inland Eskimo Bands of Labrador, page 317 – Doc # 129

<sup>85</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, page 53 – Doc #

Speck confirms the practice of family hunting territories<sup>86</sup>, an aspect of Inuit communal law practice which continues through to this day.

Natalie Brewster<sup>87</sup> tells us that Thule exploited every possible coastal ecological niche available. They occupied their territory in a seasonal round which permitted maximum access to all seasonally available resources.

From mid August to mid October, the communities divided. Some hunted caribou while some fished or harvested berries, seals or salmon. There were communal caribou drives. People lived in a conical tent laid down by rocks. The Inuit in 1765 reported to the Moravians their custom of portaging kayaks across land to enter a large fresh water lake and rivers.

From mid October to mid December, Thule harvested caribou, seal, birds, hare, porcupine and fur bearing animals. They moved to their winter habitation, living in sod houses in the inner islands. They also often lived in quarmats, a semi-subterranean dwelling with a skin roof, in either fall or winter.

In early winter (mid December through March) they travelled by dog sled. Specialized hunting groups hunted cooperatively for seals, walrus and whales. They also cod-fished through the ice and hunted caribou, ptarmigan, fox, hare and porcupine.

Late winter (March and April) was a time of low productivity. However, they did harvest walrus, seal, rock cod, char, polar bear, mussels and sea grasses.

During the spring, there was a break up of sea ice. They moved to tents on Seaward Islands. They used kayaks to hunt seals, walruses and seabirds, beluga whales, caribou, cod, char, capelin, eider ducks and bird eggs.

In the early summer, they gathered in groups in bay areas or islands with abundant resources. They lived in conical skin tents. They fished char, salmon and cod and hunted seals and beluga whales.

Harvest of these multiple species is evident in the responses to questions given by the Inuit in 1765<sup>88</sup>. The Inuit representatives describe harvest in both marine and fresh water areas. They refer to harvest of whales, seals, cod etc on the sea, to salmon in the rivers and to deer, foxes, bears, wolves and other animals on the land. This transhumance form of land use pattern continues today, as can be seen by the charts prepared for the PetroCanada study performed in 1977<sup>89</sup>. Inuit informants in 1721 and 1732 informed an anonymous author and R. F. Francois, respectively, that they trapped and ate primarily caribou and seals but also polar bears, black bears, foxes, otter, marten, trout and many fishes.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Speck, *Essays in Anthropology*, June 1936, page 320

<sup>87</sup> Natalie Brewster Thesis, page 22 – Doc # 146

<sup>88</sup> Jeff Webb, “Answers to the Supplementary Questions” – Doc # 132

<sup>89</sup> Initial Social and Economic Evaluation of the Labrador Coast, Labrador Institute of Northern Studies, 1980

<sup>90</sup> R. F. Francois and Anonymous, *Memoire Sur Les Esquimaux*, LAC, Serie C11A, Vol 122 'a Vol 125, 1 - 500

Thule integrated European materials, to a limited extent, into their familiar cultural usages. For example, ceramics and iron objects were adapted to suit Inuit needs. The iron was modified to a typical Inuit shape and used to perform activities typical of Inuit.<sup>91</sup>

## Contact-Period Inuit Social Structure

The Labrador Inuit lived within a complex hunter-gatherer society.<sup>92</sup> They employed an economic strategy of logistical mobility that encouraged a delayed return economic system, food storage, sedentism and a measure of economic specialization and leadership in task groups. Labrador Inuit spirituality was animistic. Inuit believed that the diverse elements of the natural world were alive, possessing *inua*, the equivalent of human-like souls<sup>93</sup>. This explains, for example, why the Inuit in 1765 reacted to the written document “speaking” in the way that they did.

Individual Inuit diverted surplus production, time and labour to build social personae and to realize strategic and social and political ends, as well as to build social cohesion within groups. A variety of leadership roles overlapped in particular individuals, facilitated by kinship, complex marital alliances and household organization, controls over corporate household resources and transportation infrastructure, hunting skills and attributed spiritual skills.

Labrador Inuit society and polity was egalitarian and acephalous.<sup>94</sup> There were two generally accepted leadership positions, the *angajurqaaq* (secular headman) and the *angakuk* (shaman). Although some academics suggest that this social structure was limiting, other incidents, such as Jolliet’s meeting with the Inuit chief Quignac and his ten men in 1743, the Labrador Treaty negotiations in 1765, the 1770 meeting between missionaries and the proud shaman Serlek<sup>95</sup>, suggest that authority positions within Inuit society might have been more varied, and personality or situation-specific, than might have once been thought.

The economic success of the Labrador Inuit provided more opportunities for individuals to exercise leadership roles in cooperative hunting practices, feasts and performances, and in mediated relations with non-Inuit neighbours, activities that may clothe motivated self-interest with those of the community at large.

Thule villages traditionally comprised three to five families living in an area.<sup>96</sup> Although not sedentary populations, they maintained a permanent presence. Occupation of southern Labrador by Inuit during the early contact phase represented typical Inuit land use patterns.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Brewster Thesis, page 87 and 100 -101.

<sup>92</sup> An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change, James M. Woollett, 2003, page 641 et seq. – Doc # 130

<sup>93</sup> John C. Kennedy, Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit, page 23 – in Doc # 213

<sup>94</sup> John C. Kennedy, Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit, page 22

<sup>95</sup> John C. Kennedy, Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit, page 23

<sup>96</sup> Natalie Brewster, page 109

<sup>97</sup> Natalie Brewster, page 110

## Inuit Trade

Engaging in trade was an integral aspect of Inuit culture at the date of contact, and has remained so ever since. In pre-contact times, this involved a network of Inuit trading relationships up and down the coast and onto the island of Newfoundland. Through contact with the Norse, the Thule became familiar with certain aspects of European material culture, particularly the use of metals<sup>98</sup>. Engaging in trade with Europeans was a natural evolution of an existing Inuit cultural practice.

Inuit traditionally engaged in trade among themselves in a number of materials, including wood found on the island of Newfoundland and chert found in northern Labrador.

Although there was an early interest from Inuit in European material goods, these items were often altered to maintain an Inuit lifestyle and indicated Inuit subsistence patterns. As Natalie Brewster's thesis shows<sup>99</sup>, European metals and ceramics were shaped into or used for traditional Inuit material culture usages. For example, the Snack Cove site found iron nail tips altered to make Inuit-styled end blades.

This demonstrates that the first centuries of 'contact' with Europeans, much of which was either indirect or hostile, did not involve a flow of ideas, beliefs or information to the Inuit from Europeans<sup>100</sup>. Inuit cultural uses were continuing, using improved technology from European material goods.

Edwin Bezzina confirms this finding<sup>101</sup>. Whatever limited trade had occurred prior to 1765 had been conducted in a variety of circumstances, much of it under a mutual cloud of mistrust and suspicion. Under such circumstances, little acculturation can transpire.

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<sup>98</sup> Natalie Brewster, page 32

<sup>99</sup> Natalie Brewster, pages 86-87, 101, 116 -118

<sup>100</sup> Natalie Brewster, pages 112 - 115

<sup>101</sup> Edwin Bezzina, The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland, page 25 – Doc # 212

# **CHAPTER TWO**

## **THE LABRADOR TREATY OF 1765**

### **SUMMARY**

In August, 1765, Sir Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland, entered into a Treaty with the Inuit of south and central Labrador. Hundreds of Inuit gathered at Chateau Bay to meet with the Governor, responding to a request sent by the British the year before through a Moravian missionary. These Inuit met with Governor Palliser, assisted by Moravian translators, in Treaty Conference over a number of days.

The Treaty that was concluded brought the Inuit into a “peace and friendship” relationship with the British, protecting the British interests against interference from France or the American colonials. The British promised the Inuit that they would have the protection of the British Crown and would have Treaty rights, including those of self-government, harvest of wildlife and natural resources and a commercial right of trade.

The Labrador Inuit Treaty of 1765 was formally reported by the Lords of Trade to the Privy Council of the Britain in May 1769. The Treaty is now protected by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982. The member communities of NunatuKavut are the current holders and beneficiaries of this Treaty Right.

### **Background to The Treaty**

Fierce competition between Inuit and Europeans for the abundant whale, seal and fish resources of south and central Labrador can be traced back into the mid-1500’s. The presence of Basque whalers in the area in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century drew angry and aggressive resistance from the Inuit. After initial skirmishes, the Inuit attacks became so pervasive that in the period from 1575 through 1618, Basque whaling efforts became increasingly more difficult. The Inuit intent to protect their land and resources was undeniably clear.

Inuit were in constant conflict with the French in the Straits of Belle Isle from as early as 1610. St. Malo fishermen requested in that year the right to arm themselves to protect against Inuit attacks. Similarly, the Northern Company (Dutch) encountered hostilities with Inuit in the Straits area in 1616. Inuit attacked the Basque in the Straits in 1625 and Samuel Champlain refers to the continuation of this conflict in 1632. In 1635, a tax was levied against the St. Malo vessels to protect them against Inuit attacks, a tax system which continued until the 1670's.

Significant Inuit populations lived all year round on the Quebec North Shore and in the Strait of Belle Isle area throughout the 1600’s. In 1652, Father Ragueneau reported Inuit residents on the Quebec North Shore. The Inuit were described by the Jesuit Jacques Fremin in 1659 as “the

people living at the extreme northeast of New France at 52 degrees latitude, 330 degrees longitude” (the Chateau Bay/Cape Charles area), living on caribou, otters, seals and cod.

By the early 1700’s, France had acquired international recognition of its claims to the area. Southern Labrador was of interest to France for its proximity to the magnificent fishing grounds off the coast. Central Labrador was itself of little interest to France. By 1763, there was still no French presence north of Cape Charles, on what the French described as the “Cote des Esquimeaux”.

The French explorer Fornel encountered many Inuit from Cape Charles to Hamilton Inlet in 1743. One of the Inuit groups was estimated to number approximately 100. Many were extended family groupings. Fornel described the Inuit as being widespread along the length of the Strait of Belle Isle.

During the decades preceding the 1760’s, the relationship between the French and the Inuit continued to be one of animosity and avoidance, combined with occasional (direct or indirect) trade and considerable conflict. The French living along the coast of what is now Quebec were insistent on seeking military protection from France. Due to the construction of forts and various military attacks, the Inuit had, by the 1730’s, retreated to a large extent to the Atlantic coast of Labrador. However, resistance to those French efforts continued, including the burning by Inuit of the French post at Cape Charles in 1741. By 1757, the French post at Chateau Bay had been abandoned altogether as a result of continued Inuit aggression.

Britain and France were themselves in conflict much of the early 1700’s, ending in the late 1750’s with the fall of New France and the claim by Britain to sovereignty as a matter of international law over territories that included Labrador. This was formalized between France and Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris (1763).

Labrador was assigned by Great Britain through the Royal Proclamation in October 1763 to be governed with Newfoundland, although it remained a jurisdiction separate from Newfoundland. Newfoundland was itself a mere fishing station administered by a Governor, with no House of Assembly. Sir Hugh Palliser was appointed as Governor of both Labrador and Newfoundland.

The Labrador coastal area, particularly the Strait of Belle Isle, was of immeasurable value to the British as a fishing area. The British had no interest in the area for settlement purposes. However, the history of the relationship between the Inuit and the Europeans in that area had long been marked by hostilities and bloodshed, presenting an impediment to resource procurement and trade for the British. Certainly, Inuit still inhabited the whole area on an ongoing basis. Governor Murray of Quebec, for example, described Inuit with their whole families fishing in the Straits area in 1762.

The historic record is replete with evidence of much hostility between the European and Inuit populations. Other than limited accords found between family or small groups (such as the Inuit family living with Basque traders), the evidence is that, from at least the murder of the Inuit chief by a French ship from St. Malo in 1588<sup>102</sup>, contacts between Inuit and any European had the

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<sup>102</sup> Edwin Bezzina, *The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland*, page 26 – Doc # 212

potential for violence. This led to the construction of forts by the French, petitions to the European powers for protection for merchants and fishers and armed vessels cruising the coast<sup>103</sup>.

St. Malo fishermen requested in 1610 the right to arm themselves to protect against Inuit attacks. Similarly, the Northern Company (Dutch) encountered hostilities with Inuit in the Straits area in 1616. Inuit attacked the Basque in the Straits in 1625 and Samuel Champlain refers to the continuation of this conflict in 1632. In 1635, a tax was levied against the St. Malo vessels to protect them against Inuit attacks, a tax system which continued until the 1670's.

In 1741, the post at Cape Charles fired at the Inuit occupying the area. In retaliation, the Inuit returned and burned down the post.<sup>104</sup> By 1757, the French post at Chateau Bay had been abandoned altogether as a result of continued Inuit aggression.

In response to these European incursions, the Inuit might, depending on the circumstances, either hide, attack or engage in trade<sup>105</sup>. When hostilities escalated, the Inuit had the advantage of familiarity with the vast Labrador hinterland, to which they could retreat when necessity demanded<sup>106</sup>. In the result, no significant non-material Inuit cultural changes occurred prior to at least 1765, and in many south/central Labrador areas much later.

By the time of the Treaty event in 1765, Inuit were more aware of the value and usage of European material goods but violence by Europeans against Inuit remained common<sup>107</sup>. Peace and trade were core elements in the Treaty negotiations. By that stage, Inuit were using some European technologies in the same manner as the Europeans were, sailing shallops, for example. This does not mean that they had ceased to be Inuit; material cultural absorption was seen across Canada with every Aboriginal culture.

Although it helped<sup>108</sup>, the Inuit Treaty did not cease European/Inuit hostilities altogether. British fishermen encounters with Inuit were not dissimilar to those of the French. In the period from 1763-1770, the English initiated a similar program of seeking expulsion of the Inuit from the Strait of Belle Isle.<sup>109</sup> Despite this, British/Inuit encounters were not uncommon in that area. On August 14, 1765, Captain Hamilton received a letter outlining complaints from the Inuit of English fishermen stealing from them. Palliser's writings from this time provide grisly details of atrocities committed on Inuit men, women and children by English, French and Americans<sup>110</sup>.

In a letter to the Board of Trade and Plantations dated March 1766, Sir Hugh Palliser described some of these conflicts in Labrador by overwintering Newfoundlanders and traders from the Boston States:

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<sup>103</sup> Natalie Brewster, pages 32 – 37; Fornel diary of 1743; Edwin Bezzina, *The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland*, pages 22 - 25

<sup>104</sup> Edwin Bezzina, *The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland*, page 27

<sup>105</sup> James K. Hiller, *Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European perspective*, page 38 – In Doc # 213

<sup>106</sup> Edwin Bezzina, *The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland*, page 10

<sup>107</sup> *Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven diary*, August 1764

<sup>108</sup> James K. Hiller, *Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European Perspective*, page 45 – 46.

<sup>109</sup> Stopp and Rutherford, *Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey*, page 12 – Doc # 136

<sup>110</sup> CO 194/16 Reel B-212

*“In 1763, a brig named the Decoy, William Knight Master, belonging to New York, ...went to the coast of Labrador and met with a large tribe of [Esquimeaux]. After three days of traffic with them, they contrived to haul their ship close to shore where these poor creatures were encamped, who intending no harm...stumbled together to look at the ship, and several of them mixed with the English on board of her. [When] an appointed signal being given, they made a general discharge of guns, swivels and small arms amongst the [Esquimeaux], and of those on board, they stabbed and killed about eleven of them and took seven alive and put to sea. [Afterwards] reflecting on what they had done, and dreading a discovery, they made the seven who they had alive jump overboard with weights about them... .*

Another time, *"a winter's crew caught a woman. [After] quarrelling and fighting about who should have her for their brutish purposes, they agreed to cut her into four quarters, and they did so."*

Palliser was appalled at these atrocities and in the same letter he writes, *"They are not worthy of that name (British subjects), they are a disgrace to Human Nature, they are a scandal to the country to which they belong."* In an effort to resolve these conflicts ‘and conciliate the affections of the savages’ Palliser implemented regulations demanding that British subjects treat the “Esquimeaux” fairly in trade, to be kind to them and to not quarrel with them or supply them with strong liquor.

None of this directed violence was sufficient to keep the Inuit from their own territory. Jens Haven recorded that in 1765 a large Inuit group comprising 100 kayaks, four boats, three umiaks and fifteen tents had crossed the Straits to Newfoundland to obtain wood for their darts. The continued presence of Inuit in southern Labrador is further substantiated by Governor Palliser’s concerted efforts to remedy British/Inuit relations, which he initiated during the 1765 Moravian expedition.<sup>111</sup> The ability of the Inuit population to conceal themselves from European visitors for safety was experienced first-hand by Jens Haven on February 2, 1764, who saw Inuit on the shore, had them all disappear when he landed, only to re-appear as soon as he left shore.<sup>112</sup> Haven himself narrowly prevented a massacre of Inuit by British at Quirpon in 1764.

If Britain was to have peace in the area, something clearly needed to be done to create a positive relationship with the Inuit. The Labrador area continued to be of intense interest for both France and the American colonies. Britain’s hold on the territory, and its vast economic potential, as against its European competitors was not secure. The country with the alliance with the Inuit would be the one with the ability to hold the territory against other non-Aboriginal claimants. Similarly, no European nation would be able to have reliable access to the territory without a peaceful relationship with the Inuit.

In the following years, the British encouraged trade activities for the large Inuit population around Charles Bay to be centralized at what came to be called Truck Island. This is the same

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<sup>111</sup> Stopp and Rutherford, Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey, page 12- Doc # 136

<sup>112</sup> Memoir of the Life of Br. Jens Haven diary, February 2, 1764

Inuit group (some 400 to 500 men, women and children) which trades with Cartwright at Cape Charles six years later.<sup>113</sup> English vessels in the area routinely note the presence of Inuit.<sup>114</sup>

Similarly, in 1769, HMS Otter met peaceably with some 200 men, women and children at Henley Harbour<sup>115</sup> However, by 1772, the same vessel reports that she “fired a 6 pound shot at an (Inuit) shallop passing the Harbour”. In 1795, HM Sloop reports that she took on several families of Inuit at Temple Bay<sup>116</sup> and by 1823, British vessels were relying on Inuit pilots to see them safely up and down the coast<sup>117</sup>

## **The Inuit Treaty of 1765**

One of the central devices used by the English to seek peace and trade with Aboriginal peoples in North America was to enter into Treaty with them. This had been done with considerable success in Nova Scotia in 1760-61. The Lords of Trade were determined to try this same approach with the Inuit of Labrador.

In August, 1765, after a year of preparatory meetings, Sir Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland, entered into a Treaty with the Inuit of south and central Labrador. Hundreds of Inuit gathered at Chateau Bay to meet with the Governor, responding to a request sent by the British the year before through a Moravian missionary. These Inuit met with Governor Palliser, assisted by Moravian translators, in Treaty Conference over a number of days.

The Treaty that was concluded brought the Inuit into a “peace and friendship” relationship with the British, protecting the British interests against interference from France or the American colonials. The British promised the Inuit that they would have the protection of the British Crown and would have Treaty rights, including those of self-government, harvest of wildlife and natural resources and a commercial right of trade.

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### **GOVERNOR PALLISER**

Sir Hugh Palliser was the ranking sea officer and the civil governor of Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador. He had the right to accept surrender and peace terms and he had the authority to administer the territory that fell within his jurisdiction.

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<sup>113</sup> Stopp and Rutherford, Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey, page 13 \_ Doc # 136

<sup>114</sup> Examples include: HMS Grenville, 1772, Edward Tompkins, Review of British Admiralty Records, ADM 51/4206; HMS Guernsey, 1765, ADM 51/4210 and ADM 52/1266; HMS Otter, 1772, ADM 52/1387; HM Sloop Nautilus 1769, ADM 346/14/33; HM Sloop Pluto, 1797, ADM L/P 144.

<sup>115</sup> Edward Tompkins, Review of British Admiralty Records, ADM 51/663 – Doc # 204

<sup>116</sup> Edward Tompkins, Review of British Admiralty Records, ADM 51/1213

<sup>117</sup> Edward Tompkins, Review of British Admiralty Records, ADM 51/3356



**Governor Hugh Palliser**

In 1763, Britain began to re-organize its North American territories and, as part of that process, placed the “coast of Labrador” under the government of Newfoundland<sup>118</sup>. Britain wished to ensure that English fishermen were given every opportunity to participate in the northern fishery, and were not shut out by the French or kept away by fear of the Inuit. The new British Labrador policy was put into operation through the Instructions to Governor Palliser on his appointment in 1764.

Article 13 of Palliser’s Instructions of 10<sup>th</sup> April 1764 instructed him to report to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations whether fortifications or

other establishments should be erected to protect the fishery or to carry on trade with “Indians residing in or resorting to the said Islands or inhabiting the Coast of Labrador.”

Article 14 instructed Palliser to prohibit people from other countries from trading with the Eskimo and “*to use your best endeavours to conciliate their Affections, and to induce them to Trade with our Subjects, reporting to Us, by our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the best Account you can Obtain of the Number of the said Indians, the places they frequent, the nature and extent of the Commerce that is or may be carried on with them, and how the same may, in Your Opinion, be further extended and improved.*”

Palliser’s legal authority came from both these instructions and from his Commission. As Commander of the Convoy and as Governor, he had the right and the duty to ensure British law was enforced and policy implemented. He remained a career officer during his time in Newfoundland, being awarded for his successes by a promotion to Admiral.

## **Events Leading up to the Treaty**

Governor Palliser had been instructed to make peace with the Inuit and bring them under the protection of the British Crown. On July 1, 1764, Governor Palliser issued a Proclamation to the residents of the Island of Newfoundland that they were to cause no harm to the Inuit and advising that he was seeking to induce them to enter into Treaty with Britain. He then engaged the help of the German Moravian sect who were fluent in the Inuktitut language, learned in Greenland, and who desired to establish settlements amongst the Inuit and convert them to Christianity. By letter of September, 1764, Palliser advised his superiors in London of his intention to rely upon the services of the Moravians for the purpose of seeking a Treaty with the Inuit.

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<sup>118</sup> James K. Hiller, Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European Perspective, page 42. – In Doc # 213

One of the Moravian brethren, Jens Haven, travelled to northern Newfoundland and Chateau Bay in Labrador in 1764. During his time on the Labrador coast he was in constant conflict with the British fishermen who were accompanying him, who were shooting at Inuit before Haven could speak to them. He also spent some time in an effort to avert a conspiracy for these sailors to return to Labrador and kill Inuit. Conflicts notwithstanding, on that voyage, he met with Inuit at Quirpon (“Ikeraitsak”), Newfoundland, a traditional gathering place for Inuit who used the wood from the island (“Ikeramiklua”) for their darts. During that meeting, after he was able to calm the initial fright of the Inuit, Haven explained to them in Inuktitut that Governor Palliser, on behalf of the British King, wished to enter into peace and friendship with their Nation.

The Inuit had come to Ikeraitsak to meet the French captain and trader Galliot, and were surprised when Haven spoke to them in their own language. They responded to Haven in broken French. Haven told them he wanted to speak in their language, and proceeded to change into his Greenland Inuit clothing.

Haven conversed with them and exchanged presents. Haven offered to trade, but the Inuit had nothing to exchange. Haven took aside six of the Inuit and read to them a letter given to him by Governor Palliser that expressed “the good intent of the Government towards them and wished they would be partakers of such great Benefits.” Haven offered them the written document but they were afraid to take it because they thought it was alive.

On September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1764, more Inuit gathered and expressed a desire to show Haven to their families. They asked if it were true that he would return next year. Haven said he would, but that he feared they would kill him as they had done to the Moravian brethren at Nisbet Harbour years earlier. The Inuit promised to do Haven no harm.

Haven returned to St John’s on 27<sup>th</sup> September and reported to Governor Palliser on the productive nature of the encounter. The Moravians were encouraged on the prospects of establishing a trading mission in south/central Labrador. The British were similarly encouraged about the prospect of entering into Treaty with the Inuit. Each began to plan for the Treaty Conference for the following year.

## **Preparations for the Treaty Conference**

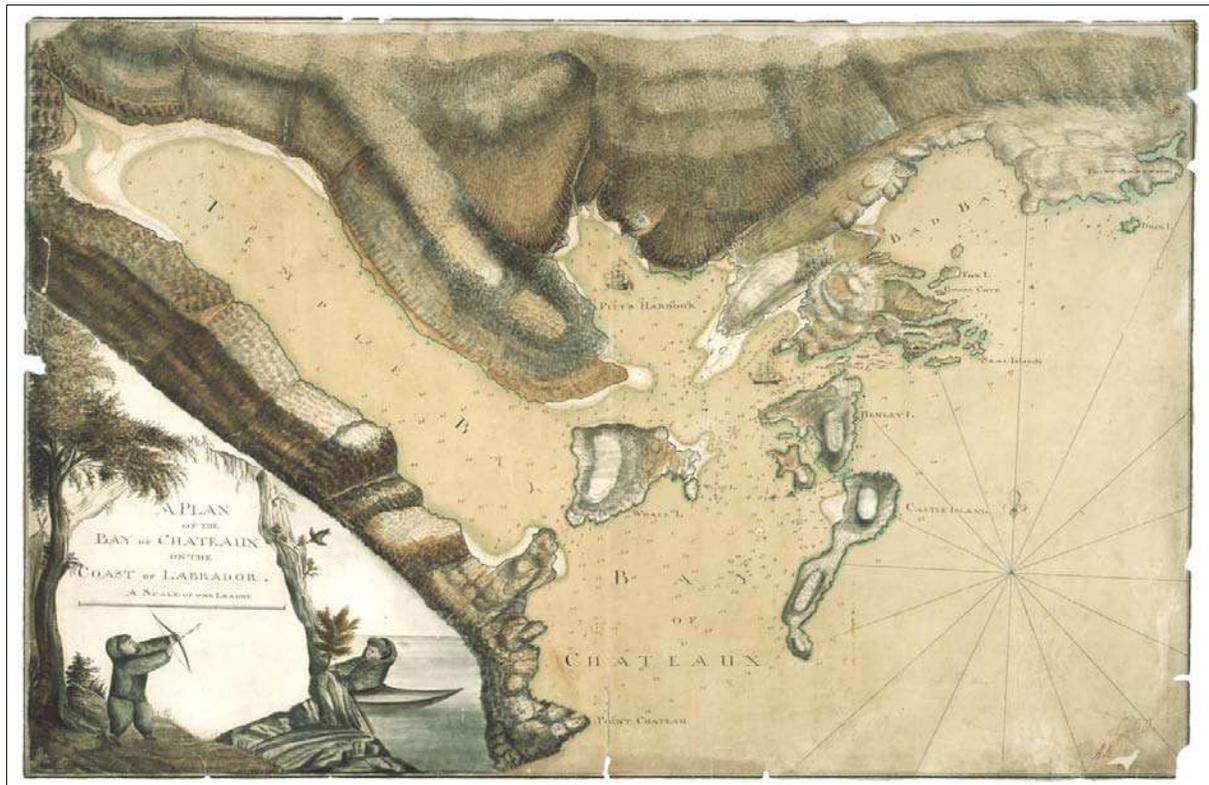
In May of 1765, four Moravian brethren, Jens Haven, Christen Larsen Drachardt, Andreas Scholoezer and John Hill, left Spithead in England, bound for Newfoundland. They arrived in Croque Harbour in June. They then boarded the frigate Niger on July 16<sup>th</sup> and arrived at Pitt’s Harbour, Chateau Bay, the following day.

The original intention of the Moravians had been to explore the coast together to find a suitable settlement site. However, Governor Palliser gave orders that only two of the missionaries, one who was able to communicate in Inuktitut and the other in English, were to accompany the schooner Hope up the coast. Despite Moravian protests, the British intent prevailed and it was

decided that Haven and Schloezer would travel in the Hope and examine the coast, while Drachardt and Hill would remain in Chateau Bay.

Haven and Schloezer embarked in the schooner Hope and went as far north as Davis Inlet. They did not encounter a single Inuit, or any evidence of Inuit occupation, in the Davis Inlet area, despite a six week effort.

Governor Palliser sent the remaining two Moravian brothers to Southern Labrador aboard the Brig Niger, with Sir Thomas Adams in command and a crew of 220 sailors. They arrived at Chateaux Bay and anchored in Pitt's Arm on July 17<sup>th</sup>. On August 8<sup>th</sup>, Governor Palliser's flagship brig, the Guernsey, joined them at Pitt's Arm, flying colors, with a crew of 350 men.



**Figure 3** Plan of Chateaux Bay showing Treaty Conference.  
The prominent Ships are HMS Guersney and HMS Niger

This was an impressive array of military force in Chateau Bay. Two warships, with 570 men, demonstrated the respect that the British had for Inuit military capacity. It also portrays how seriously the British took this opportunity, sending the military Governor of the colony and such important vessels to give the proper sense of “pomp and ceremony” to the occasion. From the date of the arrival of the Niger, the British spent over a month in the effort.

The Inuit had themselves spent the time between the September 1764 meeting with Jens Haven and the July 1765 arrival of the British getting ready for this event. Although it was usual for

many Inuit to be in the area each summer, this time there were more than 300 Inuit present and, instead of being aggressive and defensive, they were ready to negotiate.

This process tells us a number of things about Inuit social structure of the time:

- Inuit society was a relatively “flat” social structure, without standing or pre-designated officials;
- Inuit were sufficiently organized as a society to be able to receive the invitation to attend this event in 1764, spread it by word of mouth in their district, gather internally to decide what to do about it, and to show up in great numbers at the same place and time the following year with a single generalized (and peaceful) intent;
- Inuit saw themselves as organized by district;
- Inuit in south and central Labrador saw themselves as a single collectivity, with shared interests, language and goals;
- Inuit in south and central Labrador saw themselves as distinct from a collectivity of Inuit who inhabited northern Labrador and northwards into Greenland;
- Inuit lacked a tradition of using delegates nominated at assemblies held ahead of time to act as formal ambassadors;
- Inuit do not appear to have had a pre-existing treaty-making tradition, protocol or ceremonial;
- Prior to this event, the Inuit had sought to deal with relationships with ‘others’ through a combination of aggression and avoidance. This had been a successful strategy for hundreds of years but was not working anymore because Europeans were coming to the area more often, were sometimes staying year-round and had superior technology in warfare. The Inuit had decided that some other new strategy should be attempted to interact with Europeans;
- The treaty conference lasted over a number of days. The Inuit would have been gathering by themselves in between sessions with the British to talk through, incrementally, how to handle what the British were saying and doing;
- The Inuit present at the Treaty conference included individuals with high prestige and leadership skills and experience but decisions would have been arrived at through consensus;
- Inuit society was non-authoritarian, independent-minded but consensus-oriented.

- Spokesmen were selected from the internal Inuit gatherings to meet with and respond to the British. They would then report back to the next Inuit gathering held that day or shortly thereafter on what had transpired and what to do next;
- The Inuit did not have a tradition of writing or experience with the writing by Europeans. The Inuit shamanistic belief led them to see the ability of the piece of paper to make a man “says what it says” as being the equivalent of a spirit taking possession of a shaman and speaking through him. This led them to be nervous of written documents;
- Inuit had become interested in a more steady and predictable access to European trade goods and sought to stabilize that supply;
- At the end of the treaty conference, the Inuit present would have gone back to their resource areas in south and central Labrador and engaged in the process of disseminating the results of the treaty with others, to explain what happened, and to decide what next to do about it.

Palliser's main intent was to have the Moravians serve as his interpreters and communicate for him with the Inuit. He arrived in Chateau Bay on 8 August and used the services of Drachardt as an interpreter.

The Moravian missionaries had their own agenda in these meetings. They wished to establish their credentials with, and usefulness to, Britain so as to be permitted to set up a trading mission in Labrador. At the same time, they did not wish to encounter the same unfortunate result as concluded the first (failed) mission post at Nisbet Harbour in 1752. In turn, Britain wished to find some way to keep the Inuit off the island of Newfoundland.

In conversations with John Hill, Palliser expressed the hope that a Moravian settlement north of Chateau Bay would become a reality and that the Moravians might help in persuading Inuit living in Newfoundland to join their fellow Inuit in Labrador. The location of the settlement, Palliser insisted, would have to be *"between the borders of the Hudson's Company up to 30 leagues from here [Chateau Bay]."* The Governor thought that the location of the first settlement of 1752, Nisbet Harbour, might be suitable.

When Palliser left on September 1<sup>st</sup>, he had hopes for the containment and pacification of the Inuit in Labrador with the help of the Moravians, whose missionary intentions he intended to support wholeheartedly in England.

From the beginning, Moravians intended that the 1765 trip would explore the viability of a settlement and determine the exact location where such could be established near a concentration of Inuit but at a sufficient distance from European activity. This desire of the Moravians was motivated by religious reasons but coincided with Governor Palliser's intent to establish a ship fishery in Labrador and engage in peaceful trading relations with the Inuit at a safe distance from them. In order to determine the exact places of Inuit habitation, the missionaries *"spoke with them about their living places, in order to gain some certainty ..."*

For the Moravians, it was important to establish where these Inuit were from. As a result, upon the return of Haven and Schloezer from their disappointing northern voyage, concentrated efforts were made by the brethren to ascertain the settlement locations of the Inuit. A detailed geographical map, with accompanying demographic data, was carefully obtained.

Details of these events can be found in the German journal, which differs significantly from its English translation in that it is considerably larger in content and reflects without self-censure the thoughts of the missionaries, which were at times quite critical of the English authorities. This procedure of having two versions of the journal, one publicly available and one private, was also the case with Jens Haven's 1764 trip, where he made available a version to Governor Palliser and kept a separate private journal. The Moravians completed an edited version of their larger journal for Governor Palliser and the British authorities, which can be found in the Colonial Office records under the title: "Account of the voyage of the four Missionaries sent by the Unitas Fratrum to the Esquimaux on the Coast of Labrador, and under the protection of his Britannic Majesty. From the month of May to November, 1765."

A shortened version of the diary was printed in A. M. Lysaght, Joseph Banks in Newfoundland Labrador, 1766: His Diary, Manuscripts, and Collections (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 181-221. The English, abbreviated version of the separate diary of Jens Haven and Andreas Schloezer from their northern exploration journey was never published by Lysaght but can be found in the Colonial Office.



**Figure 4**

**Haven Map from the Treaty Conference with Inuit toponyms obtained from informants.**

This geographical map is the result of detailed Moravian inquiries. The history of its data collection can be reconstructed from the German journal, which makes it clear that Drachardt obtained most of the data, with Haven helping him, while Schloezer seems to have been the cartographer behind the map and perhaps also the coastal profiles. John Hill, the native English-speaker, had a supporting role and served as liaison with the governor and the English naval authorities.

On 18 August, Drachardt had gone on shore 11 leagues from Pitt's Harbour, where there were about 300 Inuit, 50 of which he eventually gathered around him to hear him preach. On the following day, he had encountered Inuit before rounding the cape near Charles Bay.

On 21 August, one of the main treaty conference events was held, with Governor Palliser expressing the British benevolence toward the Inuit, promising that the British would not take anything from them except what they desired to trade, offering them the protection of the British King and delivering them the "Articles".

On 23 August, 26 kayaks were met and Drachardt communicated Palliser's request that the Inuit should trade only with the English and not with the French.

On 26 August, Drachardt met with 100 Inuit near Charles Bay and asked them where the Moravians should build their settlement. He was told that they should build it at Kikertak (Kikertet).

On 27 August, he posed a number of questions drawn up by Palliser to the Inuit and obtained the Inuit names for Quirpon, Ikeraitsak, meaning "a small passage," and Newfoundland, Ikeramiklua.

Drachardt obtained at that time names and number of houses, namely 2 houses at Kikertak, 10 houses at Nuneinarmik, 2 houses at Aviktume, and 10 houses at Arbaktok. The English translation of the Journal offers the added information that Nuneingame was the regional Inuit name for Esquimaux Bay and Kikertet the Inuit name for Mille Isles and that the houses were situated "on the Islands of which there are a great number at both places".

Some indication was provided as to the relative distance between the Inuit habitations and Chateau Bay. The German journal states that it took Inuit 20 days to travel, which, however, seems to have been a slow movement south "in short stages," since the journey could be accomplished with good wind and weather in 3 or 4 days. This distance is contained in a conversation of 5 September in response to the question of how long it would take for European ships to sail to the places of Inuit habitation. The answer was "2 or 3 days."

Further information as to the nature of the land where the Inuit reside divulged that it was an area of many barren islands, but with a large harbour on the mainland nearby, where also some trees could be found.

On 5 September, Segullia explained to the missionaries that his house was "in the mouth of a fjord" near a "great island," with three islands situated on one side and 6 on the other.

The most substantive conversation regarding Inuit place names, which also sheds some light on the process of how the information was obtained, seems to have taken place after the return of Haven and Schloezer from their trip north and involved both Drachardt and Haven.

On 12 September, on an island eight miles from Chateau Bay, the Moravians had an opportunity to inquire about the area where Inuit resided. The information they gained led them to identify the fjord in the north with Esquimaux Bay. Here Inuit "went to hunt for reindeer, carried their kayaks across land, and then went again into a large fresh water" (presumably through Flatwater River to Lake Melville via the Backway). The fjord was bounded on the north side by Arbatok, where Sekullia (Segullia) lived.

The missionaries were quite certain that this fjord was the same that the French had already identified and mapped. "They [the Inuit] described for us everything so clearly," the journal notes, "that we seriously believe that it is the fjord that the French call Kessessakiou or Esquimaux-Bay, and [which] lies in ca. 54 degrees Northern Latitude], south of Nisbet Harbour." At the same meeting, they were also told that Nuneiiiguok had 10 houses, with a passage north of it. On 16 September, Haven "received confirmation that the fjord in which they live is the one that lies south of Nisbet Harbour."

Having concluded that Esquimaux Bay was the location with the greatest Inuit demographic concentration in the south, Drachardt inquired on 18 September about its Inuktitut name and the names of the islands in its mouth. The answer was that the Inuit named this fjord Kangertlorsoak and the islands in its mouth Kisseksakut. The latter gave the Moravians renewed "reason to believe beyond any doubt" that the fjord was identical with the location that the French called Kisseksakiou.

On 19 September, when people from three kayaks came on board, Drachardt and Haven showed some of them the map they had. They confirmed for Drachardt what he had been told the previous day. One of them agreed with what Drachardt had noted the day before and supplied additional information about a small island, Attaniak, near the larger one in the mouth of Esquimaux Bay, where there were 10 houses.

At the same time Drachardt obtained yet more names for islands and additional information about subsistence and hunting, that "in the middle of the fjord there is always an opening because of the stream. The whales come up to the inside of the large island, also the cod and the Kassiake [seals]. On the mainland are large and small trees, like in Chateau Bay."

The following day, on 20 September, Haven entered into "a long conversation" with Inuit and "received a clear notion of their land and where their houses are" and recorded yet more "names of the islands and the mainland, where they live."

Drachardt supplemented his own journal on 21 September information about personal names, linguistic differences between Greenlandic and the Inuit language of Labrador as well as a number of "Inuit dwelling places" between 54N and 55N degrees, namely, Kikertak, with 2 houses, Nuneingnamik, with 10 houses, Aviktume, with 2 houses, and Arbaktok with 10 houses.

Demographic data was also obtained by the missionaries. Drachardt was told on 27 August that 300 Inuit had come south to trade and a similar number remained at home. Drachardt expressed the assumption, based on this, that 600 Inuit lived south of Davis Inlet.

When the Moravians handed Palliser their map on 5 October in St. John's, they also discussed Labrador Inuit population figures. They told him "that the Indians [Inuit] south of Davis Inlet were ca. 600 strong, but in the north perhaps even more numerous, who, however, had no good relations with the others [in the south] ..."

Haven estimated that in the area mapped between 54 and 55 degrees, 600 to 1,000 people lived. He computed from the 1765 observations an estimate of 30 - 50 houses in that area.

The statistics for Inuit houses in the German journal, Haven's map commentary and the map are as follows.

C = "Kortzer ercklerung iiber die bey folgende Carte so wohl als die Reisse nach labrador 1765," [Short Explanation about the Enclosed Map as well as the Journey to Labrador 1765], Unity Archives, Hermhut.

G ~ "Journal von der Recognitions-Reise auf der Kiiste von Labrador der 4 Briider John Hill, Jens Haven, ChI. Drachard u. A. Schloezer von London aus bi~ wieder dahin im Jahr 1765." [Journal of the Exploration Journey on the Coast of Labrador of the 4 Brethren John Hill, Jens Haven, Chr. Drachard and A. Schloezer from London and Back Again in the Year 1765], Unity Archives, Hermhut.

The Journal shows the careful process the Moravians followed in obtaining the data. Drachardt's questions about Inuit locations north of Chateau Bay were sometimes asked in connection with the queries that Governor Palliser wanted to have answered by the Inuit. But the description of the conversational narrative shows that sometimes answers were obtained in response to a more direct inquiry, such as the query: "Where do you have your tents, whips, lamps, boxes and other furniture?" Upon which he received the answer: "They are in the north with our houses."

Their inquiry about locations specifically sought information regarding "fjords and passages" and employed the use of maps in identifying and verifying locales.

On 18 September, after Drachardt had obtained the Inuit names for Esquimaux Bay and the islands in its mouth, the Moravians "drew this fjord roughly according to a French chart in order to test whether the Indians [Inuit] understand it." Drachardt, Hill and Sir Thomas took this map to the tents of the Inuit and showed it to the assembled men who in turn verified it with their own mental maps.

According to the German journal, the Inuit "recognized immediately that the fjord is the one where they live. And one of them said: I live here, and another one: I live on this island." Drachardt "noted the names of all the islands" and visited other tents that were 15-30 minutes distant from the ones he had previously visited. The latter was a location where he and Haven had stayed overnight with Sekullia.

Drachardt reminded Sekullia of a conversation that he had with him previously and a map that the Inuit leader had drawn for him on stones:

*When I slept with you, you showed me on these stones that in the mouth of the fjord where you live there is a large island, and on the one side of the same [are] 3, on the other [side] are 6 islands. Look, here I have sketched it, is that correct? He and the men said: Yes, yes, such is our land.*

Drachardt then "asked him to tell him slowly each island, one after the other." The diary notes that Sir Thomas's doctor, who was also present, "repeated for Br. Drachard what he could not hear himself". The result was that he obtained the names of 10 islands, one with 10 houses, another with 6, and others with 4 and 2 each. He also was shown on the map "where the ships have their harbour" as well as "the freshwater in the country, where salmon are; the oil, where they hunt for reindeer on the mainland." Glad about the additional information, the Moravians

later "augmented their map and formulated questions so as to obtain on occasion even more information from them."

Drachardt was initially surprised that he could communicate with the Inuit at all, as were his conversation partners. The journal states that the Inuit "were surprised and glad that Brother Drachardt was able to speak with them, and Br. Drachardt rejoiced all the more about it when he later came to think that they have the same words as the Greenlanders, but as that nation are at least 500 years separated from them, there could have been such a great difference between their language that it might not have been possible for him to express himself clearly."

Despite this communicative success, there were also linguistic difficulties, which surface especially in connection with Palliser's questions that Drachardt was to ask of the Inuit. He expressed some caveats to the governor about his ability to communicate when he told him on 22 August that he was "not perfect" in the language and had only agreed to come along on the trip in a hurry when no other brothers could be found who were "perfect" in the language.

Although Drachardt had carried out active language studies with Hans Egede and used Inuktitut in Greenland for 14 years as his primary language of conversation, he had, by his own admission, now been "in Germany for 14 years and forgotten most of it." He also told the governor that the Greenlanders and Inuit of Labrador, having been separated for 400-500 years, had a considerably different vocabulary and pronunciation.

He had noticed "that the Esquimaux call many things differently than the Greenlanders. Their pronunciation and use of the tongue is entirely different." His strategy in communicating Palliser's wishes and queries had been to use the language in such a way that he could ascertain from the response whether it had been understood. He found it obviously difficult to express Palliser's thoughts and questions, but despite these difficulties and caveats, he was happy that it had gone as well as it had.

Throughout their encounter, Drachardt and the Inuit were quite conscious of the difference between Greenlandic and Labrador Inuktitut. Drachardt even listed some of these differences in a comparative word list that is included in the German journal. The Inuit were quite curious and wanted to know even minute differences in counting and also how a variety of words differed from their own language. Drachardt concluded that "with some words there is only a small difference, but others were entirely different."

Given these limitations in using the language, it is not surprising that some toponyms on the map would exhibit deficiencies in transcription and even linguistic interference with Greenlandic. But the journal's documentation of obtaining the place names demonstrates that the place names the missionaries obtained were authentic Inuit names, however deficient their transcription.

Haven remained somewhat in the background as far as communication with the Inuit was concerned, although he had originally established contact in 1764 because of his effective use of Greenlandic. He had a more recent exposure to the language but considerably less experience with speaking it. Haven had only used Greenlandic for five years and would never develop true

fluency in Labrador Inuktitut. His greatest asset in relating and communicating with Inuit was his non-verbal communication, his ability to adopt Inuit demeanor and gestures when speaking.

Andreas Schloezer, the scientifically-trained Moravian on the trip, was likely the individual behind the drawing of the map. This appears in light of the response to Sir Thomas's query of 20 July 1765 whether there was any individual among the four Brethren who could draw. Haven answered that one of them had learned to draw but was without practice for many years. When Sir Thomas then lent the Moravians his map for practicing, it was Schloezer whom the journal on 22 July records as copying a map of Newfoundland. Thus it appears that the cartographer of the trip was Schloezer, although it was Haven that signed the two-toned manuscript map and wrote the commentary on it.

After their return to St. John's, the Moravians met with Palliser on 5 October and "gave him a map of the Bay, where the Inuit live, with the Indian [Inuit] names of the islands and the land." During the conversation Palliser "asked for the meaning of the names in English." To accommodate this request, they gave Palliser on 11 October an English translation of the Inuktitut place names on the map. At the same time, John Hill also supplied him with a map of Davis Inlet. During yet another meeting, on 18 October, Palliser told the Moravians that for the sake of clarity he intended to have the map they gave him enlarged.

The map commentary answers some questions about the composition of the map and confirms what can be gleaned from the journal. Drachardt was, according to Haven, the key person who recorded the names.

The Moravians, according to the map commentary, based their confidence about settlements in and near Esquimaux Bay both on the experience of the brethren "that no one lived in Davis Inlet and thereabout, since we had already looked about everywhere" but also on the interviews they had conducted with Inuit and which are documented in their journal and discussed above.

Haven felt "reliably assured" that some lived in Kangertlurksuack [sic]. To explore the specifics about Esquimaux Bay as a prime concentration area of southern Inuit, they "undertook every imaginable effort to find it out." Even a control map of Davis Inlet was used in the process. Haven recounts his and Drachardt's stay with Segullia, where "I and Brother Drachart, we spent most of the same [night] by showing them a map of Davis Inlet, which I had in a writing tablet." But the Inuit denied that this was their land and when he drew the larger fjord in the south that was Esquimaux Bay, "they said, yes, this may be it, [and] started to draw on the stones how the fjord ran and how the islands were situated, and we were pretty well assured that it was this fjord."

Later, they had taken *"a rough chart of this fjord, and as soon as the Indians [Inuit] saw this, they said, this is our land, and we succeeded gradually to find out the names as well as the nature of this place, which made us very happy."* Haven then located the fjord "between 54 and 55 degrees," estimated that the entrance was "probably 6 German miles [45 km] wide and at least 14 [105 km] and perhaps 20 miles [150 km] deep." The populated area was a district of "perhaps 20 miles [150 km]." He felt that the spatial subdivision of the district could be compared with four European counties, which comprised:

- Nuneinguak, the pleasant lands, this includes all the islands at the mouth of Kangertlorsoak or the large fjord;
- Arbatok (place of whales), this is all the islands on the south side of the fjord as well as the mainland to Puktuallik;
- Auviktome or departure place is the bay before Igiak, including the islands up to Kikkertet as well as the mainland;
- Kikertet [sic] or the many islands, which all go by that name, just like Kikertarsolitziak in Greenland [where] the whole fishing fjords including rocks go by that name.
- At these four places, more than 600 reside, and I would say 1,000. Besides the four main names [of places], they have given almost each island and cape another name, and in order to establish several places for our future mission, if the savior wants it, we have made every effort to determine where they live as well as the situation of each individual place. I have thus marked in Red all the islands as well as the land where they live on shore and put a number on it how many houses are in each place. It amounts to 31, but if I had considered the houses [where] no one [is], it would have been 50.

The Inuit confirmed *"that north of Nuneinguak (H on the map) there were no houses except in the far north." This he "took to be in 57 degrees," where a large population of Inuit lived, which according to the Southern Inuit whom Haven interviewed, had largely hostile relations with their southern kin. Murder was said to have been a common occurrence when the two populations met to obtain soapstone for the Southlanders. South of Kikkertet (M on the map), there were no longer any "Inuit houses"*.

There was some competition among the Inuit communities for the potential placement of a future Moravian mission-trading post. Some of the Inuit representatives argued in favor of a Moravian establishment at Kikkertet (Spotted Islands/Black Tickle area). Other Inuit representatives sought to convince the Moravians to settle in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville area.

The Moravians complied with one further request by Sir Thomas, to seek to dissuade the Inuit families from traveling further south that summer and to return instead to their habitations beyond Chateau Bay. To this request, the Inuit reluctantly promised compliance.

The four Brethren left Pitt's Harbour on 30 September and returned to St. John's. At a subsequent meeting with Governor Palliser on October 5th, he was provided with a copy of the map and a description of the Inuit populations. Palliser recommended to the Moravians as a "good work" the establishment of good relations between the two hostile populations of Inuit. The Moravians concluded their trip by a return to London on 30 November.

In 1766, Governor Palliser ordered the construction of Fort Pitt at Chateau Bay, in an effort to dissuade the Inuit from continuing their occupation of the area. When this was not particularly successful, Governor Palliser called for a second treaty conference with the Inuit in July 1767,

again in Chateau Bay. Some 4-500 Inuit, men, women and children, arrived and initially set up on Camp Island. On August 8<sup>th</sup>, they met again with the Governor and settled on Grenville Point and Whale Island to engage in trade and treaty renewal. The Governor did his best to again seek the concession of the Inuit to keep their distance from the British fishing operations.

Having established that Esquimeaux Bay had all of the features desired for the Moravian mission (a high concentration of Inuit and distance from competing Europeans), the Moravians were determined to establish their mission trading post in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville area. By letter of February 11, 1769, the Moravians requested from Britain a land grant of a tract of land, constituting 100,000 acres, at Eskimo Bay.

In response, an Order in Council was issued on 3 May 1769 to James Hutton, Benjamin La Trobe, Charles Metcalf, John Edmonds, Holbourn Brewer, Philip Hurlock, John Wollin, and Jens Haven and received in trust for the Unitas Fratrum and enabled the Moravians *"to occupy and possess during his Majesty's Pleasure, one hundred thousand acres of Land in such part of Esquimaux Bay on the Coast of Labrador as they shall find most suitable to that purpose in order to the Establishing a Mission and forming a Settlement there."*

After receiving the land grant, another exploratory journey in the summer of 1770 and the input and personal preferences of Mikak and Tuglavina readjusted the settlement location from the Hamilton Inlet and Lake Melville area further north and resulted in so-called "purchases" of land from the Inuit near Cape Harrison and, subsequently, near Nain. This was quite satisfactory to the British, who wished to try to pull the Inuit as far north from their customary harvest areas as possible.

What do these exchanges tell us about the Inuit involved in the Treaty relationship?

- They considered the west coast of Newfoundland to be included in their territory;
- They wished to continue to inhabit Labrador in and below the Strait of Belle Isle;
- It would take the Inuit 2 – 3 days (if they did not stop regularly) to travel from their winter harvest areas to Chateau Bay;
- They had a deep and intimate knowledge of their territory;
- They were centered around the Hamilton Inlet/Lake Melville/Sandwich Bay area, but had a regular and wider resource utilization, including inland and other coastal and island areas;
- They knew where each other lived;
- They hunted fish, birds, sea mammals and inland mammals;
- They did not have good relations with the Inuit in the north. The two populations were distinct and hostile;
- They were very aware of, and interested in, dialect and language differences between themselves and the Greenland Inuktitut;
- The separation between the southern Labrador Inuit and the Inuit further north (in the vicinity of 57°N) was believed to have existed for centuries;
- The Inuit had toponyms continuously for places on the coast, exhibiting a holistic knowledge of the territory and an intention to control it, re-visit it and communicate to others about it;

- The Inuit did not provide toponyms for the coastal area farther north, indicating a less-used buffer zone between the south/central Inuit population and the northern Inuit population;
- The Inuit were familiar with the Davis Inlet area but were aware of no Inuit houses in that area, again indicating a less-used buffer zone area between hostile populations;
- The southern nation had a total population in the vicinity of 600 – 1,000 people. Gatherings of 200, 300 and even 400 men, women and children at one place were not uncommon;
- The Inuit territory in south/central Labrador was divided into four geographic subdivisions;
- They were historically involved in trade up and down the Atlantic coast and to the island of Newfoundland.

## The Treaty Event

In mid-August, 1765, in a significant legal and historic event, the Moravian Brother Drachart spoke to 300 of the Inuit in their own language and told them that the King of England was their friend. The Inuit were then invited to meet the Governor and carry on trade with the ships at anchor in Pitt's Arm. The Inuit expressed a fear of being murdered by the British but were given assurances from the Brethren that they would come to no harm.

On August 21<sup>st</sup>, 20 kayaks, carrying Inuit representatives selected in internal assembly, traveled with Drachart to the Governor's ship at Pitt's Arm. The event was important enough to be recorded in a detailed artistic image and a close - up examination of the actual meeting with the Governor is what is likely depicted in this view of the treaty meeting;



**Figure 5** Close up view from previous lithograph ( Fig. 3) showing Inuit Kayaks approaching the Governors Vessel Guernsey at Antelope Harbour in Chateaux Bay as well as Inuit encampment during the Treaty conference

The following extract is from a report written by the Moravian missionary at the event:

*...As we came near Pitts Harbour we were met by the Governor, who returned with us into the Harbour surrounded by the [Inuit] Kaiaks. ... [Drachart] went on shore and called them to him, he formed a Circle round the Governor and then read to them the following Articles which the Governor had drawn up for the purpose:*

*I am glad to see you.*

*I observe you are suspicious of us & afraid to trust us.*

*You have reason to be so, I recommend it to you to continue to be on your guard till we are better acquainted; we will do the same.*

*Our King has heard that some Europeans coming to this Coast have treated some of you ill & killed some of your people. He is exceeding angry at it.*

*He has therefore ordered that none of the people who did come here formerly shall ever come again.*

*He has sent me here to protect you & Mr Drachart to Instruct you.*

*For he loves you & will not let any Body do you harm.*

*I observe that you live together as Brethren & Friends as all good people do.*

*I desire you will observe that we do the same.*

*And we desire to be on the same footing with you as we become better acquainted.*

*For the same Great God that made you, made us & all things, and has commanded that we should all Love one another as Brethren, & not hurt each other, then we shall all be happy in this and the next World.*

*Tell me what Proof you wish to have of our sincerity?*

*I understand you have your Wives & Children with you.*

*I make you a present of a good Tent to shelter them from the Weather.*

*Our People have some things to Truck with you.*

*If you will let me know what things you want our people shall bring you every thing the next Year to truck for your things.*

*I will take care that our People take nothing from you but what you choose to exchange for something else.*

*I have only three things to desire of you:*

*That you do not come near our Houses & Ships in the Night.*

*That in the Day not more than 5. of you come at a time.*

*That you do not go to our Boats when afishing.*

Upon this the Governor asks them many Quest<sup>ns</sup> the chief of which follows:

*Will you now enter into friendship with us?*

*Will you Trade with us?*

*Shall there be an end to the stealing & killing?*

*Will you keep away from our Ship & Houses in the night?*

*Will no more than five of you come to our Ships in the Day?*

*Will you take care to do our Fishers no harm?*

*Will you come here with your Wives & Children?  
Will you pitch your Tents some Miles off from the Ship?  
Will you take Mr Drachart as sent by the King for your Teacher?*

To every one of these questions<sup>s</sup> they answered in the Affirmative, took Brother Drachart by the hand & said you are our Teacher.

Upon this the Present was distributed with which they were entirely pleased & upon his Excellency's repeating the quest<sup>n</sup>: If they would remain our good friends? Segullia, the Angikok, gave him his hand, call'd him Captain Chateau struck him on the Breast, kiss'd him & said we will remain your good friends. Thus, this to us weighty affair was happily concluded & hope that no imprudent conduct from the English for the future may induce the [Inuit] to look upon them otherwise than as their good Friends."

The Moravian missionaries then proceeded to ask the Inuit the following predetermined questions provided by Governor Palliser.

"Questions proposed from time to time by the Missionaries to the Esquimaux Indians, with their answers:

1. What do they call themselves?

They call themselves as a People of Nation Caralit, they also by way of eminence in contradistinction to the Europeans Inuit (the Men) the Europeans they call Kaublunet. By this name they call themselves all along the Coast as far as 72 deg. North they know nothing of the name Esquimaux.

2. Are they numerous?

They were here this year about 300 & perhaps as many staid at home. By this we'd be understood to mean only those who live South of Davis's Inlet, they tell us of Caralit who live to the northwd of the Inlet & its beyond all dispute that they are to be found in Hudson's Bay, perhaps also in Baffins Bay, & we know certainly they are in Davis's Straights & onwards along the Coast of Greenland to 72 degs.

3. From whence do they come?

Those who come here live at Esquimaux Bay which they call Nueingame [Hamilton Inlet area] & at Mille Isles they call it Kikkertet [Spotted Islands and area], their Houses are on the Islands of which there are great number at both places.

4. What is the nature of the Inland Country?

Inward in the Country are plenty of Trees but near the Shore its Barren, the Isles are also Barren. There are many Fresh Water Lakes.

5. Of the Coast Harbours & Rivers near their Habitations?

Please to look at the annexed Chart. [Plate 41 in Lysaght]

6. On how many places do they live?

These who come here have only the two above mentioned places.

7. Do they know from whence they originally came?

They don't.

8. How long were they in their passage hither?

Twenty days, but they make short stages, one of them say'd if wind & weather favour'd him he could come here in 3 days.

9. Have they seen any Europeans in their passage?

They met one ship with which they traded but whether English or French they don't know.

10. What is the produce of the Country they frequent?

The Sea abounds with Whales, Seals, small Cod, &c &c The Land – with Deer, Foxes, White & Black Bears, Wolves & doubtless other animals. In the fresh water they find plenty of Salmon.

11. What is their employment in the different seasons of the year?

In Winter & early in the spring the men are employed in catching Seals, Whales, Birds &c. In summer they hunt Deer, Fish for Cod & Salmon; they also catch Herrings with a small net. The men make the frames or wood-work for the Womens Boats & their own Kaiaks. They Women sew the skins to cover them with, they also make the Tents & cloaths, & does the Domestic Business.

12. In what manner do they kill the Whales, Seals & Deer &c?

They kill the Whales & Seals with Harpoons which stick fast in the fat; to the end is fastened a leather thong with a Seal skin blown full of wind; this tires the Creature to draw thro' the water, as he comes up they repeat their strokes till the whale is quite spent. They then put on a dress of skins so boiant that they are from the middle upwards above the water; thus they surround him as he floats & cut & take away as much of the Whale as they think proper. Deer they wound with their Arrows and then hunt them down with their dogs. Fish they catch with Hooks & Lines as we do.

13. How do they procure the Weapons they use?

They truck Whalebone &c with the French or English for such things as they [need]. The Iron work they form themselves.

14. Can they preserve their Oil and Fish?

They have both, but only for their own use; the Oil they keep in Seal skins had they vessells they could procure large quantities. They split the Cod & dry it without salt.

15 How many generally come here?

Last year there came about 200 & this year 300, the same Indians don't come every year.

16. How great may the whole number of them be?

We can't learn anything certain with respect to their number.

17. Do they know of Indians inhabiting the interior part of the Country?

They speak of Caralit who live northward of them besides these they know of no Indians inland or on the Coast.

18. Do they trade with the Hudson's Bay Company?

These who come here do not; but the Caralit north of Davis's Inlet very likely do.

19. Have any French ships been off their coast?

They tell us a ship (we suppose French) frequently comes to Esquimaux Bay & trades with them.

20. Are there any Europeans among them?

None live among or near them. Our Brethren's attempt in the year 1752 was the first & only one we hear of.

21. Do they seem fond of the Europeans being with them?

They do not. They are afraid of their irregularities with respect to their Women &c.

22. On what do they chiefly subsist?

Their chief food is cod, fresh and dry they also eat Seals, Whale, Salmon &c. They eat deer, Foxes & birds, we have seen them eat Dogs flesh, all these they boil when they've opportunity to do it if not they eat them raw.

23. How are they clothed?

Their clothing is chiefly Seal or Deer skins. The men wear a Jacket of seal skin close before like a shift it reaches to the middle of the thigh with a Hood like a Capuchin, they have Breeches of Dog or Bear Skin, they also wears Boots the hair side inwards. The women dress like the men except the Hood of the Jacket which is so large they carry their Children in it. Their Jacket has also a long flap which hangs down behind. Their boots are large beyond all proportion in which when they sit they place their child.

24. Have they any ore?

We have seen a kind of Marquisite among them which they use as a Flint, besides this, we believe they know of none.

25. What are the most proper things our Merchants should take to them to barter for their Whalebone, Furr &c?

Files, Rasps, Adzes, Saws, Chissells, Gouges, Gimlets, Draw-knives, Large Clasp-knives, Large Butcher like knives with sharp points, such half round knives as the shoemakers use to cut their upper leathers with, Augars, spike-nails, & other lesser Nails, needles square & round pointed taylers & womens thimbles scissars, hammers, Iron wire of different thickness Battoes or Shallops, Sail Cloth, Ropes, Cordage, Fish-lines and hooks, blocks, robes & everything thats necessary to rig a large boat with one sail, small sea chests, pewter plates, dishes, spoons, ladles, lead, large Iron or Brass kettles, small potts of Iron saucepans, coarse thick milled White Wollen Cloth with one side well raised. Their women are fond of beads of different colours, rings, combs (especially small teethed) Brass medals & counters. N.B. Strong Liquors they won't as yet taste. Fire arms they would purchase at any Rate. May they never be seduced to like the first; nor our people so imprudent as to trust them with the latter."

## **What Did the Treaty Mean?**

The Treaty Conference between Palliser and the Inuit of south and central Labrador established a Treaty Relationship of Peace and Friendship with at least the following attributes:

- The Inuit promised to enter into "friendship" with the British and accept the British King as their Father. These terms were widely used in early British-Aboriginal treaty-making and have been accepted as formal treaty language. These terms seek to include the British into extended family relations with the Inuit.
- In turn, the British King took them under his protection and gave them the British flag as a sign of that protection and relationship. This brought the Inuit within an assertion of British sovereignty (although no effective Euro-Canadian sovereignty would exist for hundreds of years).
- The Inuit covenanted to bring to an end any stealing and killing.
- The British promised that the Inuit would not be treated badly because the British King loved them and would not let anyone do them harm.

- Each party agreed to live together as brethren and not hurt each other.
- The Inuit were to have a right of trade with all the British subjects (rather than with the Crown or Governor himself), without danger of being hurt or ill treated. Palliser declined the gift from the Inuit to make it clear to both the Inuit and the British traders that the trade relationship would be direct between them, not with the Governor.
- Each party agreed to bring things in the future to trade. The British promised that they would not take anything from the Inuit that the Inuit do not wish to trade voluntarily. This provides a Treaty right of commercial trade.
- The British do not ask the Inuit to stay away from the area. In fact, they asked them to come, bringing their families with them. There was no surrender of the land and waters around the Strait of Belle Isle or elsewhere.
- There was no discussion of land surrender by the Inuit. There was no discussion of British settlements to be made in Labrador.
- There was no discussion of British regulation of the lives of the Inuit. The Inuit remained self-governing.
- The Inuit accepted the Moravian Brother as a “Teacher”, to facilitate the growth and progress of this new relationship of peace and friendship.
- The Inuit were to continue their way of life, with internal self-government. This implicitly promised continued access by the Inuit to those resources required for self-sustenance and the generation of economic surpluses for trade.
- The Treaty protects and provides constitutional rights, including the right of self-government, the right of harvest of wildlife and other natural resources and a right of trade for commercial purposes.

After the Treaty was concluded, Palliser reported on the process to Britain and announced the achievement of the Treaty publicly. Governor Palliser proudly reported his Treaty with the Inuit to the Lords of Trade by his letter in March 19, 1766.

The Lords of Trade reported the Treaty to the British Privy Council on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1769, expressly confirming that the Moravians had been “deputed” by the British government and describing it as a “Treaty”.

Palliser returned to meet in Treaty conference with the Inuit again in 1767.

Britain acted on its Treaty covenants by instituting trading posts (including one intended for Eskimo Bay as a Moravian mission) for the Inuit on the coast of Labrador.

## The Legal Status of the Labrador Treaty

In *James Matthew Simon v. R.* [1985] 2 S.C.R. 387, the Supreme Court of Canada held that the Mi'kmaq Treaty of 1752 was valid and binding on the Crown and protected Mr. Simon's right to harvest for food, social and ceremonial purposes.

In *Donald John Marshall, Jr. v. R.* [1999] 3 S.C.R. 533, the Supreme Court of Canada held that the Treaties of 1760/61 were valid Treaties protected by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 and contained a right of commercial trade to achieve a moderate livelihood. Mr. Marshall, an off-reserve Mi'kmaq from Sydney, Cape Breton, was acquitted for fishing eels with his non-native common-law spouse near Antigonish, on the mainland of Nova Scotia.

There are some similarities and some differences between the Nova Scotia Treaties and the Labrador Inuit Treaty. Firstly, the Inuit were not at war against the British as were the Mi'kmaq, so there would have been no need for the Lords of Trade to specifically instruct Palliser to sign a peace treaty. What was important in Labrador was to establish good relations with the Inuit – and Palliser would have had a free hand as to his method.

In the aftermath of the Seven Years War, the British hoped to establish a relationship with all of the Native peoples who had been French allies. Thus they continued the practice established through the early eighteenth century of “peace and friendship” treaties – which were not intended to cede land but to make those Natives allies and trading partners of the British and establish a peaceful relationship with them. Natives would thus be neutralized as a military threat.

In the Treaty of Paris (1763), France surrendered Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia to the British. The Mi'kmaq met with the British to reiterate their commitment to peace in the Covenant Chain of Treaties and then took an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. They then negotiated terms of trade, etc. in the Treaty upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada in Marshall.

The French also surrendered certain, but not all, claims to Labrador in the Treaty of Paris (1763). Although the Inuit were not French allies in the way the Mi'kmaq had been, the Inuit had been trading with the French and for this reason the British would have worried about their being under French influence. Acts of theft and revenge had also made the coast of Labrador a dangerous place for an English fishery, and Palliser hoped to encourage an English-based migratory fishery on the coast of Labrador which would train Englishmen in seamanship and then make them available to be pressed into the Royal Navy in time of war. So it would have been to the advantage of the British to both discourage contact between the Inuit and the French and to put an end to the cycle of abuse and revenge between Europeans and Inuit.

As was the case in Nova Scotia, the Board of Trade did not provide detailed instructions to Palliser as to how he was to treat with the Inuit. General instructions were sufficient, leaving flexibility and freedom of action for the governor.

The test for determining whether an official had the capacity to treat with Aboriginal nations adopted by the Supreme Court of Canada in *Sioui v. Quebec (Attorney General)* embraces a contextual approach, the key inquiry being whether it was reasonable for the Aboriginal people

to believe that the official had the authority to treat with them, not whether the official had actual authority to treat.

To arrive at a conclusion that a government official had the capacity to enter into a treaty with the Indians, he or she must therefore have represented the British Crown in important, authoritative functions. It is necessary to take the Aboriginal point of view and to ask whether it was reasonable for them to believe, in light of the circumstances and the position occupied by the party they were dealing with directly, that they had before them a person capable of binding the British Crown by treaty.<sup>119</sup>

On this basis, the Court in *Sioui* concluded that it was reasonable for the Huron, whose traditional territory was found within the colony of Quebec, to believe that the treaty they concluded with General Murray, a brigadier general in the British Army, was binding on the British Crown. Similarly, it would have been reasonable for the Inuit of Labrador to believe that Governor Palliser had the authority to treat with them on the British Crown's behalf (as in fact he did).

The case law is clear that what constitutes a section 35 "Treaty" is not restricted to formal bilaterally-signed treaty documents. Rather, the courts have adopted a flexible and nuanced interpretation of what can constitute a treaty. The leading authority on this principle is the British Columbia Court of Appeal in *R. v. White and Bob*,<sup>120</sup> cited with approval by Supreme Court *R. v. Simon*<sup>121</sup>:

*... "Treaty" is not a word of art and in my respectful opinion, it embraces all such engagements made by persons in authority as may be brought within the term "the word of the white man" the sanctity of which was, at the time of British exploration and settlement, the most important means of obtaining the goodwill and co-operation of the native tribes and ensuring that the colonists would be protected from death and destruction. On such assurance the Indians relied.*

This principle was applied by the Supreme Court in *Sioui*, supra, to find that a memorial signed by General Murray, evidencing the basic topics covered in a lengthy treaty conference, sent to his superiors, was sufficient to constitute a treaty.

The Inuit Treaty did not involve the bilateral execution of a document. Palliser would not have sought a signature on a Treaty document due to the very negative reaction that Haven had encountered with the Inuit the year before. Palliser had transcribed Jens Haven's account from 1764 in which Haven had reported that the Inuit were fearful of taking a piece of paper with writing on it:

*I offer'd to give them that Writing given me by your excellency. They was afraid to take it they thought it was alive because of my reading it and I was not able to persuade them to take it from me.*

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<sup>119</sup> [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1025.

<sup>120</sup> (1964), 50 D.L.R. (2d) 613.

<sup>121</sup> (1985), 23 C.C.C. (3d) 238.

The principle that an executed document is not required was further endorsed by the New Brunswick Court of Appeal in *R. v. Polchies*, in its decision that the verbal agreement reached between Superintendent Francklin and the Mi'kmaq at Miramichi on September 24, 1778, constituted a treaty:

*This court finds that the agreement of September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1778, was and is a treaty ...*

*The treaty in question ended a war with the British and gave notice to the American rebels that war with them was imminent. As one of the considerations for joining the British, the Indians were provided with their own priest. In addition, they were each presented with a gift of one pound of gunpowder. The Indians in turn returned certain other articles seized during the war (including three swivel guns) and entered into an oath of allegiance to the King. It is of vital import that this oath was drafted by the British and that they included the phrase "but that I will follow my hunting and fishing in a peaceable and quite manner".*

*The whole transaction can hardly be viewed other than as a treaty entered into to end a war, with both sides giving assurance one to the other, and both sides represented at the transaction by the top echelons of their respective commands. Surely the Indians in making their solemn oath of allegiance also had the subjective belief that their hunting and fishing rights (which had previously been interfered with by the American rebels) would be continued in the same peaceable and quiet manner as was the case before the war.*<sup>122</sup>

All of the Treaty ceremonials with the Inuit took place in circumstances where officials, on behalf of British Crown, were seeking to secure peace with the Inuit, be it to assure Inuit friendship, or at least neutrality, in the face of invitations from the French or Americans, or to pacify unrest in the Inuit engendered by British incursions on their fishing territories. These were very serious circumstances and the solemnity with which the parties approached these agreements cannot be doubted.

The assurances, ceremonies, and gifts that were exchanged would have impressed upon the parties the consequence of the agreements reached. The treaty ceremonials constituted treaties from the perspective of the Inuit, as well from perspective of the British officials.

The Inuit Treaty was entered into with the King of Britain., through the office of the Governor. Newfoundland was part of the British Empire. Upon Confederation, jurisdiction over relations with Aboriginal people passed from the British Crown to Canada. As a result, Canada, and its provinces, inherited the Treaty relationship with the Inuit from the British. The Inuit Peace and Friendship Treaty is binding on the Dominion of Canada and on the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The Inuit Treaty of 1765 is a valid, binding and enforceable Treaty and it is constitutionally protected under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982.

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<sup>122</sup> [1982] 4 C.N.L.R. 132 (N.B. Prov. Ct.) at para. 129.

## The Beneficiaries of the Labrador Treaty

The current holders and beneficiaries of the Labrador Inuit Treaty are the Inuit descendant communities of the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc.

The Inuit of south/central Labrador entered into a Treaty relationship with the Crown that is now protected by section 35 of the Constitution. Our communities are the modern day holders and beneficiaries of that Treaty and the only claimant thereto. The Inuit of northern Labrador never entered into Treaty with the British.

The 1765 Treaty protects the rights of Inuit and their descendants to harvest wildlife and to utilize the natural resources of their territory. It recognized their Aboriginal Title to their land and their right to be self-governing within their territory. These rights are now held and possessed by the NunatuKavut communities as a gift of the Creator and their ancestors for their children's children forever. The significance of this Treaty must now be recognized and accepted by government and processes instituted immediately to implement these Treaty rights.

The continued and unaltered occupation of this territory has persisted through time. By the late nineteenth century Inuit were living at and harvesting the resources of Pitts Arm, the very site of the 1765 Labrador Treaty.



**Photo from the collection of Rupert Baxter taken at Pitts Arm (Chateaux Bay) in 1891 showing an 'Esquimaux Hut'. This sod house site is but several hundred meters of the 1765 Inuit Treaty site.**

*Picture from the collection of the Labrador Institute, Memorial University*

The depiction of the Inuit encampment at the 1765 Treaty event is less than two kilometers from the sod house pictured above from 1891. In 2010, members of NunatuKavut have properties at the site of the 1765 Inuit Treaty. The occupation of this land from 1765 to the present has been open and notorious.

## **International Context of the Inuit Treaty of 1765**

The 18<sup>th</sup> century was a significant turning point in the history of North America. It saw the decline and fall of France's North American colonies, the height of British power in North America, and the emergence of a new expansionist power, the United States of America. This would have far-reaching consequences for the geopolitics and economics of North America and Europe, as well as Settler-Aboriginal relations, and European and Aboriginal patterns of settlement.

Although not a single battle was fought on its soil, Labrador was a valuable prize nonetheless. The whaling, sealing and fishing industries of coastal Labrador and in the Strait of Belle Isle were a coveted prize. By gaining control over Labrador and the adjoining sea, the British gained access to not only these resources, but a valuable bargaining chip in subsequent relations with the French and the Americans. Peaceful relations with the Inuit in Southern Labrador after the Treaty of 1765 were an important part of helping to make British control effective.

While the focus of this is Southern Labrador, it is impossible to look at Labrador in isolation from Newfoundland, and in particular, Northern Newfoundland and the southern shore of the Straits of Belle Isle. As Goudie notes "The fact that Labrador was separate from Newfoundland was of no consequence; in nautical terms the separation was merely a thoroughfare."<sup>123</sup> Thus, this review will often treat both as a single unit.

## **Historical Context: Prior to the Treaty**

Geopolitics: French-British Relations from the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) to the Treaty of Paris (1763)

In order to understand what was taking place in Labrador, it is important to look at the broader geopolitical context of what was taking place in North America, in particular relations between the British and French.

France and Great Britain, longtime rivals, were at war (formally and informally) for much of the period from 1613 to 1815. Although this was a global struggle, much of this conflict took place in their colonies in North America, and some of the colonies changed hands several times.

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<sup>123</sup> Nina Jane Goudie, *Down North on the Labrador Circuit: The Court of Civil Jurisdiction 1826 to 1833*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Heritage, Silk Robes and Sou'Westers – History of the Law and the Courts <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/lawfoundation/essay2/effects2.html>>

## **The Nine Years War and the Treaty of Ryswick (1697)**

At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the British and French in North America seemed to remain on relatively even footing, and France controlled most of what is now known as Atlantic Canada, including Labrador. The Treaty of Ryswick (1697), which ended the Nine Years War (1689-1697), dealt a harsh blow to French ambitions in continental Europe, but was far kinder in North America. France retained its claim to Labrador, and regained its colony in Acadia<sup>124</sup>, while Hudson's Bay remained divided between British and French claims. Newfoundland was similarly divided between the British colony centered at St. John's, and the French colony centered at Plaisance (now Placentia). While the British controlled the English shore (from Bonavista to Trespassey), the French controlled much the rest of the island of Newfoundland. So, at the turn of the century, the French controlled Labrador, and both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle and its resources.

## **The War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713)**

The peace between the British and the French was not to last. The War of the Spanish Succession broke out in Europe in 1701, and spilled over to the colonies in 1702, where it was known as Queen Anne's War. The French attacked St. John's in 1705 and 1708, destroying much of the city, but British military successes elsewhere were to begin to give the British the upper hand in Atlantic Canada.<sup>125</sup>

The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which brought an end to the War of the Spanish Succession, saw a shift in the balance of power in Atlantic Canada. While the French maintained their claim to Labrador, they ceded their claims to Newfoundland. However, the French retained fishing rights on what became known as the Old French Shore of Newfoundland, between Cape Bonavista and Point Riche, including the Straits of Belle Isle. Under the terms of the Treaty, the French were allowed to fish but not to settle there.

The French also ceded Acadia to the British, and gave up their claims to Hudson's Bay, while retaining Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island) and Ile St. Jean (Prince Edward Island). While Acadia had changed hands before, this time its transfer was to mark a permanent shift toward British power in the region.

The Treaty of Utrecht was to prove somewhat more durable than the Treaty of Ryswick, lasting almost thirty years from 1713 to 1740. However, some historians have referred to this as an uneasy peace.<sup>126</sup> While the French and British were not formally at war during this period, they continued to battle by proxy, using privateers as well as their native allies to put pressure on each other's North American possessions. Further, both were strengthening their positions and their defenses, with the expectation that the two great powers would directly come to blows again.

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<sup>124</sup> Although the historical boundaries of Acadia were and are the subject of some historical dispute, this generally includes mainland Nova Scotia and most of modern day New Brunswick

<sup>125</sup> Olaf Janzen, *French Presence in Newfoundland*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland, <[http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/f\\_presence.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/f_presence.html)>

<sup>126</sup> Peter Landry, *The Lion & the Lily: Nova Scotia between 1600-1760* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2007), at p. 188

While the British set about consolidating their hold on Newfoundland and Acadia, France set about to strengthen its control of its remaining colonies in North America, commencing the construction of the Fortress of Louisbourg in 1719.

### **The War of the Austrian Succession and the Treaty of Aix-La-Chappelle (1748)**

The peace of Utrecht came to an end in 1740, when the war of the Austrian Succession broke out in Europe. This spilled over to North America in 1744, where it was known as King George's War. The security of France's North American colonies was dealt a serious blow in 1745, when troops from the New England colonies captured the French Fortress at Louisbourg. Although France would regain Ile Royale in the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle (1748) which ended the war, it suffered a serious blow to its prestige. The capture of Louisbourg demonstrated the vulnerability of France's North American colonies.

### **The Seven Years War and the Treaty of Paris (1763)**

The peace of Aix-La-Chapelle did not last long: it proved to be another "treaty of truce" rather than a treaty of peace. Hostilities broke out again between the British and French in North America in 1754, and spread to Europe by 1756. This conflict became known in Europe as the Seven Years War, and to Americans as the French and Indian War. William M. Fowler remarks that this was a different sequence of events than previous British-French conflicts:

The French and Indian War reversed the traditional course of events; beginning in America, it was exported to Europe.<sup>127</sup>

This conflict has been described as the "first world war".<sup>128</sup> It eventually dragged all of the great colonial powers of the day and their Indigenous allies into a truly global conflict, waged not only in Europe and in North America, but in the Caribbean, Africa and India. Further, unlike some of the previous conflicts, which had resulted in a relatively minor exchange of territories, the Seven Years War would result in some serious changes in the balance of power and of the territories of some of the combatants.

Further, the North American theatre is where the most decisive battles and shifts in power and territory took place. As one commentator noted:

Although the war was fought all over the world, its most decisive battles were in North America.<sup>129</sup>

The French enjoyed some early successes, and indeed, largely held the upper hand until 1757. However, they gradually succumbed to the sheer weight of numbers that the British threw at them. They lost Louisbourg in 1758 and Quebec in 1759. They nearly regained Quebec in the

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<sup>127</sup> William M. Fowler, *Empires at War: The Seven Years War and the Struggle for North America, 1754-1763*, (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006) at p. 1

<sup>128</sup> Fowler, *supra*, note 5, at p. 1-2

<sup>129</sup> Fowler., *supra*, note 5, at p. 1

spring of 1760, but British reinforcements were the first to arrive and relieve the siege. Montreal surrendered shortly thereafter.

However, while most of France's North American colonies had fallen by 1760, the French threat remained very real. The last land battle of the Seven Years War in North America took place when the French captured St. John's and other Newfoundland fishing stations in 1762. They were only driven out when the British were able to capture Signal Hill in a surprise attack under the cover of fog. With this final defeat, the French were driven out of their mainland North American colonies.

While the participants at the time may not have realized it, the balance of power had changed in significant ways, and a new order was eventually to emerge in both Europe and North America. The war ended in more or less a stalemate in Europe, but in the Americas, France's position as a major colonial power was effectively ended, at least on the mainland of North America. Britain became the dominant regional power. As one commentator noted:

England emerged victorious, and its triumph laid the foundation for a global empire from which it would draw the wealth and resources to fuel the industrial revolution and transform the world.<sup>130</sup>

The war officially came to an end with a series of treaties known as the Peace of Paris in 1763. The Treaty of Paris (1763) between Great Britain and France effectively excluded France from the mainland of North America. They ceded all of their mainland possessions, including Labrador, to the British,<sup>131</sup> in exchange for holding certain sugar producing islands in the Caribbean.

With the acquisition of Labrador from France, the British now laid claim to both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle, and the shared fishery resources of Newfoundland and Labrador. Indeed, one of their first steps (in the Royal Proclamation of 1763) was to give the Colony of Newfoundland jurisdiction over Labrador, recognizing the importance of unifying control over the shared fishery resources of these two adjacent landmasses.

The North Atlantic fishery remained a resource of vital interest to both Britain and France, and played an important role in the negotiations between the two countries prior to the Treaty of Paris (1763) and their subsequent relations. As one commentator notes:

As a result, the Newfoundland fishery figured in many of the wars and, perhaps even more importantly, in the diplomatic negotiations which restored the peace. As a nursery for seamen, as well as a source of national wealth, the fishery was so highly prized by both countries that neither would willingly give it up, either in whole or in part. During attempts in 1761 to negotiate an end to the current war, members of the British and French governments independently ventured the same opinion, that the Newfoundland fishery was more valuable than Canada and Louisiana combined (or about two-thirds of the continent of North America) "as a means of wealth and power." Such convictions influenced the policies adopted by the two

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<sup>130</sup> Fowler, *supra*, note 5, at p. 1

<sup>131</sup> With the exception of Louisiana, which was ceded to Spain.

countries towards their respective fisheries and the strategies developed for their defense, as well as Anglo-French diplomacy throughout the 18th century.<sup>132</sup>

The British had long desired to have access to the fishery of Labrador and Northern Newfoundland which had been controlled by the French. Stopp states that:

The new British territories that came with the Treaty of Paris were the outcome of several years petitioning by the British merchants such as the Bristol Group known as the Society of Merchant Venturers, who wished to have rightful access to northern Newfoundland and Labrador.<sup>133</sup>

Similarly, the French were determined to retain some access and rights to the fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador. As Hiller notes:

So important was preservation of its fishery at Newfoundland to France that in 1762, at a point during the Seven Years' War when France had suffered a string of devastating defeats, the French government insisted on continuing to fight a losing war rather than agree to peace terms, which would have brought the French fishery at Newfoundland to an end. The importance of maintaining a French role in the Newfoundland fishery is also reflected in the way in which France continued to direct military assaults on Newfoundland in 1762 and 1796, and threatened to do so during the American Revolution as well. Though none of these efforts were very successful, France did manage to reaffirm its Treaty Shore privileges, thereby preserving its right to fish not only out of St. Pierre but directly on extensive portions of the coast of Newfoundland itself.<sup>134</sup>

Thus, the raid on St. John's in 1762 appears to have been motivated, at least in part, by the need to ensure that the French retained their fishing rights in the region. And indeed, Britain recognized the importance of the Atlantic fishery to the French, and how that aligned with their interests. Hiller goes on to state that:

The question of access to the Newfoundland fisheries was one of the most difficult issues to settle during the peace negotiations which ended the Seven Years' War. [...] Put briefly, the concept of total war did not exist in the 18th century, and wars were fought not so much to crush opponents, as to readjust the balance of power. Britain did not aim to destroy France in the Seven Years' War, and the government recognized that, to France, access to the Newfoundland fisheries was a vital national interest. Having established control over North America, Britain was prepared to concede a share of the fishery to facilitate the making of peace.<sup>135</sup>

As a result, the French fishing rights on the old French Shore of Newfoundland, including the Strait of Belle Isle, as granted under the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), were reaffirmed in the Treaty of Paris (1763). The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were restored to France after 50 years of

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<sup>132</sup> J.K. Hiller, *Anglo-French Warfare*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland <[http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/fpres\\_warfare.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/fpres_warfare.html)>

<sup>133</sup> Marianne P. Stopp, ed., *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), at p. 14

<sup>134</sup> J.K. Hiller, *The Treaty of Paris, 1763*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/paristreaty.html>>

<sup>135</sup> Hiller, *supra*, note 12

British rule, “to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen”. This also provided an important training ground for French seamen. This helped compensate for the loss of their fishing and naval base at Louisbourg, and helped to assure peace and some restoration of a balance of power.

In sum, the Treaty of Paris (1763) recognized the British legal claim (vis a vis the French) to much of North America. However, it by no means guaranteed British control of its new territories. The French were down, but as previous history had demonstrated, not necessarily out. Some of the territories ceded had changed hands before, often several times, and there were no guarantees that they would not do so again. The French, while they had given up the mainland North American Colonies, retained the ability to project power in that part of the world, as well as some of their interests there.

More importantly, gaining effective sovereignty over these newly acquired lands and resources would require a further step: making peace with their original inhabitants.

## **Economics:**

### **Fishing**

While much of the literature on European settlement in Canada focuses on the fur trade, what first drew Europeans to North America was not fur, but fish. Fishing was an essential industry in Europe at the time. Indeed, as one commentator notes:

More Europeans at the end of the 15th century were engaged in fishing than in any other occupation except farming. This fact reflects the importance that fish played in the everyday diet of Europeans. It was a source of protein that was easy to preserve, transport, purchase and prepare. Moreover, in an age of rising (and warring) nation-states, fish made an ideal military ration.<sup>136</sup>

It is believed by some historians that European fishers may have preceded Cabot in visiting North America.<sup>137</sup> Early European explorers noted the abundance of codfish in the area. By the mid-1500's, Breton and Basque fishermen were regularly visiting the Strait of Belle Isle.

The fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador was in the early years migratory and seasonal in nature. The fishery was initially dominated by Basques from Spain, but gradually France and England grew to become the predominant powers. As one commentator explains:

Such growth did not necessarily lead to friction between the fishermen of the two countries. The French and English fisheries at Newfoundland were sufficiently different at this time that there was nothing intrinsically competitive or incompatible about them. The English, favoured a "dry" cure in which the fish were brought to shore where they were cleaned, split, and laid out on elaborate "flakes" to dry. Although this method used salt much more sparingly, the product was

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<sup>136</sup> Author unknown, *The International Fishery of the 16th Century*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland, <[http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/fpres\\_international.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/fpres_international.html)>

<sup>137</sup> Landry, supra, note 4, at p. 5-6

ironically known as "saltfish." The dry cure was undoubtedly a better cure; the fish was less likely to spoil, giving it a longer inventory life and thus more flexibility both in its sale and in its use.

Although the French Basque fishery was a dry fishery, as were parts of the Breton and Norman fisheries, the French generally preferred a "wet" cure, in which the cod was heavily salted in the hold or packed in brine. The resulting product was called morue verte ("green cod").<sup>138</sup>

The French gradually developed a dry fishery as well. The shift from a salt fishery to a dry fishery changed the nature of the European presence. It led to fishermen spending more time ashore, which resulted in more contact with the Inuit, and the other Aboriginal peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador. However, the Europeans still rarely wintered over. The European presence remained seasonal, and the fishery remained migratory in nature:

Beginning in the early 16th century, significant numbers of European fishers traveled to Newfoundland and Labrador each spring to catch cod. Before the fishing season began, workers spent about a month on shore building cabins, cookrooms, fishing stages, flakes, small open boats, and other structures vital to the industry. From June through August, workers sailed to inshore fishing grounds each morning and spent evenings and nights at makeshift camps. Most returned to Europe in the fall, leaving their camps abandoned until the following spring.<sup>139</sup>

After the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the fishery became Labrador's principal resource, particularly for the French. As one commentator puts it:

With the demise of whaling, the fishery became Labrador's main resource for a time, as fishermen, mostly from France, continued to collect important quantities of cod there.

While the French fishery in Newfoundland was gradually surpassed by the British, the French invested even more heavily in the Labrador fishery, particularly after they were expelled from the island of Newfoundland by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). France would sometimes grant concessions:

That is, merchants, and civil and military leaders were given sections of coastal Labrador where they could enjoy non-exclusive fishing rights and exclusive fur trading and sealing rights.<sup>140</sup>

Further, the French, like the Basques before them, never enjoyed great relations with the Inuit of Southern Labrador. Stopp notes that:

It has been well documented that Inuit pilfered early Basque whaling stations as well as later French merchant posts, leading to somewhat hostile relations by the 1700s [...].<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> *The International Fishery of the 16th Century*, supra, note 14

<sup>139</sup> Jenny Higgins, *Migratory Fishery and Settlement Patterns*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland, <[http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/settlement\\_patterns.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/settlement_patterns.html)>

<sup>140</sup> Jeff Butt, *Labrador Fishery*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/labradorfishery.html>>

<sup>141</sup> Stopp, supra, note 11, at p. 10

In addition to the trading posts, the Inuit often pilfered and burned the seasonal fishing posts during the winter months, when the Europeans were absent.<sup>142</sup> As a result of Inuit hostility, the French had great difficulty in establishing any kind of significant permanent presence in Labrador which would have enabled them to develop a resident fishery. Indeed, when they ceded Labrador to the British in 1763, there was very little French settlement to speak of. In order to change this, the British were going to have to change this relationship, and make peace with the Inuit.

## Sealing and Whaling

It is hard to imagine a time when much of our heat, lighting and household goods came not from minerals extracted from the ground, but from mammals extracted from the sea. Seals and whales were the “offshore oil” of their day. Whales provided oil for lighting prior to the advent of kerosene and other fuels, and whalebone was used in a variety of household items, prior to the advent of plastic. As Jean-Pierre Proulx states:

Few mammals have occupied as important a place as the whale in the economy of the Atlantic nations. For a thousand years whaling has supplied oil and whalebone, contributed to the growth of secondary industries, and served as training ground for mariners.<sup>143</sup>

Although Europeans were first drawn to Labrador for the fishing, they were soon coming for the whaling.<sup>144</sup> From the 1530’s to the early 1600’s, Basque Whalers came there to hunt the right and bowhead whales that migrated annually through the Strait of Belle Isle. In fact, whaling in Labrador in the sixteenth century took place in “industrial proportions”.<sup>145</sup> The community of Red Bay, Labrador was at one time the world’s largest whaling station.<sup>146</sup> However, this European presence remained seasonal. And indeed, the advent of whaling in Labrador was temporary. Due to “many and diverse factors” which contributed to the decline of the whaling industry, including over hunting and the unfriendly relations with the Inuit,<sup>147</sup> by the 1620s Basque whalers were no longer coming to Labrador.

In the meantime, the fishery continued to flourish and the seal hunt was to eventually replace the whaling industry. Seals were first used by the original inhabitants of Labrador, and then by European settlers. Seal oil was used for heat and light, while seals also provided meat, clothing,

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<sup>142</sup> Higgins, *supra*, note 17

<sup>143</sup> Jean-Pierre Proulx, *Whaling in the North Atlantic: from Earliest Times to the Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century*, (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1986), at p. 77

<sup>144</sup> Butt, *supra*, note 18

<sup>145</sup> James A. Tuck and Robert Grenier, *Red Bay, Labrador: World Whaling Capital A.D. 1550- 1600*, (St. John’s: Atlantic Archaeology Ltd., 1989), at p. 3

<sup>146</sup> Tuck and Grenier, *supra*, note 23, at p. 1

<sup>147</sup> Jean-Pierre Proulx, *Basque Whaling in Labrador in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, (Ottawa: Environment Canada, Parks Service, 1993), at p. 78-79

and shelter.<sup>148</sup> Candow notes that the French were the first settlers to really engage in sealing as an industry:

Although the Basques and Bretons probably did some incidental sealing, the settlers of New France were the first to take it up on a significant scale. [...] By the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, sealing had become an established activity among Canadians who visited the Labrador coast from October to June and then returned to their homes on the St. Lawrence's north shore.<sup>149</sup>

As the above passage indicates, the sealing industry remained seasonal, with labourers coming from New France and not from a resident population in Labrador. Due to hostility from the Inuit, among other factors, the French still had difficulty establishing a year round presence in Labrador. As such, when the French ceded Labrador to the British in 1763, they had yet to develop the full potential of the sealing industry. The sealing industry required ownership of the land,<sup>150</sup> which would require dealing with its original inhabitants, the Inuit.

## **Aboriginal-Settler Relations and Patterns of Settlement**

As noted above, due to both the nature of the industries, and hostility from the Inuit, early European presence in Labrador lacked permanence. Both whaling and the fishery were at that time seasonal activities, which did not require a year-round presence in Labrador. They also required only a limited geographical presence. As Stopp states:

*In the seventeenth century, European presence was focused on the cod and seal fisheries along the coastal rim.*<sup>151</sup>

There was very little European presence in Labrador prior to the 19th century:

*Labrador's settlement history is similar to that of Newfoundland, even in terms of the policies adopted and the problems of exploitation encountered. The only difference may be that Newfoundland's settlement pattern preceded that of Labrador by about a century. Although Labrador was home to virtually no permanent settlers before 1815, Europeans had been visiting the region for quite some time.*<sup>152</sup>

The seasonal nature of the work limited contact with the Aboriginal inhabitants:

*The nature of Newfoundland and Labrador's economy limited direct interaction between Aboriginal groups and Europeans for much of the 17th and 18th centuries. During this period, Newfoundland and Labrador served mainly as a seasonal fishing station for European crews engaged in the transatlantic migratory fishery. Most vessels arrived in*

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<sup>148</sup> James E. Candow, *Of Men and Seals, A History of the Newfoundland Seal Hunt* (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1989), at p. 16, 22

<sup>149</sup> Candow, *supra*, note 26, at p. 23

<sup>150</sup> Butt, *supra*, note 18

<sup>151</sup> Stopp, *supra*, note 11, at p. 11

<sup>152</sup> Butt, *supra*, note 18

*spring and departed in August. Sustained contact between fishers and Aboriginal people was rare and, because European governments had almost no interest in establishing permanent settlements on the island or in Labrador, they did not negotiate any land treaties with Aboriginal groups, as was common elsewhere in North America.*<sup>153</sup>

The French did engage in a limited amount of trade with the Inuit. A Quebec merchant, Pierre Constantin, established a fortified trading post in Red Bay, Labrador. This was burnt by the Inuit in 1718. It was rebuilt in 1719 and used until 1730's.<sup>154</sup> Stopp notes that beyond the Strait of Belle Isle, there were very few posts:

*Few merchants actually carried out business beyond the Strait of Belle Isle, and Courtemanche's activities never extended far beyond the Bay of Brador. By the 1740s, however, the coast had been sufficiently carved up to allow more operations, and the earliest functioning posts beyond the Strait were at Chateau Bay, Cape Charles, and Hamilton Inlet.*<sup>155</sup>

However, hostility from the Inuit also inhibited European settlement. As Bezzina notes, these hostilities are reflected in the archeological record:

*For reasons unknown, around the 1660s the Inuit felt the need to resort to means other than trade in order to acquire European goods and they began to pillage and rob French settlements. That set in motion a cycle of revenge and violence. [...] In Trudel's mind, the French had essentially inherited a trading relationship that had already been made tense and uncomfortable during the Basque period. All of this could explain why the morphological analysis conducted by Auger and Clermont found metissage in southern Labrador only from bone samples in the nineteenth century. The period before 1760 was simply too fraught with resentment to allow for extensive, peaceful contact.*<sup>156</sup>

The desire to protect gear and equipment left behind during the winter, both from the Inuit and from other fishers, did eventually lead to some over-wintering, both in Newfoundland and in Labrador:

*The fishers' departure made their cabins, gear, and fishing grounds vulnerable to theft, vandalism, or destruction by interlopers. It was not uncommon for fishers to steal boats or destroy flakes belonging to crews from rival nations and regions. Further, the fishery was a common property resource, making it impossible for workers to secure fishing grounds from competing crews during their absence. Whichever fleet arrived at a location earliest had claim to it for the remainder of the fishing season.*

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<sup>153</sup> Jenny Higgins, *Aboriginal Relations with Europeans 1600-1900*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland, [http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/aboriginal\\_relations.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/aboriginal_relations.html)

<sup>154</sup> Tuck and Grenier, *supra*, note 23, at p. 64

<sup>155</sup> Stopp, *supra*, note 11, at p. 14

<sup>156</sup> Edward Bezzinan, *The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland, 1774-1809*, unpublished draft report presented to the Labrador Métis Nation, August 28, 2007 – Doc # 212

*[...] Once crews departed for Europe, the Beothuk frequently scavenged abandoned fishing stations for nails, hooks, and other metal items they used to make arrowheads for harpoons and spears. A single boat could yield about 1,200 nails, while a fishing stage likely held thousands. The quickest and easiest way for the Beothuk to obtain nails was to burn the equipment, which destroyed it beyond repair. When European fishers returned in the spring, they had to spend much time and energy rebuilding campsites and fishing gear. A similar relationship existed between the Inuit people and migratory fishers at Labrador until the Moravian Church established a string of mission stations there in the late 18th century. Mission workers assumed all trade operations with the Inuit and forbade Europeans from entering mission grounds.*

*Some fishers overwintered at Newfoundland and Labrador to safeguard equipment and secure access to prime fishing grounds. Driving the movement toward year-round residency were planters – fishing masters who owned boats and stages that required protection during the winter. While many planters chose to remain on the island with their servants, and sometimes with their families, others hired workers to stay behind and guard gear in their stead.<sup>157</sup>*

Labrador lagged Newfoundland by about a century in terms of patterns of settlement, and the move to year round settlement came much later in Labrador than Newfoundland. The pace of settlement would accelerate after Labrador was placed under the administration of Newfoundland by the Royal Proclamation of 1763. However, the British would succeed in part in settling Labrador where the French and Basques had failed because of their decision to pursue peaceful relations with the Inuit. The Treaty of 1765 was to pave the way for British settlement, and greater inter-marriage between British settlers and the Inuit, creating what is now Inuit-Labradorians.

## **Conclusion on the pre-Treaty context**

While the British and the French never fought directly on the lands and waters around Labrador, its resources were considered a valuable prize by both sides. Indeed, access to the fisheries of Labrador and Northern Newfoundland were considered a priority for both countries, and were the subject of much discussion during the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Paris (1763). Ultimately, while the British claimed sovereignty over Labrador and the Strait of Belle Isle, the French were to maintain seasonal fishing rights there, an important concession that helped buy peace between the European powers.

However, in order to make effective their claim of sovereignty over Labrador, and to gain full access to its resources, the British needed to be able to do what the French had not been able to do: establish permanent settlements. Only by establishing peaceful relations with the Inuit could the British hope to do this. The Treaty of 1765 was to pave the way for this.

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<sup>157</sup> Higgins, supra, note 17

# CHAPTER THREE

## THE POST TREATY PERIOD

### Historical Context: After the Treaty

Geo-Politics: French, British and American relations from the Treaty of Paris (1763) to the London Convention (1818)

#### The Aftermath of the Seven Years War

Having won the Seven Years War, Britain now had a more difficult task: to win the peace, and consolidate its gains in North America. As Fowler notes:

In the aftermath of victory Britain faced several daunting challenges, particularly in North America. It needed to consolidate its gains, implement new governing structures, and find the financial resources to pay off a huge national debt as well as to support the ongoing costs of defending and administering its vastly expanded empire.<sup>1</sup>

Britain now needed to mollify both its new French subjects, and the Aboriginal peoples, many of whom had sided with the French, and many of whom asserted title to the land the British were now claiming. Further, the British needed to pay off the costs of the war and pay for the costs of administering the colonies. Attempts to do both ultimately alienated many of the British settlers in the thirteen colonies, and were partly responsible for fuelling the American Revolution.

First, Aboriginal nations, particularly those that had been allies of the French, were dissatisfied with British policies after the defeat of the French in North America. This dissatisfaction manifested itself most openly in Pontiac's Rebellion, in which a number of First Nations took up arms, destroying a number of British forts. In an attempt to address Aboriginal concerns, the King issued the Royal Proclamation (1763).

This edict created a boundary between the thirteen colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, and the Indian lands west of the Appalachian mountains. Colonists were forbidden from moving west of the line and settling on Indian lands, and colonial officials could not issue land grants without royal approval. The Proclamation also outlawed the private purchase of Indian land, and required Indian lands to be purchased by the Crown in a public sale.

These restrictions on settlement were meant to appease the Indians, who remained a powerful political and military force. However, the restrictions also alienated the colonists, fostering some of the discontent that led to revolution.

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<sup>1</sup> Fowler, *supra*, note 5, at p. 284

Second, after their victory in the Seven Years War, the British had initially sought to impose the common law, the township landholding system and the protestant religion in Quebec. However, the pace of protestant settlement in Quebec was slow, and the British eventually adopted a much more conciliatory tone, particularly as rebellion began brewing in the thirteen colonies. The Quebec Act (1774) placed much of the Ohio Valley (including the Indian Lands) under the jurisdiction of Quebec, as well as allowing Catholics to assume public office, and restoring civil law and seigneurial system. The Act was meant both to punish the colonists for the Boston Tea Party earlier that year, and to prevent Quebecers from siding with the colonists. However, while the Act was successful in appeasing the French in Quebec, it merely added fuel to the fire of the rebellion, and became known to the colonists as one of the “Intolerable Acts”.

Third, increased taxes to pay for the increased national debt and costs of administering the empire were fuel to the colonial fire as well. New taxes introduced after the war in 1764, followed by the Stamp Act in 1765 and the Tea Act in 1773, all raised both taxes and the colonists’ ire. As Fowler states:

British attempts at evenhandedness, that is, asking colonials to contribute to the costs of empire and protecting the Indians from land-hungry whites, did not go over well in America.<sup>2</sup>

In part, the British were the victims of their own success. With the French no longer a threat, the colonists were no longer as dependent on Britain for security, and no longer as inclined to follow royal edicts.

The [Duke of Bedford] noted presciently that Canada in French hands has been a monitor to the colonies. “The neighbourhood of the French to our North American colonies was the greatest security for their dependence on the mother-country, which I feel will be slighted by them when their apprehension of the French was removed.”<sup>3</sup>

## **The American Revolution**

Further unrest in 1774 led to further British reprisals in 1775. By 1775, the American colonists were in open rebellion, and by 1776 they had formally declared independence. The conflict quickly made itself felt throughout Britain’s other North American colonies, including Newfoundland.

Earlier that year, the British government attempted to coerce Massachusetts into behaving itself by imposing the so-called "Restraining Act." By this legislation, several punitive measures were imposed on Massachusetts: the colony's trade with the British Isles was to be restrained, as well as its fishery at Newfoundland, and the port of Boston was closed. Massachusetts and the other American colonies, acting in Congress, retaliated by suspending all trade with those colonies and possessions which continued to support Great Britain, including Newfoundland. It was a brilliant counter-move. On the one hand, it was non-violent. Yet, given Newfoundland's dependence on the American provisions trade, it was guaranteed to let the authorities in England know that the Americans were in a position to exert pressure on Great Britain too.

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<sup>2</sup> Fowler, *supra*, note 5, at p. 288

<sup>3</sup> Fowler, *supra*, note 5, at p. 273

The effect on Newfoundland is easy to measure. In 1774, 175 American trading vessels came to Newfoundland. In 1775 this number fell to 66, and in 1776 to three. Moreover, the timing in 1775 was masterful. Most of the British fishing fleet had already departed with their usual cargoes of dry goods, salt, and passengers. The vessels carried no flour or bread because they were accustomed to having the Americans supply these items. When the trade reached Newfoundland, it discovered that neither the residents nor the seasonal fishermen had sufficient food to last the season, let alone an entire year. Many vessels were quickly unloaded and sent back to England, or on to Québec to acquire provisions there. But the ability of Québec and England to make up the deficit in food was limited, and when the ships returned to Newfoundland with their cargoes in September, it was evident that there still would not be enough.<sup>4</sup>

Although the French had lost their land base on the mainland of North America in the Treaty of Paris (1763), they returned to the continent in a different role during the American Revolution. Following the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the French began providing supplies, weapons and ammunition to the Americans. France and the United States formally entered into alliance in 1778. Spain and the Netherlands, both of whom were French allies, also went to war with Britain in the following years.

The involvement of the French leveled the playing field, and spread the war to Europe, the West Indies, and India. This left Britain isolated and facing a naval blockade in trying to reach North America. As the war progressed, the French showed that they were still able to project power in North America. French victory in the naval battle of the Chesapeake in 1781 prevented resupply of the British Army under General Lord Cornwallis, and cut off their escape, leading to their defeat and surrender by a combined Franco-American army in the Siege of Yorktown. This British capitulation was the last major land battle of the war in North America.

During the time of the American Revolution, British administration in Labrador was going through changes. In 1774, the coast of Labrador was returned to Quebec control, with the Governor of Newfoundland to superintend the Labrador fishery and keep an eye on the Moravian missions. Although there was usually a vessel or two that the governor of Newfoundland could send up the coast from time to time, the Quebec authorities showed little interest in Labrador and provided no civil authority. The lawlessness which prevailed as a result allowed powerful merchants to harass the weaker and American incursions after 1783 to increase.<sup>5</sup>

### **The Treaty of Paris (1783)**

The American Revolution formally ended with the Peace of Paris in 1783. The British signed the Treaty of Paris (1783) with the Americans, and the Treaties of Versailles (1783) with the French and Spanish respectively.

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<sup>4</sup> Olaf Janzen, *Initial Impact of the Revolution on Newfoundland*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland, <[http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/rev\\_initial\\_impact.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/rev_initial_impact.html)>

<sup>5</sup> James K. Hiller, *Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European Perspective*, page 45

In the Treaty of Versailles (1783) with France, the boundaries of the French shore were adjusted. This new stretch of coast line, which still included the Strait of Belle Isle, became known as the New French Shore. The French also retained their fishing base at St. Pierre and Miquelon.

In addition to recognizing the independence of the thirteen colonies, and setting the boundary between the United States and British North America, the Treaty of Paris (1783) granted the Americans rights to fish in various parts of British North America including “such part of the Coast of Newfoundland as the British Fishermen shall use, (but not to dry and cure the same on that Island)” and also the “Liberty to dry and cure Fish in any of the unsettled Bays, Harbours and Creeks of [...] Labrador so long as the same shall remain unsettled”. In other words, the American colonists, who previously would have fished as British citizens, retained the rights to fish in Labrador, as well as all of Newfoundland except the French Shore

In fact, fishing and drying rights in Newfoundland and Labrador were considered so important by both the Americans and the French, that the American desire for access to certain parts of the French Shore was ultimately a major stumbling block in the peace negotiations. This was ultimately resolved by the adjustment to the boundaries of the French Shore. Breaking this impasse was an important part of reaching agreement on these interlocking treaties that ultimately got Britain out of its ruinous war with America, France and Spain.

As Baehre notes, fishing rights in Newfoundland and Labrador were considered a significant concession to the Americans:

*In part, Britain conceded these rights because it wanted peace, but in any event the region was sparsely settled, its fishery ‘inexhaustible’, and the American fishery did not impinge upon British fisheries.”<sup>6</sup> “By 1807, British merchants thought that over 2,000 American fishing schooners and least 15,000 personnel had come, roughly two-thirds of them fishing off the Labrador coast. [...] making American exports of salt fish to the West Indies three times as high as Newfoundland’s, and more valuable to the United States than an annexation of the Canadas.”<sup>7</sup>*

In sum, British claims to Labrador and the Straits of Belle Isle had given the British an important bargaining chip with which to appease both the Americans and the French after the British defeat in the American Revolution.

## **The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars**

The American Revolution was to have another important impact on French-British relations. France’s participation in the Seven Years War and the American Revolution had left the country on the verge of bankruptcy. Combined with various other factors, and inspired by the American Declaration of Independence, this led to the French Revolution, the overthrow of the monarchy

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<sup>6</sup> Rainier Baehre, *Diplomacy, International Law, and Foreign Fishing in Newfoundland, 1814-1830: Revisiting the 1815 Treaty of Paris and the 1818 Convention*, published in *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, Volume X (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), at p. 362

<sup>7</sup> Baehre, *supra*, note 40, at p. 362

and creation of the French republic in 1792. This put France in conflict with most of the other European powers of the day. Britain and France were back at war by 1793, and largely remained in conflict through the Napoleonic Wars until 1815.

This conflict resulted in the suspension the French fishery on the French Shore and in the Strait of Belle Isle. The French fishery was not restored until the Treaty of Paris (1814), and was reaffirmed in the Treaty of Paris (1815) after Napoleon's defeat in the Battle of Waterloo. As Baehre states:

*British victory had ensured it supremacy of the seas, but its continuing security was threatened by French political instability in the post-Napoleonic world. The purpose of the Treaty of Paris [...] was 'a just balance of power in Europe' to ensure peaceful relations among remaining European powers. [...]*

*The Newfoundland fishery served a role in advancing this equilibrium of rights and reducing France's sense of humiliation. [...]*

*France could sustain a "nursery for seamen" and advance its naval power.<sup>8</sup>*

In other words, the restoration of French fishing rights in Northern Newfoundland including the Strait of Belle Isle yet again helped the British preserve peace and a new balance of power after the Napoleonic Wars.

Domestically, Britain turned its attention to the administration of the Labrador coast. It seemed apparent that the dual system of administration involving both Newfoundland and Quebec was not working. As a result, the dual system was disbanded in 1809 and responsibility for the coast of Labrador was returned to Newfoundland, with some further adjustment in 1825.<sup>9</sup>

### **The War of 1812 and its Aftermath**

While the British were fighting Napoleon in Europe, war broke out in North America between the United States and Britain in 1812. American fishing rights in Newfoundland and Labrador were immediately suspended. The initial peace terms in the Treaty of Ghent (1814) restored the pre-war boundaries, but did not address the issue of fishing rights. As Baehre notes, this was not because fishing rights were not important, but precisely because they were so important and controversial:

*The fishery was so valuable it [led] U.S. President Madison to adamantly assert, 'Our right to the fisheries, to the full extent of our territory as defined by the Treaty of [Paris] 1783 with Great Britain ... are of course not to be relinquished. But the British commissioners were told not to bend and that the fishing rights and privileges of the United States had been terminated with the war. That the fisheries were left unmentioned in the Treaty of Ghent did not reflect their secondary status, but their considerable*

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<sup>8</sup> Baehre, supra, note 40, at p. 356-357

<sup>9</sup> James K. Hiller, Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European Perspective, page 45.

*importance. [...] Not until the 1818 [London] Convention was the America[n] Shore restored.*"<sup>10</sup>

These issues were gradually resolved and economic relations between Britain and the United States were gradually normalized through the Commercial Convention of 1815, the Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817 and the London Convention (1818). Under the London Convention, The Americans were granted the "Liberty to take fish of any kind [...] on the Western and Northern Coast of Newfoundland from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands". This would have included the Strait of Belle Isle, of which Quirpon Island is located at the top. The Americans were also granted the "liberty forever, to dry and cure Fish in any of the unsettled Bays, Harbours and Creeks of the [...] Coast of Labrador". This gave the Americans fishing rights on both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle, as well as all of Labrador, which was still sparsely settled at the time.

Baehre explains the British motivations for the concession:

*Fellow plenipotentiary Richard Rush also believed that overall the agreement had 'gone beyond' the Treaty of Paris (1783) to the Americans' advantage and he thought this the product of American hard bargaining, and Britain's desire to avoid continuing friction. [...] As the biographer of one of the British plenipotentiaries, Henry Golbourn, noted, 'The successful arrangement of several long-festering disputes had placed British-American relations on a more secure foundation, and the price in concessions had not been particularly high.'*

*Clearly Castlereagh had sacrificed future growth in the Newfoundland fishery to a lasting peace. [...] The Convention as a whole ensured the continuation of trade: [...] Moreover, ensuring peace would reduce government military expenditures [...].*<sup>11</sup>

In sum, British claims to Labrador and the Strait of Belle Isle gave them an important bargaining chip with which to buy "lasting peace" and to restore normalcy to their relationships with France and America after the American Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the War of 1812. The result was lasting peace with these countries.

## **Economics:**

### **Fishing**

The end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a shift away from a migratory fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador. The American Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812 were all disruptive to the French and American fisheries and the markets that they served. Much of this slack was taken up by resident fishermen in Newfoundland.<sup>12</sup> Further, it became more profitable for the English merchants to set up in Newfoundland itself, and operate a

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<sup>10</sup> Baehre, *supra*, note ..., at p. 363

<sup>11</sup> Baehre, *supra*, note ..., at p. 371

<sup>12</sup> Jeff Butt, *The Decline of the Migratory Fishery*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland, <<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/decline.html>>

resident fishery rather than a migratory one. As Butt states “Finally, both Newfoundland's fishery and the people who ran it were based in Newfoundland.”<sup>13</sup>

However, Labrador and Northern Newfoundland lagged somewhat behind in this development. Baehre notes that because of the French and American fishery:

*[...] Newfoundland fishers were increasingly forced to fish on the Labrador coast, competing with an estimated 15,000 American fishers and 1,500 vessels on that coast. Taken together, the size of the French and American fishery outnumbered Newfoundland's by nearly five to one.*<sup>14</sup>

Further, the restoration of French and American fishing rights after the various wars influenced the development of Labrador. Candow states that:

*When French fishermen returned to the French Shore after 1815, the northern fishery shifted to Labrador. Throughout the remainder of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, sealing and the Labrador fishery maintained their close links.*<sup>15</sup>

As such, the development of a resident fishery in Labrador, like most aspects of Labrador's settlement, lagged behind Newfoundland. It remained a migratory fishery used by Americans, French and Newfoundlanders. When it did come, settlement in Labrador was not driven by the cod fishery alone, but by a closely linked fishery and sealing industry.

## Sealing

The rise of commercial sealing dates to early 18<sup>th</sup> century, coinciding with rise of industry in Great Britain. Oil was used for soap, as lubricant, and in high explosives. Skins were used for variety of products.<sup>16</sup>

For Newfoundland and Labrador, sealing was and remains a major industry. Indeed, as Candow observes:

*The seal hunt played a vital role in the Newfoundland's economy and culture. [...] For the country as a whole, sealing was, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, second only to the cod fishery in economic importance.*<sup>17</sup>

After acquiring Labrador in 1763, the British soon turned to sealing as a major industry, as the French had before them. Candow states that:

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<sup>13</sup> Olaf Janzen, *Prosperity and the end of the Migratory Fishery, 1803-1815*, online: Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, Memorial University of Newfoundland, <[http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/end\\_migfishery.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/end_migfishery.html)>

<sup>14</sup> Baehre, *supra*, note 40, at p. 374

<sup>15</sup> Candow, *supra*, note ..., at p. 30

<sup>16</sup> Candow, *supra*, note ..., at p. 16

<sup>17</sup> Candow, *supra*, note 26, at p. 179

*It is generally believed that English-speaking settlers in Newfoundland learned their sealing techniques from the French, particularly Jerseymen active in Labrador. [...] After 1763, when the Treaty of Paris placed Labrador under the jurisdiction of the governor of Newfoundland, there was a surge of British interest in the region. Jeremiah Coughlan, a merchant with holdings at Fogo, founded the first British sealing post on the Labrador coast in 1765. By the 1770's, seal oil produced at Labrador had an average annual value of £7,000[...].<sup>18</sup>*

As the Treaty of Paris (1763) opened up the Labrador coast to the British, the sealing industry and the fishery were closely linked. As Stopp notes:

*After the treaty came into full effect in the spring of 1763, British and Jerseyian merchants quickly became established in the Strait of Belle Isle, founding long-lived and profitable cod-fishing and sealing posts at the sites of former French Stations.<sup>19</sup>*

Goudie notes that “*The waters off the coast of Labrador had been fished for years but it was the growth of the seal fishery which initially brought permanent settlement and therefore long-term change to the coast.*”<sup>20</sup> Both Harp seals and Hood seals migrated through the Strait of Belle Isle in December, requiring a winter presence.<sup>21</sup>

The Royal Commission on Seals and the Sealing Industry in Canada made some pertinent observations on the relationship between the Moravians, the Inuit, sealing, and the settlement of the Labrador coast, stating:

*The first Europeans to settle in Labrador were the United Brethren (Moravian Mission), who arrived in 1771. They established settlements from Killinek, on the northern tip of the coast, to Makkovik, joining some 2,000 Inuit already living in the area between Killinek and Rigolet. Other Europeans began to arrive in the 1790s, and immigration, on a small scale, continued throughout the 19th century. These settlers adopted the activities and learned the skills of the Inuit, including seal-harvesting techniques. Soon after their arrival, the Moravians introduced the use of nets, which were particularly effective for harvesting harp seals during the seals' autumn and spring migrations along the Labrador coast. They exported the products of this hunt and held a monopoly of trade on the northern Labrador coast. Records indicate that, by the beginning of the 19th century, cargoes of seal products worth more than \$25,000 were exported annually.<sup>22</sup>*

Sealing remains a viable and controversial industry in Labrador today. As the passage above suggests, in the wake of the Treaty of 1765, and with the intervention of the Moravians, Europeans were increasingly able to settle the Labrador coast, learn the sealing techniques of the

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<sup>18</sup> Candow, *supra*, note 26, at p. 23

<sup>19</sup> Stopp, *supra*, note 11, at p. 14

<sup>20</sup> Goudie, *supra*, note 1

<sup>21</sup> Candow, *supra*, note 26, at p. 9-15

<sup>22</sup> Royal Commission on Seals and the Sealing Industry in Canada, (Ottawa: Privy Council Office, 1986), at p. 21 online: < <http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/pco-bcp/commissions-ef/malouf1986-ef/malouf1986-eng.htm>>

Inuit, and, with the assistance of the nets introduced by the Moravians, create a profitable industry, which lent itself to more of a year-round presence.

### **Aboriginal-Settler Relations and Patterns of Settlement**

As has already been indicated, there was very little in the way of a permanent European presence in Southern Labrador at the time of the Treaty of 1765. The French had been able to establish little more than seasonal trading posts or fishing and sealing stations, manned by settlers from New France. Relations with the Inuit were generally hostile, and these limited posts and stations were often raided and burnt in the off-season.

Palliser's initial goal was the creation of a migratory British fishery, and not permanent British settlement. As one historian notes:

*Hugh Palliser was governor of Newfoundland between 1764 and 1768. An advocate of a stronger naval force - the fishery was to be a 'nursery for seamen' - he supported the establishment of a migratory fishery at Labrador and opposed any land concessions. Except for these former concessions, Labrador was the ideal location for the realization of Palliser's goals. It was void of any veritable settlers and its few resources did little to encourage settlement.*

In order to execute his plan, Palliser thought it necessary to establish friendly relations with the Inuit, who had developed a reputation for destroying equipment and gear left by the French during the winter.<sup>23</sup>

As Bezzina indicates, Palliser's efforts yielded definite results: "[...] European-Inuit relations did not improve until Palliser and Cartwright took the necessary steps."<sup>24</sup>

Ultimately, the British were able to achieve what the French had not: a resident population engaging in a range of activities including sealing and fishing.

### **Conclusion on the Treaty Context**

In closing, it is evident that the Treaty of 1765, taken in its historical context, was a vital step for the British in gaining access to the lands and resources of coastal Labrador with a minimum of conflict. When the French ceded Labrador to the British in 1763, it was the site of seasonal fishing, sealing and trading stations, with a minimal population of European settlers south of Cape Charles and none on the Atlantic Coast. Conflict with the Inuit had impeded European settlement, and prevented the French from establishing the resident population that was necessary to fully exploit the abundant fishing and sealing resources.

By concluding a treaty with the Inuit of Southern Labrador, the British were able to consolidate their claim to the rich fishing and sealing resources of the Strait of Belle Isle and Southern

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<sup>23</sup> Butt, *supra*, note 18

<sup>24</sup> Bezzina, *supra*, note 34, at p. 25

Labrador. They were able to begin the settlement of Southern Labrador alongside the Inuit, where they learned the sealing and fishing techniques that the Inuit had used for millennia.

Further, control over the fishing grounds of Labrador and the Strait of Belle Isle provided the British with a valuable bargaining chip which they were able to parlay into lasting peace with the French and the Americans, something which placed all of their North American colonies on a more secure footing.

## **The Early Influence of the Moravian Missions**

The Moravian missions were European constructs for trade and religious conversion. They were not an indigenous Inuit social construct.

Britain used the Moravians as a tool to try to de-savage the Inuit and to pull them north from the full use of their usual territory through the offer of trade goods.

A full examination of the role and impact of the Moravian mission is impossible and unnecessary for this land claim submission. Suffice it to say that being “Moravian” did not come to be an indicator of or a perquisite for “Inuit-ness”.

The Moravians were not initially that successful since they required Inuit to give up their usual lifeways and land use patterns. The missions were “trade” oriented and could only succeed if the Inuit who became attached to them could provide sufficient trade goods for the Moravians to sell, at sufficient profit to keep the mission funded. This necessarily put an emphasis on encouraging the Inuit attached to the mission to concentrate on the harvest of species that had mercantile value. Those Inuit then lost some of the usual food harvest opportunities and, as a result, became more dependent on European-style food supplies from the mission, bought with credits from the animal products traded.

The Moravian missions were located based on European preferences, rather than in response to extant Inuit populations. For example, the first Moravian location was at Cape Nisbet. That attempt failed due to poor preparation, poor selection of location and an inability to achieve harmonious relations with the Inuit of the area.

The second Moravian request on February 11, 1769 was for a location at Eskimo Bay (Lake Melville) due to the large Inuit population known to live in that area.<sup>25</sup> This request was originally approved by an Order in Council but subsequently re-adjusted in accordance with the British desire to locate the mission posts farther to the north to try to pull the Inuit out of southern Labrador.

Although England saw a clear benefit to a Moravian mission trying to pull the Inuit away from the British fishery areas, it took five years, from 1764 to 1769 to reach agreement on how this might be accomplished.

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<sup>25</sup> Cartographic and Toponymic Research, page 8 – Doc # 150

In 1765, the Moravians took the position that they required a large land grant, so that their mission Inuit would not be exposed to other Europeans. However, Palliser was hostile to land grants, since they were inconsistent, in his mind, with the objective of an open British fishery.<sup>26</sup>

Palliser left Newfoundland in 1768, allowing a more flexible approach to the Moravian mission to emerge. Until a land grant became possible, a compromise was reached whereby the Moravians would accept an Order in Council allowing them to “occupy and possess at His Majesty’s pleasure” an area of 100,000 acres.

The Moravians first requested a land grant at their preferred mission location of Eskimo Bay<sup>27</sup> (Hamilton Inlet), with its high concentration of Inuit residents.

After an exploratory journey guided by Mikak and Tuglavina in the summer of 1770, a tract of land was selected farther into the north in 1770 and an order-in-council was issued, leading to the establishment of a community called Nain. A land grant was never pursued for this or any future Labrador Moravian mission.<sup>28</sup>

In 1772, Governor Molyneux Shuldham issued a proclamation formally declaring that the Moravians were to use “every fair and gentle means in their power, to prevent the said Esquimaux Savages from going to the southward, without first obtaining their permission in writing for so doing”.<sup>29</sup>

In 1773, Lieutenant Roger Curtis paid a visit to Nain and reported that the Inuit “have been threatened by punishment if they steal again, and were this Year forbid going to Newfoundland. This Restriction is very unpleasing to them, but they submitted with the Appearance of much Anxiety not to offend”.<sup>30</sup> (Note that there was no hint of the Inuit being asked to reduce their occupation of Labrador itself, just the island of Newfoundland.)

Roger Curtis reported great progress by the Moravians in “civilizing” the Inuit then residing in Nain but clearly described numerous other Inuit communities to the south that were beyond the scope of that influence.

This containment policy was never successful. Many Inuit never became attached to these settlements or became disenchanted with them and left to go back to family communities and a “normal life” farther south. The Moravians did not offer some trade goods and even the “missionized Inuit” continued to maintain their relationships with European traders and fishermen along the southern coast.<sup>31</sup>

When the 14 Moravian missionaries arrived in Nain in 1771, they erected a prefabricated mission house and surrounded it with a palisade. In 1773, it was enlarged and a bakery, saw mill

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<sup>26</sup> James K. Hiller, *Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European Perspective*, page 44.- In Doc # 213

<sup>27</sup> Letter February 11, 1769, CO 194/18 [Reel B-213]

<sup>28</sup> James K. Hiller, *Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European Perspective*, page 44 – 45.

<sup>29</sup> Charles A. Martijn, *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush*, page 83

<sup>30</sup> Charles A. Martijn, *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush*, page 83

<sup>31</sup> Charles A. Martijn, *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush*, page 83

and smithy were added. However, there were very few Inuit located in the area. Early drawings show only one Inuit winter house, and that was some distance from the mission compound. Other than one family with a sick boy, the Moravians lived alone at the mission until 1779 when five families, totally 37 people, wintered at Nain.<sup>32</sup>

The first permanent Inuit dwellings in Nain were erected in 1783 and were not built by Inuit. They were built by the Moravians in an Inuit style, hoping to encourage some Inuit to stay there with them. Only Christianized Inuit were allowed to use them.<sup>33</sup> Since no particular Inuit population considered Nain to be ‘special’ within the territory, little success was encountered in attracting them to stay there until sometime after the spiritual “Awakening” in 1803-1805.

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century, Inuit populations at Nain remained low and unstable, fluctuating between 50 and 80 people.<sup>34</sup> Nain’s population peak in 1845 was 322 people.<sup>35</sup> Generally that residency was only in the winter months. Inuit would move to Nain after autumn seal hunting, sometimes in December before Christmas and then leave Nain for the caribou hunt immediately after Easter.<sup>36</sup>

Although a third mission was established at Hopedate in 1782 in an attempt to “hold” the Inuit to that latitude, a ‘veritable exodus’ from the north flowed over in 1783<sup>37</sup>, with missionized Inuit joining their siblings and cousins in the south for free and open access to European trade goods and other mercantile opportunities. Some later Moravian communities were formed, after considerable internal debate, to respond primarily to the needs of European settlers.

The Moravian influence certainly enhanced Inuit language retention and promoted a written form of Inuktitut. However, it also created a dependent “company store” lifeway for its anchored Inuit population, which then had to give up some of its traditional transhumance land use patterns. The Inuit of south/central Labrador retained their traditional transhumance land use patterns, combining trade practices with subsistence harvest activities as their forbears had done for at least a century.

It is not the purpose of this report to detail and consider the Moravian communities. Suffice it to say that the Moravian experience was not the only legitimate and continuing Inuit reality in Labrador. This report deals with the Inuit communities of south/central Labrador who continued to live in their traditional resource areas and lived out a lifestyle with continuity from the mid-1700’s through to today.

## **Continuity of Occupation post-1765**

We have now clearly established in this Report Inuit use and occupation of south and central Labrador to the Treaty-making period (1765), giving rise to Aboriginal Title at the date of British

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<sup>32</sup> Inuit Women as Catalysts of Change, Melanie Ann Cabak, page 76. – Doc # 199

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, page 76

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, page 56

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, page 64

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, page 74

<sup>37</sup> Charles A. Martijn, Painting the Past with a Broad Brush, page 83

sovereignty. We have also established that the Treaty of 1765 did not constitute a land surrender.

We know as well that Inuit continued to use and occupy, on a regular and multi-seasonal basis, their territory in south and central Labrador, after 1765, subject to a growing pressure of displacement from outsiders. That displacement was initially seasonal, with a non-resident summer/migratory fishery on the coast. At later times, a non-Inuit presence became, in some areas, more permanent.

During a period of time beginning in the late 1700's, occasional European males enter into familial relationship with Inuit women. These encounters occur on the south coast and in central Labrador. There is no hint in the historic record that these Europeans went to either northern Labrador or Greenland to meet their wives. So it is obvious that they came from Inuit families resident in occupation of south and central Labrador.<sup>38</sup> Each Inuit woman was a member of an Inuit community, which in turn represented 3 – 6 families of men, women and children from that area.

The report “Toponymic and Cartographic Research” identifies consistent and regular encounters with Inuit over many generations. Although some Inuit may have pulled back from the Straits area after 1765 to create a buffer zone, preferring indirect cultural contact,<sup>39</sup> this was only one of a series of economic responses to a slowly growing European presence. Other Inuit clearly saw economic potential in this new presence and worked to exploit it, in the same way as Inuit had exploited emerging and changing environmental conditions for centuries.

Cartwright's Journal (1770 – 1786) describes many such encounters.<sup>40</sup> The following are only examples:

- Auchbucktoke is described in 1770 as an Inuit settlement (Hopedale area)
- in 1771, he traded and visited with 300 Inuit off Cape Charles
- in 1775, he identified a location at Seal Islands as “an excellent Esquimau harbour”
- he described a group of Inuit at Charles River in 1773 (a site of a small pox outbreak)
- in 1779, Sandwich Bay was described as being used by the Inuit as a harbour for shallops and for egg collecting
- in 1779, he expressly identifies Batteau Harbour as an Inuit settlement
- in 1783, he describes the arrival at Cartwright Harbour of 36 Inuit of all ages and both sexes (who over-wintered in Ivucktoke / Hamilton Inlet)
- in 1785, he refers to Inuit families at Chateau Bay.

Although these incidents are described in a particular year, there would be nothing ‘particular’ about them, since the Inuit use and occupation would be a reflection of a long prior (and continuing future) similar Inuit use and occupation over generations.

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<sup>38</sup> Patty Way “Geographical Areas” – Doc # 210

<sup>39</sup> Natalie Brewster Thesis P.123 – Doc # 146

<sup>40</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, pages 13 – 15, 41 – Doc # 150

At the historic Treaty event in July 1765 at Chateau Bay, Governor Palliser met with 4-500 men, women and children,<sup>41</sup> who demonstrated an acceptance of that area as being “theirs”. They were “at home” in their land.

Nicholas Darby had a sealing and fishing station at Cape Charles and a house in St. Charles River. Inuit killed 3 of his servants in 1767. These hostilities caused Darby to abandon the area.<sup>42</sup>

Cartwright’s records note the birth of mixed ancestry children between 1776 and 1778. He had two Inuit female servants (who had children with members of his crew). Cartwright himself proposed to an Inuit woman in 1786 but she rejected him.<sup>43</sup>

In July 1770, Lieutenant Francis Lucas located a large Inuit settlement at Auchbuktoke. One Inuit family returned to Cape Charles and over-wintered with Cartwright. They hunted with arrows, not guns.<sup>44</sup>

Inuit lived with Cartwright in 1770 – 71. They expressed frustration with his house and left to build a snow house at Kyer Cove Head. There has since been a survey of this area and a cobble feature located there.<sup>45</sup>

The historic record shows that Inuit tented on Cape Islands in July and August in 1770 and 1771. In 1772, a camp of 8 Kayaks was seen on Great Caribou Island. There are frequent references to Inuit during this time.<sup>46</sup>

In August, 1770, Mr. Saugman returned from Chateau Bay and reported that “the southern tribes of [Inuit] had lately been there”. The Moravians went to Fort York to trade with Southern Inuit in 1770, before beginning their mission in Nain in 1771.<sup>47</sup>

William Richardson in 1771 obtained the first Inuit word list from a number of encounters (Piggot, 2010). Richardson also records friendly relations with ten Inuit men who boarded the HMS Grenville. From British Naval records recently examined by Edward Tompkins there are numerous encounters with Inuit on British ships on station in Labrador<sup>48</sup>. On one encounter, an Inuit family were engaged in ‘*blacking the yards*’ which is a process of ‘slushing down’<sup>49</sup> the yards with ‘a mixture of turpentine and tar’<sup>50</sup>. Relationships with Inuit were not always acrimonious.

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<sup>41</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p. 13 – Doc # 136

<sup>42</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p. 14

<sup>43</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p. 15

<sup>44</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p. 15

<sup>45</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p. 15

<sup>46</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p. 15

<sup>47</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p. 16

<sup>48</sup> Review of the British..., Edward Tompkins, 2010, Doc # 204

<sup>49</sup> Captain Hamilton Carter, Pers. Comm, 2010

<sup>50</sup> Captain Gary Pittman, Pers. Comm., 2010.

Roger Curtis visited the Straits of Belle Isle in the summers of 1771 and 1772. Some of his findings are questioned, with many believing they are biased, simplistic or largely inaccurate.<sup>51</sup> What is clear from his reports is that, in 1772, Inuit are still in regular use and occupation of the region around Chateau Bay and Cape Charles. He recommended establishing a patrol vessel in Chateau Bay, to try to dissuade them.

Curtis sought to divide the Inuit “tribes” (or hoards, as he called them) up into groupings, to which he assigned names and a population estimate based on the number of boats he observed in each place. From this, he calculated, for example, that the Ogbucktoke tribe, which was the first to be encountered leaving the Straits of Belle Isle, consisted of 270 people. He determined that the next “tribe”, who lived a good way to the north, were a smaller population of some 100 people in Nonynoke (the Nain area).

Roger Curtis noted that the Moravians had, by 1772, met with some success in reducing Inuit seasonal mobility for the Nonynoke. He expressed the hope that the Ogbucktoke, who maintained their traditional seasonal transhumance lifestyle, might also see a trade benefit in reducing the extent of their southern presence.

Whether Curtis’ observations on population numbers can be accepted, it is obvious that he confirmed the continued presence of Inuit in south/central Labrador.

Between 1770 and 1775, Cartwright, from his location at Ranger Lodge, traded with “southern Inuit”, who arrived via Camp Island at the mouth of Niger Sound, “where they maintain an almost permanent summer camp”.<sup>52</sup> Cartwright traveled south with them as far as Chateau Bay. He reported that the Inuit, at their three southern settlements, did not harvest whales or catch furs but did seal, fish and fowl, and barter with northern Inuit tribes for whalebone.

Inuit were present in sufficient numbers at Camp Islands in 1772 that Captain Morris of the Man of War Otter, based at York Fort, issued an order that Inuit should not come south of Camp Islands. This was, as was usual, largely ignored by the Inuit. As a result, in 1773 Lieut. Curtis asked the Moravians to demand that Inuit stop going to Newfoundland for wood. This too was unsuccessful.

Cartwright reported that the three “southernmost tribes” were completely swept away in 1773 by small pox. However, the accuracy of this statement can not be accepted, since when he moved to the Sandwich Bay area in 1775, he immediately came into contact with Inuit who wintered at Groswater Bay and Island of Ponds. Similarly, in 1773, on board the Sloop George, Moravians encountered eight kayaks of Inuit near Chateau Bay. The Inuit camped at Camp Island, calling themselves ‘Arbartoks’. This group was some 50 Inuit, both young and old.

E. W. Hawkes<sup>53</sup> found in 1916 that the cultural identifiers of Pulta’vamuit (Battle Harbour) and Netcetumiut (Cartwright – Sandwich Bay) were still in use. He limited the descriptor Ogbuctocke to the Belle Isle and noted that the consistent use of the Straits area had reduced

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<sup>51</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, pages 35 – 41 – Doc # 150

<sup>52</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p. 17

<sup>53</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, pages 45 - 46

after 1770. These, and other group names, are displayed in Figure 1 of *Toponymic and Cartographic Research*, page 105. It is thus clear that an Inuit population, using traditional Inuit self-identifiers, continued to use and occupy south and central Labrador up to and including 1916. There is no reason to think that it did not continue thereafter as well.

In between these two dates (1770s and early 1900's), there are consistent encounters between Europeans and Inuit in south and central Labrador. Reports of those encounters are not that frequent, however, since there were very few Europeans visiting Labrador who bothered to write about them. For traders and fishermen, the encounters were usual and not sufficiently remarkable to write down (assuming they were literate). Most such writings, when they exist at all, contain very little context, since the recorder was not generally interested in the life and ways of the Inuit.

There are some military records. We know<sup>54</sup>, for example, that the following forts and trade posts were established in Labrador:

- 1710 – 1763 – Fort la Forteau (French)
- 1713 – 1763 – Red Bay – destroyed by Inuit in 1719 and again in 1721
- 1735 – French post at Cape St. Charles
- 1740 – 1763 – French Fort Baie – Chateau
- 1743 – Rigolet Post
- 1766 – 1796 – Fort Pitt/Fort York – Chateau Bay
- 1775 – 1786 – Fort Cartwright
- 1840 – Lake Melville Post (North West River)
- 1843 – Postville
- 1838 – Fort Nascopie (Hebron area)
- 1858 – Fort Trial (Nain)
- 1864 – Fort Lampson (Hebron)
- 1926 – Fort Hebron

We also know that the construction and operation of these forts and trading posts did not result in an abandonment of south and central Labrador by the Inuit. For example, in 1791 Captain Ambrose Crofton described an Inuit group at Pitts Harbour who had no knowledge of the Moravians but were “Europeanized”.<sup>55</sup> Clearly, this Inuit community remained in place in south/central Labrador and was not in any way derivative of the Moravian mission population. In fact, this south/central Inuit community was not even familiar with the Moravians!

There are relatively few records during this period of history from government officials recording encounters with Inuit. In one example, Captain Atkins in 1792 described 12 boats of Inuit at Spotted Islands/Island of Ponds.<sup>56</sup> Judge Paterson in Indian Harbour 1826 noted that “a good many Eskimaux occasionally beset this place”, reflecting seasonal occupation. Paterson

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<sup>54</sup> Baehre Report on Mercantile Records –

<sup>55</sup> Stopp 1991 Report, p.20 – Doc # 136

<sup>56</sup> John C. Kennedy, *Visitor's Accounts of Inuit Metis between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison, Labrador*, page 41 – In Doc # 213

observed that there were 20 Inuit there at that time.<sup>57</sup> Roger McDonnell describes Inuit at Bradore in 1791 who were engaged in European trade but had no knowledge of the Moravians.<sup>58</sup>

British Admiralty records do provide us with evidence of continuous encounter with resident Inuit populations in south and central Labrador in the post-Treaty period. Examples include:

- HMS Guernsey's meeting with Inuit at Pitts Harbour in August 1766;<sup>59</sup>
- An encounter between Inuit and the Sloop Zephyr at Henley Harbour in September 1767;<sup>60</sup>
- Governor Palliser's re-confirmation of the Treaty relationship of Peace and Friendship on board HMS Guernsey in July 26, 1767 at Cape Charles with 19 Inuit and the subsequent trade in July 1767 at Whale Island with 31 Inuit and trade in August 1767 with 4-500 Inuit men, women and children;<sup>61</sup>
- HMS Guernsey was boarded by 19 Inuit at Pitts Harbour in July 1767;<sup>62</sup>
- The Niger in September 1767 met with numerous Inuit, with '15 batteaux and great numbers of canoes' near Cooks Harbour, Newfoundland;<sup>63</sup>
- Captain John Chapman's transportation of Inuit in the Sloop Nautilus from St. John's Harbour to Byron's Bay in July/August 1769.<sup>64</sup> The Nautilus ship's book reports trade in whale bone and seal skins with Inuit, for kettles, knives, hatchet heads, etc.;<sup>65</sup>
- The embassy of 4 Inuit in September 1769 to HMS Otter, who reported 200 men, women and children in the Cape Charles area;<sup>66</sup>
- Inuit families encountered by HMS Grenville near Cape Charles in September 1771;<sup>67</sup>
- HMS Otter engagement with an Inuit shallop near Chateau Bay in September 1772;<sup>68</sup>
- Ambrose Crofton's encounter with men, women and children at Temple Bay in 1797. Crofton estimates the Inuit population in southern Labrador (unaffiliated with the Moravians) to be approximately 4,000;<sup>69</sup>
- Lnt. RW Clarke's report from the Sloop Pluto of August 1797 of a shallop containing 17 or 18 Inuit men, women and children near Chateau Bay/Temple Bay.<sup>70</sup>

The fact that there are not more such official accounts is a function of the relatively few government or judicial records for the period. Although Governor Duckworth did visit Chateau Bay in 1810 (after Labrador was re-annexed to Newfoundland in 1809), there were no judicial officials in Labrador prior to 1811. It was only in 1826 that a court went to Labrador for the first time. The first Justices of the Peace were appointed in 1827. However, by 1834, to government

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<sup>57</sup> Down North on the Labrador Circuit

<sup>58</sup> Roger McDonnell report, page 25

<sup>59</sup> Edward Tompkins, Review of British Admiralty Records, page 65 – Doc # 204

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, page 56

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, page 43 and 65

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, page 67

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, page 71 - 72

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, page 51 and 68

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, page 85

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, page 54 and 73

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, page 65

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, page 54

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, page 22 and 56

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, page 90

eyes “Labrador remained a distant and obscure wilderness, hardly comprehensible, let alone governable”. When representative government was established in Newfoundland in 1832, there was no seat for Labrador. In 1834, the Labrador court was disbanded, not to be re-instituted until 1863<sup>71</sup>.

The best records are, as is often the case, from clergy. There are records from Moravian brothers, Anglican ministers and Methodist missionaries.

Dr. Rollmann has provided a report of population figures taken from Methodist Missionary records<sup>72</sup>. Among his findings are:

- In 1819, there was a baptism of 6 Inuit in Conception Bay.<sup>73</sup> This led to a heightened Methodist interest in missions to Labrador;
- Rev. Thomas Hickson in the summer of 1824 noted the population at Esqimaux Bay as being “real Eskimo” adults 100, “real Eskimo” children 60 and “half-Eskimos” 60. There were also 90 European settlers and 16 Canadians. He observed that the Inuit population was highly migratory, continuing to live a transhumant lifestyle<sup>74</sup>;
- Rev. Richard Knight in 1825 suggested Cullingham Tickle or Snook’s Cove as a location for a Methodist mission because Snook’s Cove was a frequent winter location for Inuit. He identified 192 people at Esqimaux Bay, only 7 of whom had not been there the year before. This suggests a fairly settled population in this area. Rev. Knight identified 50 to 60 full and half-blooded Inuit in Sandwich Bay, with another eighty to one hundred from Sandwich Bay to Square Island<sup>75</sup>;
- Rev. Ellidge undertook a mission to Snook’s Cove in 1826/27. He identified 41 adult Inuit and 35 children in the Bay, six of whom were married to Englishmen. He described their lifestyle as being transhumant from November to April, moving 60 miles up and down bay. Due to the migratory nature of the Inuit population, the mission attempt was abandoned<sup>76</sup>;
- Rev. Ellidge described the population at Esqimaux Bay in 1826 as being 41 “real Eskimo” adults, 35 “real Eskimo” children, 48 “half-Eskimos”, 46 European settlers and 20 Canadians;
- Rev. Ellidge described the Inuit population along the coast in 1826 as consisting of 36 Inuit between Esqimaux Bay and the Moravians, 74 Inuit in Esqimaux Bay, and 63 Inuit between Esqimaux Bay and Cape Charles (who were principally at Sandwich Bay in the summer and Tub Island in the winter).<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Down North on the Labrador Circuit

<sup>72</sup> Hans Rollman – Population Figures – Methodist Missionaries

<sup>73</sup> Page 2

<sup>74</sup> Page 2

<sup>75</sup> Page 3

<sup>76</sup> Page 3

<sup>77</sup> Page 4

- Rev. Bate replaced Ellidge but spent most of his time among the Newfoundland and American fishermen. However, in 1828 he described 33 Inuit living in Snook's Cove, in addition to two other Inuit families who lived on the "other side of the bay".
- Rev. Bate described the Inuit and settlers in the Bay in 1828 as consisting of 77 Inuit, 53 half-Inuit and 17 European Brethren (with 7 children and 12 servants).
- Rev. Pickavant reported in 1828 that the Inuit of Esquimaux Bay were highly mobile, were scattered over 200 miles of territory and were difficult to reach much of the year. This report led to a waning enthusiasm and the Methodists ended their missions to Labrador in 1828.<sup>78</sup>

Further details as at 1824 are provided in the Labrador Journal of Rev. Thomas Hickson.<sup>79</sup> He complained that the Esquimeaux were 'up the Bay' and that he could not meet them.<sup>80</sup> At Tub Harbour, he found two 'real Esquimeaux women' who were living with European partners.<sup>81</sup> He found the same at Cuff Harbour.<sup>82</sup> At Cullingham's Tickle, he found a community of forty Inuit<sup>83</sup>, one female member of which had married an Englishman and had 6 children.<sup>84</sup> Some of the Inuit in the Bay had been at Moravian missions, others had not.<sup>85</sup> He had some contact with families from distant parts of the Bay, including three Englishmen who had families with Inuit women.<sup>86</sup>

The lifestyle of the Inuit communities, including their occasional European male members, had not changed. The shelters were still wigwams, consisting of a few poles and seal skins, which were noted to be easily moved and which they "often do".<sup>87</sup>

Inuit, European husbands and half-Inuit lived together in the same communities. An example of this is at Tinker Harbour, where Rev. Hickson visited a single hut occupied by two families. One man was European and the other was half-Inuit. Both had Inuit wives. One family had 5 children and the other had 4 children. All lived together in the one large hut, built in classic Inuit shape with one side for sleeping. Ten other Inuit lived with them in the same area.<sup>88</sup>

At Dumplin Harbour, Rev. Hickson found that many of the Inuit could understand some English but cannot speak it. The Inuit women were dressed in borrowed English dress. The community consisted of twenty "real" Inuit and 14 half-Inuit.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Page 5

<sup>79</sup> Peter Laing, ed., The Labrador Journal of Rev. Thomas Hickson, 1824 – Doc # 149

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, page 10

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, page 11

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, page 14

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, page 18

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, page 30

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, page 26

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, page 34

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, page 44

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, page 49

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, page 58

Rev. Hickson assessed that the number of Eskimo at that time from Cape Charles to Sandwich Bay was about 100, with about 149 year-round settlers.<sup>90</sup> At Cape North, there was a community of 30 Inuit, living near about 30 European settlers.<sup>91</sup> All of the population at Spotted Island in 1824 was Inuit.<sup>92</sup> Seal Island had a community of ten to twelve<sup>93</sup> and Square Island had a community of 23 “real” Inuit, along with several Europeans with Inuit wives.<sup>94</sup>

The next visitor to the area was Rev. Richard Knight.<sup>95</sup> Leaving the Straits of Belle Isle, he traveled to many communities in south/central Labrador in 1825.

At Cape Charles Harbour, Rev. Knight met an Inuit woman, married to an Irish man, with whom she had a large family.<sup>96</sup> At Square Islands, he encountered a family consisting of a “master”, six half-Inuit and some servants. The “master” of the house had an Inuit wife and 5 children. The two oldest daughters had been taught to read.<sup>97</sup>

Knight had difficulty catching up with the Inuit, since they had “retired to the upper part of the Bay”. At Black Tickle, he met with an Inuit family. The man could speak a little English but his wife and child could not.<sup>98</sup>

At Domino, Rev. Knight was impressed by a ‘fair specimen’ of Eskimo, a family who ‘by dint of their own industry support themselves without that savage desultory mode of living which characterizes their tribe in general’.<sup>99</sup> (The prejudices of that era, which prized settled industry over seasonal transhumance, are clearly evident here.)

At Indian Harbour, Rev. Knight visited an Inuit family consisting of a woman, a man and 5 children. He was informed that this had been a place of ‘resort’ of the Inuit, and saw many graves and sites of igloos or winter habitations.<sup>100</sup> He inquired of an Inuit, who was passing by in his boat, as to where he could meet other Inuit. He was told of a woman living with an Englishman, with five children. When he met the man, he found that he could read and write and had taught two of his children to read.

At Eskimo Bay, Rev. Knight describes 70 people attending service, half of whom were Inuit living in wigwams. Two could read Inuktitut (which had not previous to the Moravians been a written language) and could sing some of the Moravian hymns.<sup>101</sup> These were Inuit who had been in the Moravian missions and had moved back to Hamilton Inlet. As well, he met two

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid, page 60

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, page 63

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, page 65

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, page 67

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, page 69

<sup>95</sup> Peter Laing, ed., *The Labrador Journal of Rev. Richard Knight (1825)* – Doc # 148

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, page 10

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, page 12

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, page 17

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, page 9

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, page 12

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, pages 34 - 36

women who had been at a Moravian settlement and married Inuit from “the southward”.<sup>102</sup> The Moravians complained that “A number of the baptized, particularly from Hopedale were seduced to the South where they purchased fire arms, associated with the heathen, and plunged themselves not only into spiritual but into temporal ruin”.<sup>103</sup>

Everywhere Rev. Knight went, he encountered Inuit communities, some of the members of which were in, or from, mixed marriages. At Cuff Harbour, there were 18 Inuit and half-Inuit, only one of which, one old woman, spoke any English. That elderly woman had been born in Hopedale and was the ‘first scholar’ that went to school in that place.<sup>104</sup>

At Cullingham’s Tickle, Rev. Knight was unable to find the Inuit community visited by Hickson the prior year. Twenty had gone to the north about ten leagues, and the remainder had “gone up the bay”. When he went “up the bay” to search for them, he found about 30 Inuit and was told about the location of another twenty. Once they were aware of his presence, he managed to attract 90 to 100 to a service, about half of whom were Inuit.<sup>105</sup>

After a meeting with the wife of Mikak’s son, whose name was “Palliser”<sup>106</sup> on August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1825, he then met with a party of 12 Inuit on the 12<sup>th</sup>. On the 13<sup>th</sup>, he met with a family consisting of an Englishman, his Inuit wife and their son. On Sunday the 14<sup>th</sup>, he preached, including to about 30 Inuit.<sup>107</sup> On the 16<sup>th</sup>, Rev. Knight performed a service, including to 22 Inuit, and about as many Europeans.<sup>108</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup>, he visited the opposite shore, and encountered several more Inuit families, living in wigwams.<sup>109</sup> The Inuit women that he encountered were described as being busily engaged in making boots, moccasins and various articles of the kind.<sup>110</sup>

On August 21<sup>st</sup>, Rev. Knight met with twelve Inuit and nine half-Inuit, who lived together in a single Inuit community.<sup>111</sup> On the 25<sup>th</sup>, he met with an Inuit couple and their two children, who came 40 miles seeking religious instruction. On the 28<sup>th</sup>, he visited the Tickle again, and had a mixed congregation of 32, “thirteen heathen, eight who had pagan mothers and European fathers,... one Anabaptist, two Catholics, four Episcopalians and four Methodists”.<sup>112</sup> He baptized a child belonging to two half-Inuit and then proceeded to Tub Island. On September 2<sup>nd</sup>, he married an Englishman to a half-Inuit woman.<sup>113</sup>

Rev. Knight reported that there were 192 Inuit in Eskimo Bay during his visit, with another 50 to 100 in Sandwich Bay, and 80 to 100 from Sandwich Bay to Square Islands. The number of settlers in Eskimo Bay was about 70. He speculated (correctly as it turned out) that the number

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid, page 38 - 39

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, page 39

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, page 40 - 41

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, page 43

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, page 46

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, pages 48 - 49

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, page 49

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, page 52

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, page 54

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, page 57

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, page 62

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, page 64

of Inuit in the area were likely to increase considerably, since 2/3 of the married women were under the age of 30.<sup>114</sup>

Rev. George Ellidge's journeys in 1826-27 demonstrate similar continuity of Inuit occupation and culture.<sup>115</sup> Although Rev. Ellidge seemingly disliked Labrador, he spent a lengthy time in Lake Melville in 1826 – 1827 and spent considerable time with the Inuit community at Snooks Cove.

Rev. Ellidge identified 326 people living within Esquimeaux Bay. Of this, about 100 were Inuit adults and 60 were Inuit children.<sup>116</sup>

The Inuit, and their half-Inuit children, were clearly distinct from the English furriers living in the same locale. For example, their communities were physically separate, being 8 – 10 miles apart. The Inuit lived in communities of usually 5 to 6 families at one place.<sup>117</sup> In one example, Rev. Ellidge describes a settlement of 41 adult Inuit, with 35 children. Six of the adult women were married to Englishmen, whose children were included in the 35, no distinction being made between the full-blooded and half-blooded Inuit children. They all grew up the same way and lived in the same community together as little Inuit children.

Although the Inuit became surrounded by a non-indigenous summer fishery of as many as 700 people, only seven of those migratory fishermen might remain in Labrador between October and June. Everyone else who stayed for the winter was a member of an Inuit community.

The Inuit communities, which included some European men, lived a seasonally transhumant lifestyle. They were described as living on seal and fish. They made use of dogs, kayaks and sleds.<sup>118</sup> All spoke Inuktitut; some spoke English to different degrees.

Igloos or wigwams were used as seasonal residences for part of the year; skin houses for other times.<sup>119</sup> Winter habitations had the classic Inuit long hall entrance with a raised sleeping floor.<sup>120</sup> Multiple families lived in the one winter house. In the example given by Rev. Ellidge, three Inuit families (men, women and children) lived in a single winter house.

Inuit customs and traditions were clearly evident in the communities of Lake Melville. Rev. Ellidge describes traditional burial customs, with a “wooden dish and spoon, a bucket, a pot to boil victuals in, a comb and pegs made for the purpose of stretching seal skins” left for the deceased at the side of the grave.<sup>121</sup> No ceremony discernible to him was performed but these articles were left to be the property of the deceased.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid, pages 73-75

<sup>115</sup> Peter Laing, The Labrador Letters and Journal of Rev. George Ellidge 1826/27) – Doc # 147

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, p. 56

<sup>117</sup> Ibid

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, p. 27

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, p. 21, 25

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, pages 26 - 27

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, page 30

Rev. Ellidge described the potential of a ministry to the 27 adult Inuit, and same number of children, who lived within three miles of where he was staying. However, he also expressed implicit frustration that any attempt to minister to them would fail within 4 months when they all left for their other resource procurement areas.<sup>122</sup>

Many other customs and traditions of the Inuit were described by Rev. Ellidge. For example, he described the passing of “old Palliser”, an Inuit who took his name from that of the Governor who entered into Treaty with them. According to the journal, “old Palliser” lived on nothing but seal meat until the day he died.<sup>123</sup> He also encountered polyandry.<sup>124</sup>

Rev. Ellidge reports various technological adaptations. However, in many core elements, little had changed. For example, he reports that the sledges continued to be made of whale bone, with cord or thong fastenings for the brass pieces instead of nails. Dog teams of between 6 and as many as 20 animals were used.<sup>125</sup>

Rev. Ellidge was also concerned with population estimates. He thought that in the 200 mile area there might be 100 people<sup>126</sup> As usual, the problem with estimating Inuit population was its mobility. He describes the communities as moving “up in the Bay” in April as far as 60 miles for seals and then moving 60 miles below Snooks Cove for eggs and game. In his view, Snooks Cove would be the best place for a mission, since it had open water all winter and a regular Inuit population of about 30 people.<sup>127</sup>

Rev. Ellidge suggested<sup>128</sup> that the population consisted of:

	Adults	Children	Total
Between Eskimo Bay and Moravians	19	17	38
In Eskimo Bay	39	35	74
Between Eskimo Bay and Cape Charles – Principally at Sandwich Bay in summer	33	30	63
Cape Charles to Quebec – ½ dozen Esq. families			

The next historic record emerges from Anglican ministers visiting Labrador.<sup>129</sup> Anglican Records from 1848 & 1849 give a snap-shot of the population at that time. The Strait of Belle Isle District was recorded to have 2,220 people, with the Battle Harbour District having 1,071 people. Many of these would have been summer/migratory fishermen from elsewhere.

In 1848, Labrador was, once the cold weather arrived, still largely the domain of the Inuit and their families. Aside from migratory fishermen from Newfoundland and the Americas, the Anglican ministers reported encountering many Inuit in their journey but, other than Mrs.

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid, page 30 - 31

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, page 38

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, page 40

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, page 41

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, page 44

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, pages 54, 61

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, page 54

<sup>129</sup> Hans Rollman – Anglican Beginnings and Aboriginality in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Southern and Central Labrador

Saunders, wife of the Hunt agent in St. Francis Harbour, there was “*not one English woman on the coast.*”<sup>130</sup>

Bishop Field met with an Inuit woman in Forteau in 1848 who he reported as being literate in Inuktitut, and who owned a New Testament and some other books in her language, which she could read. By this stage, the Anglican Church regarded the population in the Straits as largely English, although Inuit continued to occupy the areas and some Inuit came to be baptized.<sup>131</sup> However, the church’s views of areas farther into south/central Labrador was quite different.

In the mid-1800s, the population of the Battle Harbour area showed pervasive aboriginality.<sup>132</sup> Bishop Field visited with Inuit at more than one location in Battle Harbour in 1857, with Rev. Hutchinson noting the presence of 50 Eskimo, being a quite large Inuit community, in the area at that date.

In 1860, Rev. Hutchinson reported that of the 984 people in his district, 24 were Eskimo and 100 were “Half Castes”. This meant that there were 124 members of Inuit communities in the Battle Harbour area at that time.

With some fluctuation, that trend continued thereafter. So, in 1863, 133 of the total population of 962 people were Inuit community members. In 1866, that number was 90 of 950. Bishop White opined that virtually all of the population was either Eskimo or mixed race (English/Eskimo, with some Newfoundlanders). These numbers show continued mobility for Inuit throughout south/central Labrador.

Rev. Sturtevant in 1885 summed matters up by observing that the racial composition of his Battle Harbour district was “the Equimaux race and the English Nation”. Bishop White clearly felt the same way in 1931 when he opined that the ‘present generation is a mixed race of Esquimaux and English, the offspring of these men through intermarriage with natives’.<sup>133</sup>

Visits to other Labrador communities showed the same pervasive Inuit presence. Although not visited frequently, each Inuit community found would have had continuity with the past and, with both in- and out-migration, would have continued in that location into the future, unless forced out by European displacement.

So, for example, we can confidently demonstrate the long-term and continuing existence of Inuit multi-family communities in:

- Fox Harbour as described in 1861
- Williams Harbour as described in 1861 and 1870 (includes ‘Kibbenhook’ family)

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<sup>130</sup> Page 3

<sup>131</sup> Pages 3 - 4

<sup>132</sup> P.4

<sup>133</sup> Page 5

- St. Francis Harbour as described in 1848, 1849, 1850 (includes Paulo and Russell family). In 1848, two of the Inuit women spoke no English. The community held Inuktitut Bibles until at least 1898. Continued practice of two families in single cabin at least until the 1850's. Young Inuit women continued to be married in this community at least into the 1870's.<sup>134</sup>
- In Venison Island (Tickle), all of the mothers in 1853 were of native extraction. As at 1941, the community continued to hold extensive Inuit knowledge.<sup>135</sup>
- An Inuit community was identified in Seal Islands in 1848, 1853 and 1857, and would have continued thereafter. As of 1848, virtually all the residents were Inuit.<sup>136</sup>
- Sandwich Bay was identified as a major Inuit community throughout the 1800's. As of 1848, many of the Inuit were considered "pure" but the majority were of mixed ancestry. Only three of the Inuit were described as speaking English well.

The area between Seal Islands and Hopedale (200-300 miles) was known to be inhabited almost exclusively by natives. By the mid-1800's, some families were of mixed ancestry. For example, in 1857, it was noted that several of the English had Eskimo wives. This did not change the nature of the communities themselves, since in 1866, few families in the area did not have Inuit ancestry. Various clergy continued to identify Inuit during occasional visits to the area in 1870, 1894 and 1916.<sup>137</sup>

The next set of clergy records come from the Moravian brethren. What is clear for our purposes from the Moravian records is that there continued to be an Inuit occupation of Labrador outside the Moravian missions.

The Introduction by Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann sets out a chronology of this early Inuit experience with Moravian mission life. Some Inuit never visited a Moravian mission. Some tried it and did not like it and left. Some Inuit stayed for a while and then went back home to re-join family members in the south. The Moravians expressed concern about what to do with the Inuit in south/central Labrador that they could not reach, and about the missionized Inuit who would not remain attached to their trade/mission posts. The migration of families from Moravian mission posts back to the south was a constant problem for them, and sometimes threatened the viability of the missions.<sup>138</sup> This continued to be a serious issue in the mid and late 1800's.

The Moravians felt some spiritual responsibility for the Inuit living in Eskimo Bay (Hamilton Inlet), particularly the families southwest of Rigolet in Snook's Cove and Karawalla.<sup>139</sup> One response was the journey which the Hopedale Inuit missionaries, Jacobes and Salome, took in

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<sup>134</sup> P. 6 - 7

<sup>135</sup> Page 8

<sup>136</sup> Page 9

<sup>137</sup> Pages 10 - 12

<sup>138</sup> Introduction, Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann, page 1 – Doc # 171

<sup>139</sup> Ibid

1871-72. They resided with an Inuit community in Snooks Cove, where they reported 63 in attendance at one service (including some Innu who overcame the traditional fear that separated the two aboriginal populations). Fluidity of Inuit settlement and habitation was, and remained, a natural feature of the Inuit occupation of south/central Labrador.<sup>140</sup>

There was consistent movement in both directions, from south into the Moravian settlements, and from the Moravians missions back to the south. The first Inuk baptized was Kingminguse who in 1776 joined Nain, but later left the north and died in the south.<sup>141</sup> The first Inuit baptized in Hopedale in 1783, Kippinguk, was born in Chateau Bay. John Reed, the first settler to become a Moravian, was born in 1806 in Groswater Bay to William Reed and his Inuit wife Mary. John Reed's wife, Jane, was an Inuk born at Cape Horn in Newfoundland.<sup>142</sup> These are just examples of a persistent pattern of movement throughout Inuit territory.

Brother Elsner undertook a journey in 1857 to central Labrador to ascertain the practicability of establishing a mission-station there.<sup>143</sup> He traveled by dog-sled through the area in the company of a settler (Elijah Collins), a half-Inuit (Mr. MacPherson) and his driver Christian, "an Esquimaux of the old-fashioned sort".<sup>144</sup> Two other men (one Norwegian and the other Inuit) were sent on ahead from Mr. MacPherson's home to clear a passage. Along the way, he saw an Inuit wigwam, with a traditional raised sleeping platform, and evidence of caribou harvest.

Elsner and his companions visited at the home of a settler (Daniel Campbell) and describes conversations with his wife Lydia. We now know that the diary of Lydia Campbell has become quite famous. Br. Elsner does not describe her as being part-Inuit, although her picture makes that very clear that he would have known that she was. He does report that she had "dreamlike visions".

Elsner is taken to visit a single Innu wigwam near North West River. He reports that the Innu had only recently (last three years) began to inhabit that area.<sup>145</sup> The Innu only came to the Hudson's Bay post area two or three times during the summer for a short period to trade and did not stay<sup>146</sup>.

Elsner then proceeded to Snug Cove (Snook's Cove), where Angus Brownson had a trading business with the Inuit for the firm Hunt & Co. Around him lived seven to ten Inuit families. At the time of the visit, those families (other than one individual who remained behind) had moved farther south, continuing their traditional pattern of resource use in multiple locations. The Inuit community was reported to have practiced a combined, syncretic spirituality, featuring both

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid, page 2

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, pages 2 - 3

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, page 3

<sup>143</sup> Hans Rollman, Br. Elsner's Report of a Journey from Hopedale to North-West River, Esquimaux Bay, in April, 1857

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, page 3

<sup>145</sup> Ibid, page 8

<sup>146</sup> Ibid, page 9

“baptisms” and “dreams and visions”. The German manuscript reports “The people here are also inclined to trust very much dreams, imagined visions.”<sup>147</sup>

Elsner next went to Rigolet, which was a trade post. No Inuit were permitted to settle there. The traditional Inuit occupation had been disrupted by displacement by this European presence. He reports that few Inuit come to Rigolet to ‘traffic’, as many had entered into connection with merchants elsewhere.

Elsner met a number of settlers along his 1857 journey, including Isaac Oliver, Joseph Broomfield, George Bartels and two Thomas Olivers (“English Tom” and “Black Uncle”). “Black Uncle” Oliver showed them the grave of the father and brother of John Reed (the first Labrador Settler to join the Moravian Church), and the spot where they were murdered by “Paulo, an Esquimaux”<sup>148</sup>. He later stayed at the home of John Lucy, ‘an Eskimo in good circumstances’.

The next Moravian traveller was Brother O’Hara who spent five days on a journey between Hopedale and Magovik Bay in August, 1868.<sup>149</sup> In a subsequent note entitled “Brief Report of Br. O’Hara’s activity among the Settlers in Labrador”, he describes encounters along the north coast over 12 weeks with Inuit families, with mixed (European-Inuit) families and with European traders. He was struck by the cleanliness of the Inuit wife of one settler “J”. In the districts between Nesbit Harbour and Cape Webuck, he spent “a whole month, visiting several families of settlers and Eskimoes”.<sup>150</sup> At one of the Inuit homes, he met with Tuktusina, “an Eskimo who was said to be a sorcerer” and who claimed to be a hundred years old.

Br. O’Hara, in 1869, undertook another trip, beginning this time at Indian Harbour and journeying north. At Indian Harbour, he described a multi-family cabin, serving 13 Inuit, being 3 or 4 families. He brought some Inuktitut books to them, for which they were grateful.<sup>151</sup> He met with Mr. Tuktusina at Nisbet Harbour (who “earlier in life was thought to be a sorcerer”)<sup>152</sup>, stayed with Mr. Lucy, an Inuit man at Kippokak Bay and visited with a French Canadian man and his (unnamed) Inuit wife.<sup>153</sup>

Brother O’Hara’s travels in 1870 provide further insights. In January 1870, he reached Eskimo Bay and found refuge in a snowstorm in the cabin of an Inuit ‘Peter Pennyhook’ (probably, ‘Panniok’).<sup>154</sup> The next day, he stayed with a “half-white settler Oliver” and came to some “Inuit houses”. Two days later, in the Rigolet area, he visited Joe Palliser, the grandchild of Mikak, who had “name-saked” the surname of the former Governor of Newfoundland. He also visited other Inuit who lived one to two hours away.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid, page 12

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, page 16

<sup>149</sup> Hans Rollmann, Some notes of a trip for five days from Hopedale to Magovik Bay in August 1868

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, page 7

<sup>151</sup> Introduction, Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann, page 7 – Doc # 171

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, page 6

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, page 5

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, page 7

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, pages 7- 8

In April, 1870, at Eskimo Bay, O'Hara visited "the settlers and Inuit of the area", including the Inuit "Jacob" who took him on a 9 hour journey to meet other Inuit on the Hamilton River. While on the Hamilton River, he met with a Russian man who had married an Inuit wife, who herself was born in Hopedale. He had hoped to meet up with some Innu but was unable to locate any, being told that they could not be found.<sup>156</sup>

Br. O'Hara set off on a journey "south of Hopedale" in 1871. At Indian Harbour, he visited an Inuit cabin in which lived 13 Inuit (consisting of 3 or 4 families). These Inuit read Inuktitut.<sup>157</sup>

Friedrich Wilhelm Rinderknecht decided in 1873 to identify the best site for a mission in Hamilton Inlet or Sandwich Bay. Since bad weather prevented his visit to Sandwich Bay, he was able only to provide first-hand population information for Hamilton Inlet. He reported that the number of people in Eskimo Bay, Byron's Bay, Indian Harbour and Pottles Bay was 372. Based on second-hand information, he reported that the population of Sandwich Bay was about 200, after deducting nine families who departed in the fall of 1872 (for places unknown).<sup>158</sup>

In January 1873, Rinderknecht visited at the home of Mr. Lucy and his wife (an Inuit couple), who shared their home with his parents. He later met Ambrosius Mesher. Mesher lived in a two-family home, the other family being that of James Shuglow, an Inuit.<sup>159</sup> He described the children as being "very ignorant, as in most mixed families".<sup>160</sup>

In February 1873, Rinderknecht traveled to Snooks Cove. On the way, he stopped to visit with the 'Inuit family Anton from Hopedale'. He describes Anton's wife Sophie as being the sister of "our Daniel". Services were held at Snooks Cove, attracting 56 people. He reports that there were 8 to 10 Inuit families living in that area.<sup>161</sup>

This 1873 (post-Confederation) journey to Hamilton Inlet gives us a snap-shot of the Inuit population of south/central Labrador at that time. Rinderknecht reported that the population was ignorant to reading and writing and lacked Christian knowledge. He found the greatest such deficiency to be in racially mixed families.

Rinderknecht examined seven possible locations for a new mission. He reported Inuit populations at various scattered locations, who moved seasonally. He noted the presence of twelve Inuit families in Snooks Cove in 1873<sup>162</sup> He observed that in the summer all the families in Eskimo Bay, Double Mare and Back Bay moved near Rigolet for fishing.<sup>163</sup> However, the Hudsons Bay post at that location made it unsuitable for the Moravians.

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid, page 9

<sup>157</sup> Hans Rollmann, Br. O'Hara's Journey South of Hopedale (1871) – Doc # 171

<sup>158</sup> Introduction, Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann, page 4

<sup>159</sup> Hans Rollmann, Chronological Summary of the Missionary and Exploratory Trips to the South of Hopedale, page 11

<sup>160</sup> Hans Rollmann, Journey of Br. F. W. Rinderknecht to the Settlers, south of Hopedale, 1873

<sup>161</sup> Hans Rollmann, Chronological Summary of the Missionary and Exploratory Trips to the South of Hopedale, page 13

<sup>162</sup> Introduction, Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann, page 6 – Doc # 171

<sup>163</sup> Introduction, Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann, page 7

Brother Asboe's journey in 1890 brought him in touch with some of the same familiar people. He too visited the Lucy family and other Inuit. The Lucy family called their place "Okanjavalatsiariktok", a name which comes from "the old Mary Thomas". He met Inuit who were in Ailik from Hopedale for the seal hunt. He met with Simon Namak (possibly, 'Manak').<sup>164</sup>

Anna Hansen traveled through the area in 1893. Hansen met with a number of mixed ancestry families in Kippokak Bay, including that of Mr. Jacques, who is reported to have married an Inuit woman, who was Tom Brown's sister.

As at 1894, the Hopedale Moravian Parish extended to Cape Harrison, serving 175 Eskimo and 177 Settlers.<sup>165</sup> A Moravian trip to Hamilton Inlet (described as "Aivektok") that year estimated that the area had a white mixed population of 2 – 300, together with 70 Inuit who lived "in this long fjord" and who only spoke English imperfectly. Some Inuit read their own language and were supplied with Inuktitut Bibles and hymnbooks. The Moravians preached to them in Inuktitut and then proceeded to visit an Inuit community 15 miles south of Rigolet. There, they baptized an Inuit woman, who received the name Margaret Louisa. The Moravians report that the Inuit were going on a sealing expedition next day.<sup>166</sup>

In 1897, Brother Jannasch traveled to Hopedale and met with "two other settlers, Christopher Manak and Martin Tuktusna, two Inuit who wanted to trade but also to pay a visit to their countrymen and relations at Carawalla, where the Rigoulette Eskimo live".<sup>167</sup>

Jannasch then goes to Carawalla himself in March 1897. He reports that this name of this place "where the Eskimos live" is an anglicized word for Aguarualuk, which means 'the big stomach'. He stayed at Adam Makko's house. The next day, at the 'big house', he met with 60 -70 Inuit and preached to and sang with them.<sup>168</sup>

Jannasch also reports meeting with about 70 'souls', who demonstrate much "heathenism" and "superstition", as well as sexual transgressions (probably polygamy).<sup>169</sup> He also visits the home of an Inuit man married to a Newfoundland woman. He reports that she does not speak Inuktitut and he spoke very little English. Neither can read either language.

Brother Perret also visited Karawalla, this time in 1899. He held a service with 62 persons present at worship. On the way from Karawalla to Rigolet, he called on an old Eskimo man, who had "but a short time to spend on this world".<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Hans Rollmann, Chronological Summary of the Missionary and Exploratory Trips to the South of Hopedale, page 21

<sup>165</sup> Hans Rollmann, The Scattered Settlers in the South of our Parish (March 1894)

<sup>166</sup> Hans Rollmann, An Expedition to Rigoulette (1895)

<sup>167</sup> Hans Rollmann, Chronological Summary of the Missionary and Exploratory Trips to the South of Hopedale, page 26

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, page 27

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, page 28

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, page 29, Hans Rollmann, Journey of Walter H. Perrett to Rigolet and Karawalla, April 1899

(Brother Perret is the same fellow who brings with him the influenza to Makkovik in 1900. Although everyone except one person gets sick, no one is reported to have died.<sup>171</sup> This refutes the supposition that these Inuit populations were necessarily overly-susceptible to such diseases.)

Despite the efforts over the years, ultimately, there was not sufficient support for the establishment of a Moravian mission in Hamilton Inlet. With the establishment of Hopedale Station in 1894, a church, mission house and school in Makkovik (created for the settlers, not the Inuit<sup>172</sup>) in 1896 and a new settlement in the far north at Killinek in 1904, the limited resources of the Moravian church did not allow for further expansion.

By 1900/01, the Moravians reported a decreased need for a mission in Hamilton Inlet due to the fact that the Inuit there had become more fluent in English, had decreased in number and had more frequent intermarriage with the settler population. However, they continued to plead in 1901 for greater pastoral care for the Inuit at Snooks Cove and Karawalla.<sup>173</sup>

In 1902, a major policy shift by the Moravian Church created a final religious division. The Moravians decided to turn their attentions to Ungava Bay. Although acknowledging the continued, and un-ministered, presence of Inuit in south/central Labrador, the Moravian bishop commended the “spiritual wants of these Eskimoes” to the Anglicans and otherwise left them to their own resources.<sup>174</sup>

Frank Speck reports Inuktitut speakers in Sandwich Bay in 1914, who demonstrate both marine and inland resource use.<sup>175</sup>

The Inuit seasonal transhumance land use patterns remain clearly apparent in the Inuit descendent communities of south and central Labrador. Although this multi-resource area lifestyle had diminished in the Moravian communities, it remained strong in the south/central communities. This is evident in the maps done by Tony Williamson of the Labrador Institute of Northern Studies submitted to Petro Canada in 1977 in a paper entitled “Initial Social and Economic Evaluation of the Labrador Coast”.

These maps show “migratory patterns on the Labrador Coast”. The resource maps for the communities of Lodge Bay, Mary’s Harbour, Fox Harbour, Port Hope Simpson, Pinsent’s Arm, Charlottetown, Norman Bay, Black Tickle, Cartwright, Paradise River, for example, are clearly indicative of the continuing seasonal transhumance land use pattern. What is not shown on the maps, since it was not part of that project, is the inland and riverine use which also continues in those communities, together with the resource use patterns of other NunatuKavut communities.

Another project which demonstrates continuing land and resource usage was done by John Kennedy in May 2001 for the Coasts under Stress Project. He describes the population as

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid, page 31

<sup>172</sup> Hans Rollmann, *The Settlers Around Makkovik*, 1896

<sup>173</sup> Introduction, Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann, page 8 – Doc # 171

<sup>174</sup> Introduction, Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann, pages 8 - 9

<sup>175</sup> Frank Speck, page 322

wintering in unsheltered bays, while spending spring on the headlands and islands.<sup>176</sup> Despite external pressures from disease, the Great Depression and resettlement policies, this land use pattern continued until the cod fishery moratorium in 1992 had devastating consequences<sup>177</sup>.

John Kennedy visited Lodge Bay, Mary's Harbour, St. Lewis (Fox Harbour), Port Hope Simpson and Makkovik for the purposes of his study. His interviewees were completely immersed in their environment, understanding it well and exploiting its cyclical resources. They spoke knowledgably about species such as salmon and char, rabbits, foxes, wolves, caribou, birds, capelin, cod, seals and whales, as well as other environmental factors such as tree growth rates and snow fall amounts<sup>178</sup>.

However, the cod moratorium in 1992 had a devastating impact on these communities.<sup>179</sup> It turned what had been "a society of coves of people" into an economic zone where once bursting fishing places were now virtually deserted.

For these Inuit descendent communities, the effect of the cod moratorium was deeply disturbing, bringing both physical and psychological depression. Many members experienced profound emotional despondency from the loss of this fishery and the seasonal moves to outside fishing places. It was like the death of a loved one. It was a direct attack on the Inuit culture, as well as its economy, brought about by the conduct and actions of outsiders. Although not a surrender of their territory, the economic displacement was unavoidable.

In the same way that outsiders had devastated the whale populations in the early generations after contact, Canada and Newfoundland had devastated the cod fishery in the 1900's, with no thought or care for protecting the priority Aboriginal fishery rights of the Labrador Inuit descendant communities. This was particularly an issue in south/central Labrador, which had, for example, 150 apprentice fishermen and 256 Level 2 fishers, while Northern Labrador had only 13 apprentices and 13 at Level 2. This demonstrates again that these south/central Labrador communities retained their original land use patterns, adaptability and inventiveness<sup>180</sup>, never being anchored to, and dependant on, the northern missions.

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<sup>176</sup> John Kennedy, *Environmental Change, Fisheries Restructuring, Transportation Policies and Differentiation: Coastal Labrador 2000*, page 2

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, page 2

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, pages 5 - 7

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid*, pages 9 and following

<sup>298</sup> Rollmann

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid*, pages 15 - 17

# CHAPTER FOUR

## DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

### The Contact/Exploration Period

Bumsted (2010; 21) notes that “contact” merits considerable caution, since it occurred over a 250-300 year period in North America, and often occurred multiple times for branches or sub-groups of the same ethnographic population. Contact could be localized, or broad-cast in relation to major groups of Indigenous peoples.

It is, in this context, well to take a broader view of how Aboriginal peoples were oriented prior to major European encounters. As can be seen in the following map, the arctic area is continuous from west to east, with the Atlantic coast of Labrador facing Greenland, and northward-eastwards.



Figure 5a Map of North America showing Indigenous habitation areas

Consequently it is, geographically speaking, improper to speak of Inuit movements “north and south” along the Labrador coast. Instead, movements were more properly east and west. In addition, there was no one “Inuit” people of the Labrador peninsula, and

certainly no geo-political unity such that an encounter by one band or hunting party could translate into “contact” by all of their kin at that time. Such a notion is fanciful beyond reason for arctic and sub-arctic transhumance societies as mobile and dispersed as were the various Inuit groupings of the Labrador Peninsula. As early as 1773, Lt. Curtis noted three “tribes” of Inuit in Labrador. Cartwright (1791), and critical of Curtis’s account, felt that there were three tribes between Groswater Bay and Cape Charles – likely those present year round in Groswater Bay itself, those between Sandwich Bay and Kikkertek (thousand Islands) and those between Alexis Bay and Cape Charles. These impressions or assessments were to change as Inuit encounters increased and adaptations and social restructuring ensued, as indeed it has continued to do so to the present.

Champlain was the first official of New France to impart occupancy information on Inuit in the Gulf of St. Lawrence – and it is clear from his journals that he was informed of them and their hostility to French interests. From the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century to the 1694 expedition of Jolliet the only firm incidence data from New France comes from various entries in the Jesuit Relations – beginning in 1632 and continuing on till the 1670s – which includes a few sparse entries from the North Shore and Acadia missions dealing with Inuit. In one case (1632), the Acadia mission reports on the results of a Mi’kmaq (probably walrus-hunting) expedition at latitude 52 degrees, or about Cape Charles, from which one hostage was taken (a young Inuk girl, subsequently purchased and adopted by an Acadian family). In a second record, another Jesuit in 1652 noted in the Relations that Inuit (called “Esquimaux”) inhabited the north shores below the Island of Anticosti (Stopp, 2002:80). Otherwise, there was very little territorial or demographic information about Inuit, if only because the occupied boundaries of New France did not extend beyond the Saguenay river until the turn of the next century.

Jolliet was renowned for being the first Frenchman to sail along the northern Labrador coast beyond Belle Isle – in 1694 – and was the first secure source of more extensive locational and demographic data for Labrador Inuit on the Atlantic coast. As Jolliet noted in 1694, going beyond Cape Charles was to enter “unknown waters”, but he nevertheless provided the first record of peaceful trading encounters with Inuit all along the Atlantic coast of Labrador between Cape Charles and what is presumed to be Zoar<sup>1</sup>. More importantly, Jolliet recorded a relatively recent withdrawal of regular all season presence of Inuit on the North Shore, and stated the view that their movement north was due to predations by the St. Malo fishermen in the region.

Of note, by the 1680s, at least in European cartography, the entire Labrador peninsula was being named “Labrador – Terre des Esquimaux”<sup>2, 3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Trudel, 1995, pgs 6 - 8

<sup>2</sup> Hayes, 2002; 67

<sup>3</sup> Delanglez, 1944

## Summary of Incidence Data

Stopp's (2002) archival review <sup>4</sup>of encounters with Inuit in southern Labrador remains the best available. It shows the first clear encounters in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (1588) in the Straits area, involving a conflictual encounter of Inuit and Basques (as documented by Barkham).

The St. Malo fishery in the Straits area clearly encountered Inuit raids through the initial encounter to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the French Court was asked to permit arming of the fleet to deal with the problem.

Other than the hesitant reports of Champlain and the Jesuits, a long period of relative inattention to the area followed the abandonment of the Strait's area of the Basque whaling fleet in the 1620s up to Jolliet's exploration of 1694 and the closely following establishment of Quebec-based mercantile establishments on the middle and lower north shore of the St. Lawrence. As summarized by Stopp:

*In the early 1700s Pierre Constantin and Sieur Augustin de Courtemanche recorded Inuit settlement at Baie des Haha, St. Paul's River, Brador, Blanc Sablon, and Forteau. Father Camille de Rochemonteix wrote letters between 1700 to 1710 that contain descriptions of Inuit in the Strait of Belle Isle, and Courtemanche's successor, his son-in-law Francois Martel de Brouage, recorded numerous encounters between Inuit and French between Cape Degrat, at the northern tip of the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, southwestward to Mecatina in the Gulf of St. Lawrence* <sup>5</sup>.

Once again – no doubt due to Intra-European warfare that detracted from further forays along the Labrador coast – there is a dearth of information on Inuit-European encounters from the 1720s through to the 1740s. Despite the extensive granting of concessions to Quebec-based merchants <sup>6</sup>, none operated north of Cape Charles by the time that a third period of cartographic evidence comes from Fornel's exploration along the Labrador coast into Groswater Bay of 1743.

In the late French exploration period, from 1743-45, Fornel was the second after Jolliet to traverse the southern Atlantic coast of Labrador and the first to actually enter Hamilton Inlet or the "Great Esquimaux Bay". He left a unique cartouche or map of his exploits, courtesy of a certain Pilote (name unknown), on which Bellin drew extensively for his land-mark 1753 map of the coast between Mecatina and the "Baye des Esquimaux". In another plate in the same edition of maps, Bellin described the coast along the North Shore from Anticosti Island to the Straits as "Paye des Equimaux".

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<sup>4</sup> Reconsidering ....., Stopp, 2002, - Doc # 116

<sup>5</sup> Stopp, 2002: 13 – Doc # 116

<sup>6</sup> Budgel and Staveley, 1987

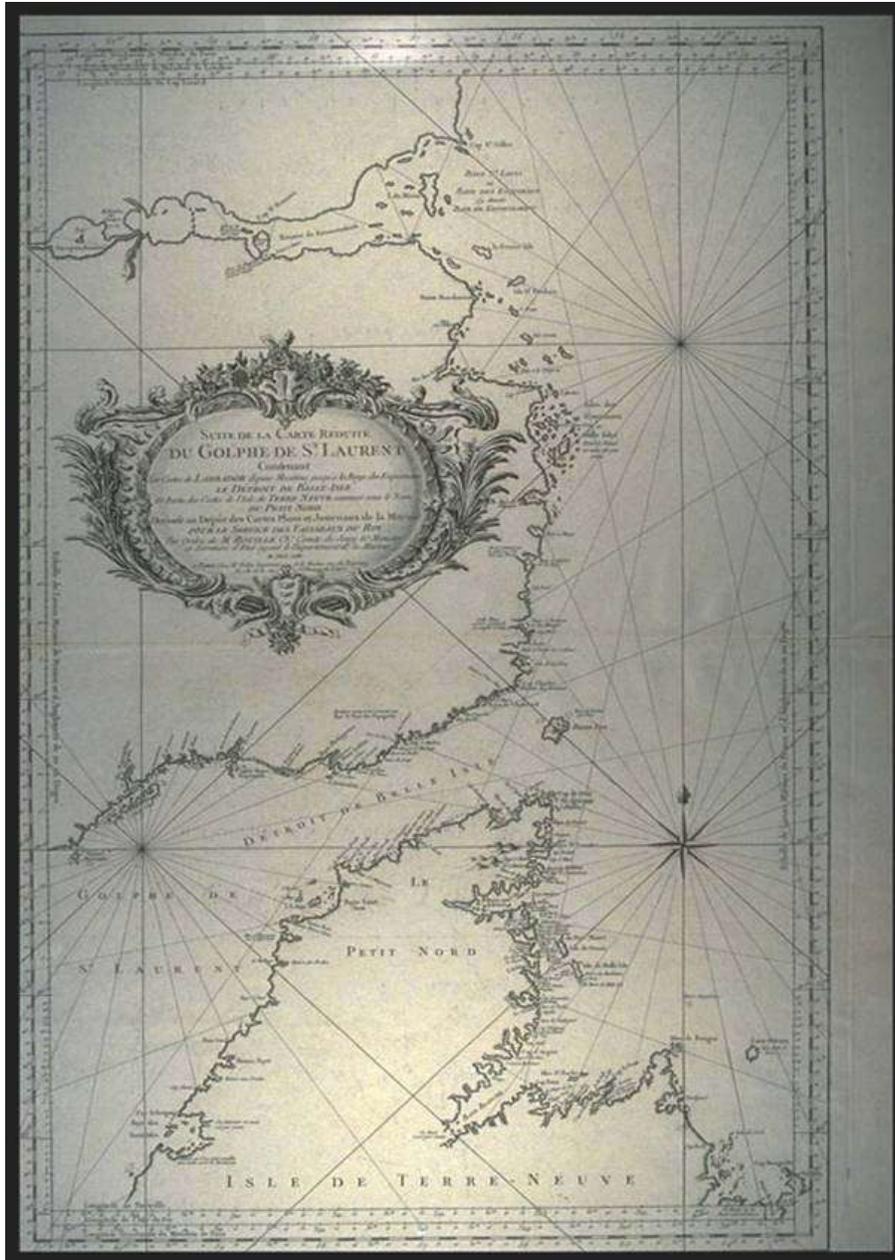


Figure 5 b

**Bellin map of 1753. This is a partial replication of the Fornel map of 1743 and also influential in the draft of the Haven map of 1765.**

Fornel's exploration is the first account of the size of Inuit groups at the various Bays encountered from Cape Charles to Hamilton Inlet. A total of approximately 400 Inuit at four different locales north of Cape Charles were noted (Stopp, 2002; 18) – with some likely variance due to Fornel encountering a far greater group in St. Michael's Bay upon his return track.

In conclusion, as Stopp (2002) notes: *“there is evidence of Inuit throughout the southern region between the late-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. This is the conclusion initially drawn in Martijn and Clermont, eds (1980). The table makes it clear that documented references to Inuit in the south are not anomalous and do not suggest rare appearances. Indeed, during the early 1700s and again in the 1760s, Inuit appeared in sufficiently large numbers that both Sieur Courtemanche and later Governor Hugh Palliser took measures to discourage their presence (Courtemanche had a small army of soldiers and Montagnais, while Palliser applied a gentler approach through Moravian intervention)”*<sup>7</sup>.

It is important to note as well that Europeans were encountered by Inuit on a very sporadic basis, likely from the very early 16<sup>th</sup> century to the mid- 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, before more sustained contacts occurred. Inuit were, therefore, likely saved from second-hand or indirect disease reduction, if only that they had no intermediates to transfer Europe’s unique pathogens to them. While Inuit in Labrador did encounter Spanish Basque, English and French sailors and fishermen from the early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries onwards, they did not encounter them on a regular or repeated basis, and there is little from the early contact/exploration period up to the later 18<sup>th</sup> century to suggest that European diseases became a major factor in Inuit demography.

Our main source for data on the Moravian settlements is Rollman (2009; 2010). His study of the Moravian cartography of Labrador (2009) notes that it was not until Fornel’s 1743 exploration of the Atlantic coast of Labrador that the first map of the central/southern region emerged. Prior to then, knowledge of Labrador’s Atlantic coast remained entirely bounded by national considerations. For the French, Labrador was largely encompassed by the boundary of the Belle Isle Strait westwards to the Saguenay river, which had, according to Donnacona (Cartier’s informant), in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, been the boundary of Innu habitation on the north shore – leaving one to speculate who lived to the east and northwards.

For the Basques and earlier French-based fishing fleets to the new world in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early-mid 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, “southern Labrador” adhered to a portion of the Labrador Peninsula then known to them lying south of 52 degrees latitude. No Basque establishment was further north than Red Bay, which is itself south-west of Belle Isle. The supposed “contact” area for Basque-Inuit therefore essentially referred to the gulf coast of the St. Lawrence River from the St. John’s River (northwest of Anticosti island) to the Belle Isle Strait.

The iteration of encounters (Stopp, 2002) up to the British regime in 1765 therefore must be assessed. Multiple “contact” encounters occurred during the first two centuries of Europe’s post-Columbian encounters with indigenous peoples (Bumsted: 2010). Most were very localized – involving peoples within a 10-25 mile radius. Others, such as the 1765 treaty event at Pitts Harbour in Labrador, involved hundreds of persons likely coming from or linked to a dozen or more sub-arctic Inuit bands.

Stopp’s (2002) summation of the historic/archival data provides us with a solid basis on which to assess local populations. Essentially, the incidence data from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> centuries establishes a continuous presence of Inuit in southern Labrador (i.e., from Hamilton Inlet to St. John’s River adjacent to Anticosti Island). No Europeans travelling through the

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<sup>7</sup> Stopp, 2002, page 77 – Doc # 116

region failed to encounter either Inuit or remains or evidence of Inuit over-wintering settlements north of Cape Charles.

We do not attempt to amortize the incidence of Inuit in Southern or south-central Labrador during this period, other than to note the works of Stopp (2002) in providing a fairly comprehensive overview of the encounters from the earliest period of potential contact to the time when Quebec-based grantees were attempting to expand the boundaries of New France in the early and mid 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## Overview

In 1765, according to official journals, between 300 and 500 Inuit were present at the encounter of Britain's first resident plenipotentiary for Newfoundland and its adjacent possessions, including Labrador. Governor Palliser met with the indigenous peoples of the south-central Labrador coast, the Inuit, in Pitts Harbour, just north of Chateau Bay, Labrador. Governor Palliser, who was cognizant of the recent Royal Proclamation concerning the governance of British North America and the management of Indian affairs, was astute enough to engage several Moravian missionaries in his foray to the coast of Labrador. They spoke Inuktitut based on their earlier work in Greenland –and were able to intermeditate with peoples who, to that date, had been described mostly as not only “savages”, but “the most savage” of indigenous peoples, and readily prone to warfare.

The goal of this part of the study is to provide estimates of Labrador Inuit populations, and successor NunatuKavut communities, from the earliest period of documentation to the most recent period before more intensive non-seasonal land use and immigration into Labrador (i.e., the period between the earliest exploration and contact – from the late 16<sup>th</sup> through the mid 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, to 1940).

It is without doubt that the Atlantic Coast of Labrador was inhabited by Historic Inuit prior to the English defeat of Quebec in 1760. Encounters with Inuit by Europeans from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards were regular – and few if any recorded European forays north of Cape Charles (52 degrees north latitude) failed to encounter Inuit, and they were frequently present, in often significant numbers, along the north shore of the St. Lawrence as far west as the St. Paul River adjacent to Anticosti island. Nevertheless, questions about the origin and arrival of Thule/Historic Inuit in central-southern Labrador remain. When did they arrive; why were they motivated to move southwards; why did they apparently move northwards at various times? What became of them after the Napoleonic Wars? These questions are particularly poignant given the suggestion, from some minority views, about their fate, the most notable of which is that Inuit who inhabited the south Atlantic coast of Labrador at 1765 either moved north to Nain following the Moravian establishment there or died out from pathogens, alcohol or newly acquired guns<sup>8</sup>. This “move north or die” hypothesis always needed further investigation, particularly since the period from 1790 onwards appears to be the most poorly documented<sup>9,10</sup>. It may be that demographic data and analysis may assist in assessing this hypothesis.

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<sup>8</sup> Taylor, 1980

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>10</sup> Martjin, 1980

## Data Sources and Analytical Approaches

Commentary on the scope, characteristics and fate of the Inuit present in south-central Labrador from at least the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century has not benefited to date from systematic demographic analysis. Three broad types or approaches to analysis are available in order to aid in the investigation:

1. Archaeological and archival reporting of the incidence and nature of Inuit-European encounters, particularly south of Cape Harrison, and including the movement of Inuit north and south of the Moravian settlements (particularly Nain and Hopedale);
2. Population demography, notably from Census or census like estimates of Inuit (full or mixed ancestry) and non-indigenous population density and location, which for Labrador are quite sporadic and uneven, but which begin at a quite early time, at the initiation of British efforts at colonization in the 1760s; and
3. Ethnographic demography, including genealogical analysis of Inuit, Indian and European lineages and patterns of endogamous and exogamous marriage, acculturation and ethnogenesis.

The bulk of published analyses of the Inuit presence in the region rely almost exclusively on the first type of data. A range of professional researchers have commented on the presence of Inuit in “southern Labrador”, including Gosling (1911), Speck (1931) Tanner (1944), Taylor (1974a), Martin and Clermont (1980), Auger (1993), Trudel (1995), Kennedy (1995) and Stopp (2002). All have drawn upon episodic and often anecdotal evidence to assess and comment on the significance of the incidence of reported encounters with Inuit in a range of territorial boundaries variously referred to as “southern Labrador”. These encounters have, in turn, been used to illustrate or reinforce two main conclusions. One conclusion is that Thule/Modern Inuit were present from an early period along the southern coast of Labrador; as early as the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and as late as the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, but there continued to be a debate about when a regular all-season presence in significant numbers occurred. Regular, all-season Inuit use and occupancy south of Cape Harrison and at least as far south as Cape Charles was established before any Europeans had established permanent settlements anywhere in the region, and before even seasonal fishing stations were established on the Atlantic Ocean coast of central-southern Labrador.

A second question drawn by some observers relying upon incidence data – particularly archival data – is whether the Inuit presence in south-central Labrador drops off and becomes less dominant as a distinctive cultural presence by the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The period between the end of the Napoleonic wars to the 1870s, in particular, is sparsely documented despite a growing annual presence of the Newfoundland migratory fishery, the establishment of more permanent settlements in the Straits region and the beginning of regular over-wintering in various fishing and trading posts along the Atlantic coastline. A wide range of theories have been tendered as to whether Inuit use and occupancy dwindled and or retreated northwards. For

the early period around initial contact, pressure from St. Malo and Basque, and later from French and allied Innu forces active along the lower north shore of the St. Lawrence has been cited as a main cause<sup>11,12</sup>. In the later period (18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century), some have suggested that major disease induced collapses are the major cause for Inuit retreat or disappearance from the Atlantic coastal areas. A third explanation is British encouragement of relocations northwards to the Moravian mission stations after 1771, although countered by increased competition with the newly establishing English merchants operating at least seasonal posts along the coast.

## **Analytical Sources and Challenges**

### **A. Data Sources**

#### **1. Incidence and Locational Analysis**

There are two main aspects to demographic analysis when dealing with a relatively unknown or un-documented population, supplemented by a third source for periods in which documentation emerge as a more reliable measure of social transition and change. The first of these is the mere presence of a group or population that has presumed strong social or group identity and endogamous practices in a particular place or a range of places, which serves (particularly in the absence of other documented groups) to establish occupancy or presence of that group in a socially defined space.

Two main types of data are of relevance for incidence analysis. The oldest is archival or historic firsthand accounts by literate individuals (explorers, ship captains, etc.) which provide evidence both of “presence/absence” and of material and non-material cultural practices and land or marine use patterns. The second line of inquiry is archaeological – which endeavours to determine, and on a systematic basis, both absence/presence questions and the characteristics of both social and physical culture through the analysis of material artifacts.

Both forms or types of incidence data face a range of challenges including the itinerant nature and geographic focus of early exploration efforts (none of which were concerned to document Inuit occupancy or presence, but merely noted encounters, and only then at places suitable for ocean-going ships and their tenders); the secretiveness of some European usage of the Gulf and Atlantic coast (particularly that of the Basques), varying conventions in ethnographic and geographic nomenclature over time (including references to “Indians” as including Inuit) and ascribing the descriptor “southern Labrador” to various territorial referents from the middle north shore of the Gulf to north of Belle Isle; and, particularly for the archaeological data, the very patchy and sporadic nature of site surveys until the last decade.

#### **2. Population Demography**

The second major type of demographic analysis concerns itself with population dynamics, and in particular with the growth, decline, migration, aggregation, dissolution and transformation of

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<sup>11</sup> Clermont, 1980

<sup>12</sup> Barkham, 1980

populations over time, usually as defined in relation to a particular geographic boundary or territory. The dominant kind of information involved in such analysis is census data. Of importance, census data is most often employed in what can be classed as “closed” models of analysis, uniformly used by states and other political units in connection with social planning (e.g., taxation, governance, defence, etc.). As noted by Kreager (2009), *“the selectivity of official records, in recognizing certain population groups and not others, can lead to a history of inclusion or exclusion of sub-populations that is bound with the past and present political agendas”*.<sup>13</sup>

### **3. Ethnographic/Genealogical Analysis**

Little detailed ethnographic analysis has been done for south-central Labrador Inuit and Inuit descendents other than by the experts engaged in association with the LMN comprehensive land claim supplemental research submissions of 1995 (including genealogical analysis by Way, as assessed by both Kennedy and in a separate assessment for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, by Reddekopp, and in the ethnographic analysis by McDonnell). These analyses were further developed in the works of McDonnell (2002) and Hanrahan (2002a, 2002b, 2002c)<sup>14</sup>, again utilizing ethnographic materials, site studies and genealogical data.

While the current study does not involve any new, integrated ethnographic analysis, genealogical studies have been ongoing, and these newly emergent data enrich the broader demographic profile of Inuit (full and mixed ancestry) in central and southern Labrador from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century into the modern period. A particular challenge for this kind of data is the lack of stable record-keeping and religious or governmental institutions between the lower north shore of Quebec and the Moravian mission stations north of Hopedale. Another issue requiring assessment is the varying habits and propensities of “renaming” of Inuit and their progeny, whether by itinerant missionaries or by self-naming.

In summary, the various periods of interest are accompanied by different kinds of data and involve different styles of analysis, as summarized below:

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<sup>13</sup> Kreager, 2009: 490

<sup>14</sup> Supplemental Research Submission, to DIAND, June 2002.

**Table 1**

**DEMOGRAPHIC DATA SUMMARY**

	Data	Quantitative Data Types	Analytic Method	Key Sources
	Archaeological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Number, Locale and size of inhabitants</li> <li>● Evidence of trade items &amp; subsistence patterns</li> </ul>	● Interpretative	> Stopp 2002
	Primary Documentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Limited direct evidence</li> <li>● Indirect and anecdotal</li> <li>● Trade /Conflict encounters</li> <li>● Location of Inuit summer &amp; winter homes</li> </ul>	● Indicative	> Basques 1580s (Barkham) > Champlain > Jesuits (1630-70) > Jolliet (1694);
1700 - 1800	Archaeological  Primary Documentation  1765 Moravian Survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Number, Locale/ size of habitations</li> <li>● Ethnicity of Sites (Inuit, European Mixed, etc.)</li> <li>● Increasing direct encounters and records</li> <li>● Transition of conflict/raid relationships to trade</li> <li>● Beginning of semi-sedentary merchant sites</li> <li>● Emerging Inuit-European co-habitation/marriage</li> <li>● Winter and summer sites</li> <li>● Number of houses</li> <li>● Population (global) south of Cape Harrison (presumed)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Interpretative</li> <li>● Indicative</li> <li>● Historical</li> <li>● Statistical base data for inter-Census analysis</li> </ul>	> Stopp 2002  > Courtmanche (1703 - 10); Marsal (1730s) > Fornel (1746) > Moravian (1763 - 1800) > Cartwright (1791)  > Drachart/Havens
1800 - 1900	Primary Documentation  1870 Census  Ethnographic / Genealogical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Population estimates</li> <li>● Baptismal/birth and family name records (partial)</li> <li>● Partial ethnographic data</li> <li>● Population; family size and ethnicity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Indirect/ anecdotal</li> <li>● Indicative</li> <li>● Direct limited survey</li> </ul>	> Hickson (1824) > Knight (1825) > Ellidge (1826) > Disney (1850)  > O'hara (1970)  > LMN (1995 - 2010)
1900 - 1945	1911, 1935, 1945 Census  Ethnographic / Genealogical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Population; family size and relationship data</li> <li>● Anthropological/ Ethnographic and Genealogical</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Direct surveys (varying inclusion)</li> <li>● Ethnographic</li> </ul>	> Canada (1911) and Newfoundland Census (1935, 1945)  > LMN (1995-2010)

## B. Analytical Challenges

E.H. Carr observed that “no sane historian pretends to do anything so fantastic as to embrace the ‘whole of the experience’, he cannot embrace more than a minute fraction of the facts even of his chosen sector or aspect of history”.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, one of the main analytical challenges facing the study of Inuit in Labrador is that observations have been both itinerant and partial throughout the contact, mercantile and even well into what might be called the governmental administration and control period (the temporal range for which remains uncertain, but likely begins no earlier than the mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century). Indeed, the only constant source of information on Labrador is for the Moravian missions after 1771 and to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There was, however, nothing equivalent to the constant institutional presence provided by the Moravian mission for purposes of tracking demographic change south of Hopedale to the Straits region. The “unknown Labrador” emerges as a result.

There are, as well, challenges of a terminological variety. Esquimaux and derivations (including ‘excommunicatos’) were used up until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, while the term Indian was an early English generic term used for all indigenous inhabitants, along with ‘savage/sauvage’, clouding the ability to determine the identity of persons and groups documented by European sailors, explorers and even sedentary or semi-sedentary merchants or traders (e.g., Cartwright, 1791). It was, in fact, not until the Moravians took an interest in and then established permanent missions in Labrador that a more consistent terminological framework, and regular reporting of Inuit population characteristics and toponomy, became established, at least for the area north of Hopedale. Even then, however, group identification is difficult given the change over time amongst the Moravian chroniclers and their own perceptions of relevant difference between groups. For example, in the early period of 1763 – 1780, the Moravians had a fairly simple categorization of their real and potential flocks: “Carolit”, or “Inuit”, as opposed to “southlanders”. By the 1780s, the demarcation was increasingly drawn on “Christian/heathen” lines for Inuit “settlers” to describe fishing post personnel but possibly also including resident mixed-descent persons, and Europeans, (with the latter usually identified by nationality). Once the mission efforts began to take hold, new identifiers emerged that gloss over national or ethnic identities and employ geographic (‘southlander’) or life-style (settler) referents.

Moreover, the concept of “Labrador” was entirely uncertain in the 16<sup>th</sup> and for most of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the earliest maps, Labrador was a name provided to Greenland, or located adjacent to Greenland. Later on, Labrador appeared on maps as either north of or south of another major promontory in the northern sea – Corte Realis – the land discovered by the Brothers Corte Real, ostensibly in 1500 or 1501

This no doubt assists in explaining the lack of consistency in both the cartography of the region of Labrador, and in an understanding of its demographic history<sup>16</sup>(see also Martijn, 1980). Indeed, it was not until 1927, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council established the

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<sup>15</sup> Bumsted, 2010; XIII

<sup>16</sup> Skelton, 1961; 295-323

current boundaries between Quebec and Labrador as political jurisdictions that any sort of consistency has emerged with respect to demographic or census data.

It is true, however, that very meticulous records were kept by Moravians following their establishment at Nain at 1771. Those records have been used extensively in the literature to show Inuit presence north of Cape Harrison (Taylor, Hiller, Brice - Bennett) with unfounded suppositions about the demographics of southern Labrador. The demonstration that some individuals moved to the north is very clear from the Moravian records. Many also moved up and down the coast at all times. The examples used such as the case of Segullia or Mikak are sometimes taken out of context in moving too quickly from the very specific presence to the general demographic. For example, four or five specific individuals are described as being present at Nain following the Moravian establishment. Considering that these people belonged to family groups, this could total perhaps fifty people or a few more 'from southern Labrador'. However, of the 600 people estimated by the Moravians who were present in Southern Labrador at 1765, there are 550 people unaccounted for by this model.

When early explorers and visitors went to Labrador, their observations were highly localized. Although Moravian record keeping was quite excellent, the Moravians, in the early years, did not send census takers to every nook and cranny of Labrador to take a count. Their idea of "the Inuit" were the individuals which they had around them. When Jolliett or Fornel, for example, met with Inuit at various places that does not mean that they were all of "the Inuit".

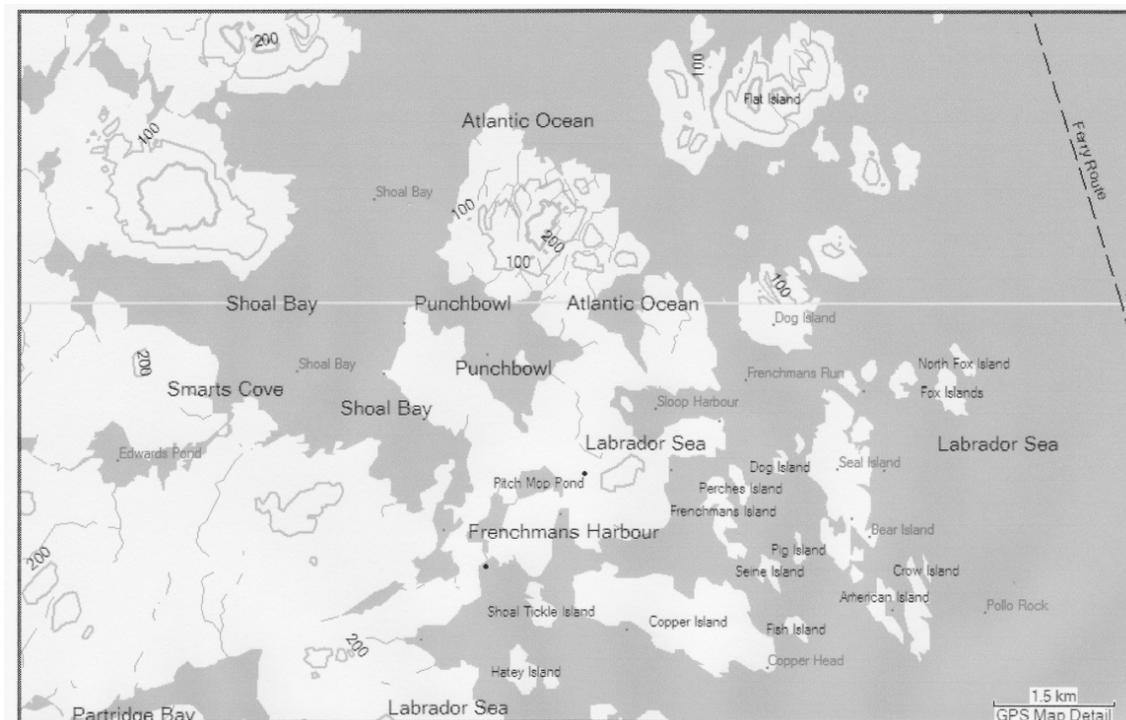
How many Inuit inhabited this coast in the time period under investigation and how did their populations change during the next two centuries are questions at the center of the present work. Many of the first estimates of population were not garnered from first hand knowledge and cannot be used with any degree of certainty. However, when these estimates are used together, they can give some broad indications of the aboriginal population stabilities and numbers over time.

This coastline with its many islands and bays is a substantial portion of the historical occupation area of Labrador Inuit (full and mixed ancestry) who persist to the present day. It is not surprising that given issues around very poor accessibility for researchers and the paucity of records (for many reasons which should become clear during this submission) that this area of coastline has been poorly studied and very poorly understood. Even in the 'Golden Age' of exploration to the North in the late nineteenth century anthropologists and informed observers only stopped briefly, if at all, on this coastline, in an effort to reach the 'pure' Eskimos in the North. The preconceived notion of race during this era led to an uninterest in any perceived 'complicated' culture, such as that which existed in coastal Southern Labrador. 'Race purity' was sought by most nineteenth century observers even if they had to travel to the North Pole to find it.

One of the reasons for this oversight in observation and study can also be simple geography. Even though this coastline from Cape Charles to Cape Harrison only covers three degrees of latitude (330 kilometers in a straight line), the total length of coastline (including major islands, peninsulas and bays) is 3,515 kilometers (this does not include islands with under ten kilometers of coast line). In discussing the competition and conflicts amongst groups in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>

century Fitzhugh also attributes the region's geographic complexity and navigational difficulties as a reason for the Basques to successfully exploit loopholes in Dutch, French and English surveillance<sup>17</sup>.

The map at Figure # 5c shows the area of Domino/Frenchman's Run as a typical portion of this very complicated archipelago, with deep island littered bays and a belt of offshore islets and islands. This unstudied remote coastline covers a shoreline length which totals more than the shoreline length of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island combined. What does this complex geography mean to how history was recorded?



**Figure # 5c** Typical section of coastline in the Domino Run area.

Historical observations from very early on were exacerbated by this complicated geography. In approaching land in the days of sail prior to the advent of accurate drawn charts (beginning in 1764) large ships were at a distinct disadvantage to approach most of the coast except in the very large bays, that is the ones without islands and extreme shoals. Three well known entry points on the Labrador coastline from early on were Strait of Belle Isle area (N 52<sup>0</sup>), Hamilton Inlet (N 54<sup>0</sup>) and Davis Inlet (N 56<sup>0</sup>). The rest of this vast interior coast amongst the islands and shallow bays was 'terra incognita' to Europeans, since just to visit the areas behind islands and inside bays would require the deployment of small boats with no shelter from the Labrador sea conditions for the larger vessel while awaiting the return of feeder boats. In order to reach the

<sup>17</sup> Fitzhugh, Basques and Inuit on the Quebec ., 2010, pg 58, Doc # 207

inner bays ships either had to employ local (Inuit) pilots or skirt the coast until an open bay was located.

This set of geographic circumstances led to several types of events with respect to observing and dealing with local aboriginal people. The first type being the friendly encounter. It is very likely that a ship's mast was spotted by Inuit before the ship itself was even over the horizon. The choice of whether people showed themselves or not, is clear from statements obtained from Inuit in 1765, when shown the English flag and how it worked, the response was, "this is a sign of friendship, when we see this flag we will come out of the harbours where we are and welcome you". This kind of encounter, where Inuit choose to show themselves or not, goes back to the recorded events of Fornel (1743), Henry Atkins (1729) and Jolliett (1694)<sup>18, 19, 20</sup>.

The second type of event which was aided by Labrador's geography is the treacherous encounter. This is exemplified as far back as 1586 at Sandwich Bay, Netshektoke, where several of John Davis's men are moving amongst the islands and are subsequently butchered<sup>21</sup> and the fated Erhardt expedition of 1752 where several men are lured away from the main vessel in an effort to trade and are killed by Inuit<sup>22, 23</sup>. From the logs of both the HMS Zephyr and HMS Niger in 1767 it is clear to see that when Inuit wanted to disappear on this land and seascape that is exactly what they did. Personnel from both of these British Navy ships spent much of the fall of 1767 in search of Inuit near Chateaux and around Quirpon in Northern Newfoundland. Again in 1770 the HMS Otter sends an armed sloop to search for the Inuit (200 of them) near Cape Charles which proves fruitless.<sup>24</sup>

The ability to hide amongst islands and the immediate mobility in kayaks were distinct advantages of the Inuit in their encounters with Europeans. The intermittent conflicts and feuding between Inuit and Europeans would have resulted in some Inuit not wanting to be seen or found by Europeans in later years.

This leads to many problems in assessing the presence or absence of Inuit in any particular area and in any particular time period. The transhumance lifestyle which followed to some extent yearly cycles, but also longer periods of cycling in the land/seascape, the inherent mobility of Inuit as discussed in the Moravian Records section of this paper, the often ambivalent relationships with Europeans and the complicated physical geography leads European observers to very spotty observations on the Labrador population of Inuit, as a community, in the modern sense.

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<sup>18</sup> Kennedy, 2009 – In Doc # 213

<sup>19</sup> Martjin, 1980

<sup>20</sup> Gosling 1910

<sup>21</sup> Gosling, 1910

<sup>22</sup> Kennedy, 2009

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, 1974

<sup>24</sup> Tompkins, 2010, pages 52 – 56 – Doc # 204

## **Geographic Conventions and Cautions**

It is important in describing any data relevant to Inuit or Inuit-European encounters in the eastern part of North America to be clear about geographic presumptions and conventions. In the early contact periods (e.g., from 1600 – 1765) the idea of “southern Labrador” was quite variable – with the northern boundaries varying from Belle Isle to somewhat further north, but unlikely any further north than Chateaux Bay. Further northwards would have been considered by explorers and fishermen as “the central Labrador coast”, with areas further north (from Fox Harbour/St. Lewis Bay to the Groswater Bay and Cape Harrison) perhaps deemed to be either central or northern Labrador.

Over the past century, however, the idea of “southern Labrador”, has conjured up quite distinct meanings in relation to latitudes, longitudes or socially-derived demarcations. For example, when the government of Newfoundland became more fully engaged in the administration of Labrador in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of “southern Labrador” was clearly associated with what we would now call the “Straits settlements” on the lower north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, extending as far “north” as around Battle Harbour, just north of the Belle Isle and Cape Charles.

More recently, in the post 1945 era, Newfoundland government concepts (and likely those of the federal government) have associated “southern” Labrador with anywhere south of Hamilton Inlet, and certainly anywhere south of the southern entrances to that inlet. It is an important line of inquiry, not followed in this study, as to why this is so. What is important is to be aware that different archival data and interpretive analysis can be framed in relation to un-stated conventions and meanings.

## **Presumptions About Social Organization and Cultural Forms**

An additional complexity in demographic analysis arises in relation to the unit of analysis – which is of course not independent of geographic assumptions. Human populations are conventionally defined by territorial, linguistic and social connections. Yet Inuit and especially Thule/Modern Inuit are not only transhumance societies, but rapid movers. They defy most territorial conventions since they were following marine resources wherever they travel in the Arctic round of seasonal opportunity and, as well, are noted for following opportunities for the acquisition of iron and for trade.

Earlier historical and archival assessments of Labrador Inuit have sometimes adopted certain presumptions – often guided by the lack of alternative (e.g., archaeological) source data. For example, the lack of clear archival evidence for European-Inuit encounters south of Cape Charles before the later part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century has led to a suggestion by some that Inuit movement “southwards” was not a natural progression (in the sense that the movement from Alaska to northern-central Labrador is presumed to be natural). In this reportage, there is a presumptive rejection of any pre-discovery presence of Inuit south of “southern Labrador” (Gosling, 1911) and an early theory that Inuit ‘peregrinations’ southwards of a presumptive ‘homeland’ were motivated in some fashion by a common goal – to obtain European articles, whether by raid or by trade, and particularly iron.

As noted by a number of reviewers of these older theories, including MacDonnell (2002), Stopp (2002) and the more recent assessment of 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century mobility amongst Labrador Inuit southward and northward (Rollman, 2009), there is very little if any evidence of a consistent motivation for Inuit movements or expansions (and retractions). The picture is quite complex – involving one of the fastest population movements in pre- modern history with the Thule “expansion” from the Beaufort Sea off Siberia and Alaska and their arrival only several hundred years later in what is now central/southern Labrador, displacing or at least replacing another cultural form or type (the Late Dorset) that bore a similarly arctic adapted lifestyle and was present even further southwards, particularly along the northern peninsula of Newfoundland<sup>25</sup>. In this sense, the attribution of motivation for expansion or movement along any particular border or boundary is somewhat fanciful, if not irrelevant, when applied to a cultural form such as the Inuit – with no settled economy, no centralized government or institutions and with particular adaptation to harvesting marine species, leading to the development of fast, light water craft. To attribute a particular directional expansion on a particular coast to a specific motive such as “to raid and trade” is impossible to sustain, just as is its companion presumption: that Inuit in Labrador have a particular “homeland”, and that it lies conveniently northwards of where those expressing the presumption often find their interests dominant.

The presumption about the location of a 'homeland' has also motivated a biased interpretation of the meticulous records kept by Moravians following their establishment at Nain at 1771. Those records have been used by some to confuse what is a documented Inuit presence north of Cape Harrison (Taylor, Hiller, Brice-Bennett) with unfounded suppositions about the demographics of southern Labrador.

Another factor is the selection of texts used to estimate numbers. For example, if we review the Townsend edited version of the Cartwright Journals we find that on September 11th, 1783, "*In the evening the Esquimaux which we had seen at Spotted Island, arrived here in a small shallop and a whaling boat*". In estimating numbers we can assume the previous estimates from Curtis and Taylor for about fifteen people per boat giving a total of thirty people. However, in reviewing the original journals, published in the three volumes by Cartwright in 1792, we see that a total of five boats visit him at Paradise River after his arrival. As well, he seems to indicate that not all the people who he had encountered at Huntingdon Island came to trade with him at Paradise. Consequently, a low estimate would have been more than a hundred people encountered by Cartwright, seventy of which were lost in the editing of the journal by Townsend. For example, the unedited version sites thirty six people in one encounter near Huntingdon Island, "*At eight [O'clock] thirty six Esquimaux, of all ages and both sexes, came on board in one of their whaling boats and several kyacks, from them I purchased thirty eight sticks of good whalebone and a few seal skins*". At a higher estimate and based on the above quote there may have been as many as 180 people encountered in total (36 per boat multiplied by 5 boats). A cursory look at an edited version of the text tells a misleading story than what the actual numbers probably were.

This whole set of circumstances (complicated geography, very incidental records and sometimes the lack of a desire to be seen) leads to false estimates of where people live and how many there

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<sup>25</sup> Stopp, 2002 – Doc # 116

may have been on the landscape at any particular point in time up to about 1824. From then on, we begin to get population estimates from itinerant clergy who view Inuit as a potential flock of converts.

Perhaps the first population estimates of Inuit numbers come from the Brougue seigneurie in the Strait of Belle Isle in 1717, where a group of Inuit numbering four hundred at Forteau were encountered<sup>26</sup>. Further estimates of the population continues during the British period in 1765, when Inuit at the Treaty event at Chateaux Bay indicate the number and locations of winter houses between Kikertet (regional name from Seal Islands, Lat 53-13 N) and Cap Tikerak (North side of Groswater Bay, Lat 54 -29 N). This first population estimate was given at more than 600 people, since when asked, the Inuit replied that there were 'as many people back home' as were encountered at the Chateaux Bay Treaty which were 300 at the time of the observation. However, this estimate is exacerbated by the knowledge that there seems to be three different 'groups' of people encountered during the period of the Treaty and subsequent events (August 18th to September 21st, 1765)<sup>27</sup>. Haven estimated between 600 -1,000 people wintered south of Cap Tikerak<sup>28</sup> at this time period. Again in 1767, an estimated four to five hundred Inuit show up in the area of Chateaux Bay who behave themselves and as Palliser states. "*I compute they trucked above three tons of whalebone with our people for mere trifles*"<sup>29</sup>.

## **The Mercantile - Early Colonial Period**

This period runs from the 1760s – with the defeat of France in Quebec – to the mid 1800s. It is also the second least well understood period in Labrador history. From 1763 to 1774, control of the Labrador coast (running roughly from the St. John's River off Anticosti Island to Cape Chidely at the north-eastern tip of the Labrador peninsula) was subject to control from Newfoundland, itself then a “non-settlement” colony and administered largely from St. John's by Admiralty appointees, such as Sir Thomas Graves (who first commissioned James Cook to conduct surveying of the Straits and lower south-eastern Labrador coast) and Sir Hugh Palliser. In 1774, and after considerable lobbying by Quebec-based merchants, administrative control was transferred to Quebec, which failed however to administer the region in any organized fashion until it was transferred back to Newfoundland, after successful lobbying in London by West Country merchants, in 1809.

The period involved – from 1774 to the 1840s – is one the great “blanks” in Labrador history. While mercantile ventures were established in the 1760s through the 1780s, few were sustained. More to the point, only some dozen non-indigenous peoples settled or stayed over in Labrador during the period from 1774 to 1820 who have progeny in today's Labradorian population.

It is clear from the historical accounts that the repeated warfare between France, Britain, the Americans and the Spanish in this period from 1776 to 1815 took its toll on the constancy of both British and Quebec-based merchants in southern Labrador – which by all accounts never re-established north of Battle Harbour until well into the 1820s. From the Seven Years War

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<sup>26</sup> The Inuit Language in Southern Labrador, Dorais, 1980, page 1

<sup>27</sup> Lysaght, 1971

<sup>28</sup> Kennedy 2009 – In Doc # 213

<sup>29</sup> Tompkins, 2010, page 43 – Doc # 204

beginning in 1754 to the end of the Napoleonic wars, only 22 of 63 years saw peace, and of course that meant a major demand upon the mercantile and fishing fleets for sailors, for the English, the French and, after 1776, the Americans.

Other than the unusual survey conducted at Palliser's request in 1765 by the Moravians, incidence data, accompanied by some sparse and inconclusive archaeological analysis, is all we have for this period.

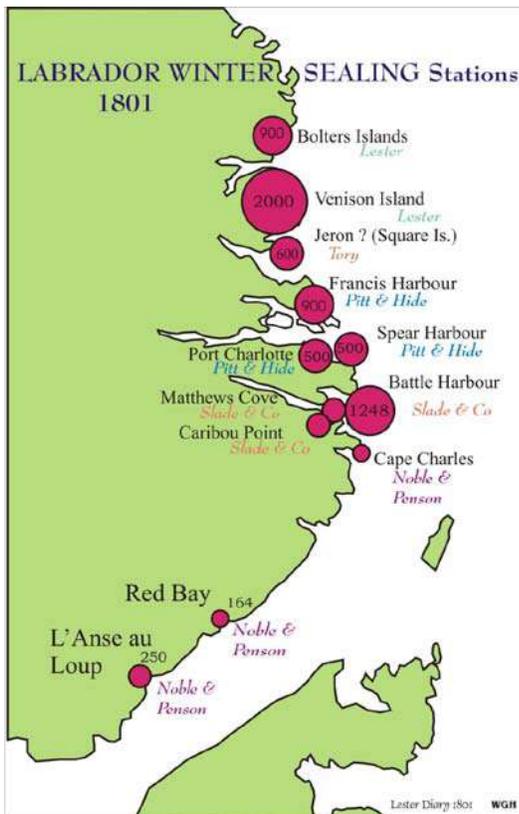
Luckily, the latter appears to be unbiased and intent upon gaining good intelligence, and therefore can stand as the earliest effort to determine demographic data on central-southern Labrador (particularly from the St. Paul River in the Cote Nord through to Cape Harrison, or even somewhat northwards).

For the Moravian interlocutors, the results can be summarized as follows:

**Table 2      Summary of the Survey of 1765 during the Treaty Event**

*Esquimaux, amounting to five hundred souls or thereabouts, arrived from Chateaux [to Cape Charles] in twenty two old English and French boats.."* <sup>32</sup>.

By 1797 Captain Ambrose Crofton aboard the *HMS Pluto*, again without any eye witness accounting, estimates the population of Inuit who occupy the coastline south of the Moravian settlements (Hopedale being the most southerly) to be four thousand, "*I am sorry to observe that want of knowledge of their language and their short stay prevented my obtaining all the information respecting them, that I wished but am confident that they are numerous being not less than four thousand along the coast to the southward of the Moravian or Unitas Fratrum settlement of whom they seem not to have any knowledge*". <sup>33</sup>.



The estimate of four thousand is an overestimate of the population, however, it is very interesting that such a high estimate is given and that these Inuit have no knowledge of the Moravians. We know from the writings of the Moravians that Inuit travelling between the North and the South are not coming as far as Chateaux Bay by the end of the eighteenth century, which is where the *HMS Pluto* is at anchor with Ambrose Crofton, so these Inuit are clearly from somewhere south of the Hopedale Mission.

By 1801, at the turn of the nineteenth century, a number of English and Newfoundland merchants were established along the Labrador South Coast but with no overwintering residents.

**Figure 6** Showing the various merchant seal post locations and the number of pelts processed for the season. *Image compliments of Dr. Gordon Handcock.*

By 1805 reports of the vessel *HMS Curlew* under the direction of Captain Northby finds no winter residents associated with the commercial interests on the Atlantic Coast of Labrador. A list of merchant firms carrying on the fishery is given as far as Sandwich Bay, but no 'overwintering' residents<sup>34</sup>. Nothing is said about the aboriginal population.

From the Hopedale Records we learn of what is very likely the first Christian child baptism in South/Central Labrador in 1809. It is conducted by a Mr. Tory who is likely the son, or a

<sup>32</sup> Cartwright, 1792, Vol I, page 274

<sup>33</sup> Tompkins, 2010, page 22

<sup>34</sup> Review of British Admiralty Records, Tompkins, 2010, page 26. – Doc # 204

relative, of the well known merchant operating at Square Islands [Ikkariarsuk] in the eighteenth century, Mr. Netlam Tory<sup>35</sup>;

*“Ussangana and his wife Kokasak were touched thoroughly in their heart by the saviour this winter and both became in January baptismal candidates. At this occasion they told us afterwards that she and their little daughter, a child now 4 or 5 years old, were baptized in the south in Philippus Bay by a Catholic Irishman, Mr. Bille Tore [Billy Tor[r]ie (Tory)?], with the name Nanse [Nancy?], [she] and their daughter Cattarina, both on the same day. The occasion was very festive. Mr. Bille Tore called his workers into the room; his wife held the child during baptism and Nokasak stood next to the table. Mr. Bille Tore poured water from a bottle into an earthen vessel and they and their daughter were sprinkled with it on the forehead and the [sign of] the cross was made over them. He also sprinkled all sailors with this water. While doing this, he read from a book, which they, however, did not understand. Her husband Ussangana was also present but was not baptized. She expressed her wish to us that she wanted to be baptized like the believers here, for she had had at that time no thoughts about Jesus. Mr. Bille Tore baptized 2 new-born European children, of whom one has died. We do not consider it necessary to baptize her again upon her request. But be so kind, dear Brother, and let us know at the earliest convenience your thoughts about this.” (Bethlehem Collection, 11974)<sup>36</sup>.*

## The Methodists

In 1814, the already established Methodist congregation of Conception Bay, Newfoundland, came under the auspices of the newly formed Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society<sup>37</sup>. The first Methodist missionary to visit Labrador was Thomas Hickson in 1824, who estimated that the Inuit population of Hamilton Inlet, Esquimaux Bay or Ivucktoke, to be 220 individuals, with no population estimate for Sandwich Bay, [Netsektok] or the other southern coastal regions in the Kikkertet region. The following year Reverend Richard Knight travelled to Labrador and estimated that there were 192 Inuit and half Inuit at Esquimaux Bay, 50 to 60 in Sandwich Bay region, Aiviktome, and 80 to 100 Inuit south to Square Islands, between Uvebak Puto and Ikkarisarsuk. In 1825, this leaves an estimated population of between 322 and 352 Inuit in the traditional territory who could be accounted for.

The Master's Log Book for the HMS Pelter, in 1823, verifies Hicksons findings to some extent. The Master of the vessel records taking on 'Esquimaux pilots' to guide the ship on the entire southern Labrador Coast from Square Islands [Ikarisarsuk] to Hamilton Inlet [Aivektok]<sup>38</sup>, leaving the impression that Inuit reside on the whole coast. The location of many of the places mentioned by the master of the HMS Pelter resembles the findings of Fornel's travels on this coast eighty years earlier.

The year 1826 brings the Reverend George Ellidge to the area. He estimated 190 people total for the Esquimaux Bay area with only 124 Inuit and half Inuit, but expresses frustration because of the migratory nature of Inuit and the difficulties associated with population estimates for any

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<sup>35</sup> Stopp, The New Labrador Papers of . . . ., 2008

<sup>36</sup> Rollmann, 2010, App # 5, Doc # 203

<sup>37</sup> Rollmann, 2005, Doc # 144

<sup>38</sup> Tompkins, 2010, page 62 – Doc # 204

future mission establishment. In any case, he estimates a total of 173 Inuit for the coast. The serious discrepancies in these figures amongst missionaries can be understood again because of the complicated geography, transhumance and the language barriers between Inuit and the recorders, since the missionaries were not fluent in Inuitut.

By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century the situation had stabilized to some extent. While Inuit mobility continued north and southwards, many Inuit (full and mixed ancestry) families had established more regular settlements in central and southern Labrador. Hanrahan<sup>39</sup> provides a useful listing of the incidence of Inuit and their relatives during the later part of this period and into the next:

*“... The number of times Inuit were mentioned in historical accounts prove that it was usual to encounter them from the Hamilton Inlet to Cape Charles. The evidence also shows that they were recognizably “others” as far as explorers and missionaries were concerned. This is true whether they were referred to as:*

- *“real Esquimaux and half-esquimaux” (Hickson, Lake Melville, 1824)*
- *“Esquime Indians” (Moss, Granby Island near William’s Harbour, 1832)*
- *“Esquimaux” (Field, St. Francis Harbour, 1848)*
- *“Anglo-Esquimaux (Field, South Coast, 1851)*
- *“Esquimaux and metis, (Davis, Groswater Bay, 1855)*
- *“natives” (Packard, Domino, 1861)*
- *“Eskimo half-breeds” (Maxwell, “various places along the coast north of Battle Harbour”, especially Cartwright, 1887)*
- *“Breeds”, “Natives” (Wallace, Northwest River and the South Coast, 1905)*
- *“Eskimo natives” (Birdseye, Port Hope Simpson and Cartwright, 1915)*
- *“half-breeds” (Young, Hamilton Inlet and Sandwich Bay, 1916)*
- *“part English, part Eskimo” (Merrick, 1942, describing a Hamilton Inlet ancestor).”*

In addition to the geographic complications, the transhumance nature of the people and language problems, there were other issues associated with estimating the aboriginal populations and defining the demographic during the nineteenth century even when it was attempted.

In summary, the main challenge is to estimate the Inuit descendant populations in south-central Labrador, and describe their characteristics. In addition to the problems of geographic nomenclature and the sporadic nature of European encounters, other issues associated with estimating the aboriginal populations during the period were:

1. Variable definitions of ethnicity;
2. Increasing presence of itinerant fisherman from Newfoundland moving to the area who were not winter residents but mixed with the local population during the summer and then (with the emergence of sealing) the spring and summer seasons;

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<sup>39</sup> Hanrahan, 2002, Doc # 185

3. Descriptive misnomers, such as ascribing residency to the many mid–nineteenth century fishermen and their families that subsequently move back to either Conception Bay or to Western Newfoundland <sup>40</sup>;
4. English name adoption by Inuit males, notable particularly after the 1820s;
5. The use or application of English names by local Christian ministers to baptize Inuit children, or officiate Inuit-Inuit, Inuit-European or Inuit-Mixed descent unions;
6. Variable geographic conventions; and
7. Stereotypical presumptions about Inuit cultural norms.

What is important in relation to the current analysis therefore is not which theory or other holds true as to why human groups are mobile and take up new territory (whether to follow game or seasonal rounds that alter over time with climate, or to trade or engage in boundary extension or defence in relation to other groups). The relevance of such theoretical, and to date hypothetical and contestable assertions, is entirely political, and not rooted in any particular scientific understandings.

What is relevant is what the actual demographic information reasonably informs us about the nature and adaptation of social formations – particularly Inuit (full or mixed ancestry) – in Labrador.

The actual Labradorian population was constantly masked by the itinerant floater fishery from the island of Newfoundland in these population estimates. The earliest reliable and rare example we have of this situation is from Reverend H P Disney at Seal Islands in 1850. On this rare occasion Disney separates the 'overwintering' population from the itinerant fishing people. He lists forty people for the Seal Islands and surrounding area from Porcupine Bay down to Seal Islands. Everyone named to be overwintering, excepting the caretaker for C & E Hunt, Mr Saunders, are ancestors of today's NunatuKavut members of that part of the coast with names such as Smoker, Dyson, Morris, Webber, etc.

Disney separates these residents from the floater fishery people by indicating; *"the above reside all the year on the coast. The under named come for the summer"*. He then goes on to identify the 'under named' one hundred and seventy seven people from elsewhere who are 'summer residents'<sup>41</sup>. Therefore, of the total number of people counted (217) only 19% permanently reside in Labrador and are ancestors of today's residents. Disney further indicates that most of these permanent people are either full-blooded or mixed ancestry Inuit.

In work recently done for NunatuKavut, Patty Way (Labrador genealogist), has indicated which families from the Hutchinson Census in the Winter of 1863-64 remained in Labrador. Two things become evident from the document produced by Ms. Way <sup>42</sup>; (1) that many of the families recorded in the south returned to Newfoundland and did not remain in Labrador, and (2) that the recorded names who did stay in Labrador are again ancestral families of the present day population of NunatuKavut.

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<sup>40</sup> Mannion, 1977

<sup>41</sup> Revisiting the Labrador-Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010. – Doc # 210

<sup>42</sup> Revisiting the Labrador-Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010.

Many of the English names recorded in southern Labrador during the establishment of the first Anglican churches in the region, approximately 1850 to 1880, were also very transient in their migrations through the area. For example, the names of Edmunds, Bellows, Laing, Porter, Allen, Murley, Griffin, etc., are common in the Bay of Islands and are presently predominant in the Bay of Islands<sup>43</sup>. Other families such as Pye, Stone and Larkham are common in Western Newfoundland but also have close relatives in Labrador. In other words, the influx of people at Battle Hr during the early Anglican period was not reflective of the more permanent residents and those who married into Inuit families. Many families who lived on the Labrador coast for one or several years continued to carry out the floater fishery in southern Labrador from the Bay of Islands and Conception Bay well into the twentieth century<sup>44</sup>. They were always considered visitors by the resident Labrador Inuit communities.

By 1885, instead of a declining itinerant fishing population it seems still to be increasing. Reverend Sturtevant Rafter at this time estimates the winter population to be 1018 individuals and yet the summer population to be 10,000 people! The greatest activity in the Floater Fishery to Labrador was experienced from about 1875 to 1910. In 1907, for example, "*1172 vessels were engaged in fishing, their total crews numbering 8,344 persons*"<sup>45</sup>. The separation of the 'overwintering' [Inuit community] population at this time was all but impossible without extensive census taking.

## Defining Ethnicity

We can only assume that ethnicity was identified by early observers based entirely on a person's physical appearance, association with others and, perhaps in the early years, language usage. Their observations could also be extremely biased and based only on preconceptions of ethnic identity. For example, one Inuit elder relates the story of visiting Newfoundland Rangers while doing a census on the coast just prior to confederation. When this story took place, Mary Adams was fourteen years old, living at Rigolet. The story was told to Greg Mitchell in February of 2010;

*"When I was fourteen years old, Joey Smallwood was trying to join Newfoundland to Canada and sent the Rangers to our house in Rigolet [Hamilton Inlet]. I was the interpreter for my mother, who spoke no English. The conversation went like this;*

*Ranger; 'Ask her if she is an Indian'*

*Mary to Mother; Kaujimagumajuk allauguvit - 'He wants to know if you are an Indian'*

*Mother to Mary; UKautiguk, allatiallongilanga, Eskimovunga - 'Tell him I'm no damn Indian, I am an Eskimo'*

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<sup>43</sup> Aliant Telephone Directory - Western Newfoundland, Curling exchange

<sup>44</sup> Mannion, 1977

<sup>45</sup> The Peopling of Newfoundland, Mannion, 1977, page 69.

*Mary to Ranger; 'She said to tell you that she is no damn Indian, that she is an Eskimo'*

*Ranger to Mary; 'Well there are no Eskimos right around here, tell her I'm writing her down as an Indian'.*

*I'll tell you those two Rangers were lucky to get out of our house without being castrated!"*

Unlike the Moravians further north, nobody described the life styles, world views, ethnohistory or prior religious beliefs of Inuit people in Southern Labrador during the nineteenth century. In this regard, it is interesting to note the census produced by Reverend James O'Hara of the area south of Hopedale, Hamilton Inlet area (Nuneinguak) and Sandwich Bay area (Auviktume) and the region between these two bays, Arbatok.

Figure 7 A Census of the Labrador Coast from Nain to Sandwich Bay, not including Moravian Settlements, taken personally by the Rev. James O'Hara, mainly in the spring of 1870

Type	Nain to Hopedale	Hopedale to Cape Harrison	Cape Harrison to Eskimo Bay	In Eskimo Bay and Branches	Eskimo Bay to Sandwich Bay	In Sandwich Bay
Pure Native White	2	21	1	4		27
Native White Parentage Doubtful				5		78
White/Indians mixed		7		14		
White/Eskimo mixed	47	57	19	125	20	69
White/Eskimo/Indian Mixed				12		1
N.A. Indians	1			4		1
Eskimos	4	33	13	89		13
Newfoundlanders	1	8	15	15		37
Canadians						
Yankees	3		2			
English	5	4	2	5	1	24
Irish				2		
Scotch	1	3		14		
Danes						1
Norwegians	1	1				
Russians	1	1				
Errors				7		2
<b>****Total</b>	62	137	50	300	21	253

O'Hara describes a number of categories of aboriginal ethnicity, namely, Eskimos, N.A. Indians, White Indians mixed, White Eskimo mixed, White Eskimo Indian mixed and Native White – parentage doubtful. O'Hara lists 209 people from the Sandwich Bay area (Netsektok) as being born in Labrador. From this native born population, he categorizes 37%, well over one third, as being in the category of 'White – parentage doubtful'. Why was this? Since O'Hara was a

Moravian stationed at Hopedale he could probably tell if people were of mixed race. On the other hand, it seems clear that many people did not want to admit to their aboriginal roots in any way and by this time had clearly inherited or adopted primarily English names.

## **Endogamy in Inuit Labradorians**

In general, the community of people who were found to be over-wintering on the Labrador Coast in the nineteenth century was characterized by marriages within their own community group and often kin group. There are very few records of fully 'white families' who stayed on the coast, where the man and the woman were from elsewhere and settled on the coast. The 1863-64 census from Battle Harbour which investigated the area between Chateaux Bay and Cape Porcupine showed a total of 1219 inhabitants in 117 families. Out of those 117 families 96 of them stayed in Labrador and are ancestors to NunatuKavut beneficiaries<sup>46</sup>. The census by 1935 from the Labrador Coast between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison shows almost exclusively families with aboriginal backgrounds. The very few exceptions are non - resident merchants, physicians, nurses and a few visiting Newfoundland fishermen. The very high percentage of residents are both aboriginal and ancestors of today's NunatuKavut membership<sup>47</sup>.

Since no kind of consistent census or records of marriages, births and deaths were ever undertaken with Inuit in the early nineteenth century, we are left with the very scattered observations of visitors from church records, journals, mercantile sources and ships logs. The Moravian records also give us a glimpse from afar and those materials have been analyzed by Dr. Hans Rollmann and discussed further in this text.

Following a cross cultural marriage a person of pure Inuk ancestry and an European (usually male), children married within their cultural group, either across blood lines (IE 50% Inuk marrying 50% Inuk) or back up the Inuit blood line in subsequent generations, since the choice of marriage partners for males in generations 1, 2 and later was either a person of mixed or pure Inuit ancestry. Patricia Way records quite a number of instances whereby a former Inuit widow was the preferred marriage partner of a young establishing male as in the cases of the first Dyson, Turnbull, Parr and Clark marriages. These women brought their skills to the marriage along with their first husband's hunting, trapping and/or fishing gear and her child rearing and raising capabilities were already established. These Inuk widows were in high demand and much preferred as marriage partners<sup>48</sup>.

Once in a while, a female of mixed ancestry married a male who was visiting from the Newfoundland fishery. This event was rare and usually resulted in the woman moving to either Conception Bay or the West Coast of Newfoundland with her new mate. A few Newfoundlanders from the floater fishery stayed, married either Inuk or half Inuk women, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and are included in the 'English male' sections of this report.

Within the family trees held by NunatuKavut and promulgated primarily by genealogists Bernard Heard and Patricia Way, many instances of mating 'back up the aboriginal line' can be found. A

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<sup>46</sup> Revisiting the Labrador Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010, App. 5 – Doc # 210

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., App. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., page 11.

review of all the family trees to answer this question would take several months of work. Initial assessments performed by Niel Reddekkopp in 1996 now need extensive revisions due to new materials coming to light, in the way of increased knowledge of patrilineal lines and new original records of the entire Inuit descent population. Some brief examples of marrying 'back up the aboriginal line' are given below, which are by no means exhaustive. In the discussion below Gen 1, Gen 2, etc., will indicate a person of mixed ancestry and people of pure Inuit ancestry will be entitled Inuk;

William Phippard I was the first known European to take an Inuit wife at Groswater Bay during the time of Cartwright (late 1700's). His son, William Phippard II, also married an Inuit woman after his father's death at Black Bear Bay in the 1830's.<sup>49</sup>

#### Clarke Family

William Clarke (Englishman) married Mary (Inuk - no surname). Their son Sam Clarke [Gen 1] married Charlotte Morris (Inuk).

#### Dyson family

Michael Dyson (English) married Mary Monekut (Inuk). Their son Gipson [Gen 1] married Margaret Smoker (Inuk).

#### Mesher and Brooks Families

1. James Mesher married an Inuk (name unknown) early in the nineteenth century. One of their sons was William Mesher [Gen 1].

2. Ambrose Brooks married Susan [Inuk] again in the early nineteenth century. One of their children was Hannah Brooks [Gen 1]

3. William Mesher [Gen 1] married Hannah Brooks [Gen 1]. One of their children was Ambrose Mesher [Gen 2].

4. Ambrose Mesher [Gen 2] married an Inuk (unknown name). One of their children was Peter Mesher [Gen 3] - 75% Inuk

5. Peter Mesher [Gen 3] married Lucy Palliser [Inuk]. One of their children was Eva Mesher [Gen 4]. - 87<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> % Inuk

6. Eva Mesher [Gen 4] married Hubbard Palliser [Inuk]. Children were 93<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> % Inuk.

#### Toomashie Family

Thomas Toomashie (Inuk) marries Kathleen Winters (Gen 2).

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<sup>49</sup> Revisiting ., Patricia Way, 2010, - Doc # 210

The Toomashie families, who are generally Inuk, (and whose family trees have not yet been completed) are found to marry back into Gen 1's, Gen 2's and Gen 3's of the Davis and Pardy families, among others, at Sandwich Bay (Netsektok).

### Williams Family

1. Charles Williams (English) marries Mary (Inuk, no last name). One of their children is Thomas Williams [Gen 1].
2. Thomas Williams [Gen 1] marries Nancy Mucko [Inuk]. Aunt Nancy Williams (nee Mucko) is said to be one of the last Inuktitut speakers in the bay in 1916. One of their children is Susanah Williams [Gen 2].
3. Susannah Williams [Gen 2] marries James Morris [Inuk]. Children are 75% Inuk.

### Morris Family

1. William Morris (Gen 1, but likely Inuk) married Harriet (Inuk - no last name). One of their Children was Eliza Morris (Gen 2).
2. Eliza Morris [Gen 2] marries Michael Dyson [Gen 1]. One of their children is George Warren Morris [Gen 3 on one side, and Gen 2 on the other]
3. George Warren Morris marries an Inuk woman from Hebron (unknown name). Their children are either 75% Inuk or 87% Inuk.

### Pardy Family

The Pardy family is by far the largest family in the NunatuKavut genealogies. It is rife with 'back up the aboriginal line' type of evidence. A few examples;

1. George Pardy (English, as far as we know) marries Harriet (Inuk - no last name). One of their children is Jonathan Pardy [Gen 1].
2. Jonathan Pardy [Gen 1] marries Eliza Williams [Gen 1 from Williams family]. One of their children is William Pardy [Gen 2].
3. William Pardy [Gen 2] marries Louisa [Inuk - no last name]. One of their children is Sam Pardy [Gen 3]. - 75% Inuk.
4. Sam Pardy marries Eugenia Atsatatak [Inuk]. Their children are 87<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> % Inuk.

The Pardy family tree shows many marriages into the Shiwak, Shelmuck and Toomashie families in the nineteenth century and then in more recent years marriages into the Pallisers, Pamacks, Ponniuks, Terriaks and Tororak families. To tease out all of the 'up the line' aboriginal connections would be a daunting task since the Pardy tree has well over a thousand names. In

each generation since the original marriage of George Parly (himself of unproven pedigree, but assumed English because of his name) to Harriet [Inuk] in 1813, there have been marriages both across similar lines of decent and 'back up the line ' on the aboriginal side, with very few 'down the line' marriages (Inuit/Inuit Labradorian to European), mostly in recent years.

## **Preference of Marriage Partners**

The above are just a couple of examples of 'up the line endogamy' in the nineteenth century and early twentieth. With a general over-wintering Labrador population of about five hundred and upwards, during the most of the nineteenth century, the influx of a little over forty European males over a one hundred year period had the effect of causing just that number of cross cultural marriages. Subsequent generations after that first cross cultural coupling, married either across the 'mixed population' lines, or back up the aboriginal lines of descent. Those were the only choice of marriage partners up to recent times!

For a number of Inuk families in the records, it is only now, with new information from this research, that we are able to construct family trees for them. Several genealogists, Ms. Elsa Flack and Ms. Patty Way, are presently searching new materials and constructing these family trees. The family trees for the Ittiocks, Elishocs, Thoms (Shunocks), Holleys, Paulos and others are presently under construction. These will yield many more ' up the line' marriages when completed, since both matrilineal lines and patrilineal lines in these families are Inuk well into the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth.

If it can be said that there is any preference for marriage partners, then that preference is clearly shown for 'Labrador people' whether those Labrador people are of mixed ancestry or pure Inuk means little or nothing to prospective marriage partners. The ethnicity of progeny, in that sense, is invisible in the records.

Considering the number of vessels and itinerant fishermen on coastal Labrador during the summer 'floater fishery', if it can be said that there is a discrimination against marriage partners, it is clear that there is not only a preference by the Labradorians for pure aboriginal and mixed descent 'Labrador people' but an apparent discrimination against the Newfoundlanders for marriage partners in the nineteenth century. Again, at least up to the 1935 census, almost all families enumerated on the coast as residents are of aboriginal descent with a few exceptions of church ministers, health care people and government workers similar to other aboriginal communities in Canada and the North.

## **Identity and Naming**

Scholars have agreed that by the 1765 Treaty, Inuit inhabited Southern Labrador as far as Chateaux Bay, with excursions into the Straits of Belle Isle and to Northern Newfoundland <sup>50</sup>. The best sources for identity of specific individuals in the eighteenth century come from Cartwright (1792), William Richardson Journal (Richardson, 1935), Moravian sources (Periodical Accounts, Hopedale Diaries and sacraments) and a few other mercantile records. Up

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<sup>50</sup> Fitzhugh, 2009, pg. 3 – Doc # 191

to the end of the eighteenth century, Inuit men and women were recorded using only their single Inuk names.

The European male had to 'prove himself' before acceptance as a marriage partner. From the Belcher Islands example, a man had to prove the ability at certain tasks before he was accepted as a marriage husband, *"Islanders say that before a man can marry he must be able to hunt all the major species of game, though he need not have succeeded yet in killing a walrus, bear or caribou. He must also be able to make a stone lamp, a qulliq, and a variety of other tools for his bride, including her cutting knife and skin scraper; he should also have a serviceable sled and working dog team and be able to construct all forms of permanent dwellings"*<sup>51</sup>.

From Table # 3 below it can be noted that of the one hundred and ten marriages we do not know the surnames of seventy of the Inuit female spouses, or sixty four percent of them. This always presents difficulty when identifying the kin group of the females. Following about 1865, the pedigree and genealogies of most of the family trees in the NunatuKavut membership are well known and recorded.

**Table 3**

**First Recorded Marriages/couplings within families of South/Central Labrador**

Male Spouse	Year	Pedigree	Female Spouse	Pedigree
Imichtoke	1773	Inuk	Angnutoke	Inuk
Nukakpiak	1780	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Tuglavina	1782	Inuk	1st Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
ditto	1782	Inuk	2nd Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Kingminguse (Petrus)	1783	Inuk	Kullak - 1st wife	Inuk
ditto	1783	Inuk	2nd Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
ditto	1783	Inuk	3rd Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Kausekkulluk	1783	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Paniok	1783	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Paulo	1784	Inuk	Mikak	Inuk
ditto	1784	Inuk	Annugak - 2nd Wife	Inuk
Mikkilerak	1784	Inuk	Anna - 1st Wife	Inuk
John Aglolak	1785	Inuk	??? Sister of Moses	Inuk
Iggiuna	1785	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Aitauk	1785	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Apkajuna** <sup>52</sup>	1786	Inuk	Dorothea	Inuk
Piorinna (Joshua)	1786	Inuk	Two wives unknown names	Inuk
ditto	1787	Inuk	Sattorina	Inuk
Kippinguk II (Noah)	1787	Inuk	Kaijoaluk	Inuk

<sup>51</sup> Guemple, 1986, pg 14

<sup>52</sup> Where records are taken from the Hopedale and Nain sources, the individual couple were only counted in this Table if they resided in South /Central Labrador for two years or more, with a high probability of contributing to the gene pool.

Male Spouse	Year	Pedigree	Female Spouse	Pedigree
Ullominna	1787	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
ditto	1788	Inuk	Persida - 2nd Wife	Inuk
Sallijak	1791	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Ikpiarsuk	1792	Inuk	Erkok - 1st wife	Inuk
ditto	1792	Inuk	Niakoke (Justina)	Inuk
Mikkillerak (Titus)	1793	Inuk	Anna - 1st Wife	Inuk
Niviarsina	1795	Inuk	Catarina - 1st Wife	Inuk
ditto	1795	Inuk	Mary - 2nd Wife	Inuk
Jonathan Palliser	1795	Inuk	Wife (Titus's former wife)	Inuk
Niakoke	1797	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Sirmek	1797	Inuk	Mikak II	Inuk
Ephraim	1797	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
John Elson	1800	English	???????	Nfld
Isaac	1800	Inuk	Bridget	Irish?
Edmund Oliver	1800	Irish	Mary	Inuk
James Mesher	1804	Unknown	??????	Inuk
John Shunock (Thoms)	1805	Inuk	Sarah (Sally)	Inuk
William Reed	1806	English	Mary	Inuk
Ambrose Brooks	1808	English	Susan	Inuk
George Bird	1809	Unknown	Betsy	Unknown
Ussangana	1809	Inuk	Nokosak	Inuk
Martin	1810	Unknown	????????	Inuk
William Green	1810	English	Mary	Inuk
William Phippard 1	1810	English	Sarah	Inuk
Kingmiarluk	1811	Inuk	Paksaut	Inuk
Netsiak	1811	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Arnauyak	1811	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
George Pardy	1812	Unknown	Harriet	Inuk
Paroninna	1813	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Kattigak	1816	Inuk	Erkillana	Inuk
Benjamin Circum	1820	Unknown	Mary Monygood	Inuk
James Sutton	1820	Unknown	Nancy	Inuk
? Pottle	1820	English	??	Inuk
John Williams (Flatwaters)	1820	English	Elizabeth	Inuk
Thomas Reeves	1820	English	??	Inuk
John Holwell	1825	Unknown	Joanne Penniok	Inuk
Pompey	1825	Inuk	Sarah Kouk-souk	Inuk
John Kuniook	1825	Inuk	Sarah Ooing-atshuk	Inuk
Joseph Hackett	1825	Metis	Sarah Penni-ook	Inuk
Molina	1825	Inuk	Sarah Coutebuck	Inuk
Ikkiatsiak	1827	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
Charles Davis	1830	Wales	Harriet Pardy	Inuit/Labradorian
Edward Mangrove	1830	Unknown	Ann Thoms (Shunock)	Inuk
James Edward Learning	1830	England	Mary Ann Bennett	European
Richard Stevens	1830	Unknown	Kitty Shelmuck	Inuk
Peter Shelmuck	1830	Inuk	?????	Inuk
William Clarke	1830	English	Mary	Inuit/Labradorian
William Winter	1830	England	Elizabeth Oliver	Inuit/Labradorian
Henry Martin	1830	Unknown	Mary Sutton	Inuit/Labradorian

Male Spouse	Year	Pedigree	Female Spouse	Pedigree
George Shickmack	1831	Inuk	Leah	Inuk
Pannijuiok	1832	Inuk	Justina	Inuk
Samuel Kippenuck	1836	Inuk	Nancy	Inuk
Theophilus	1836	Inuk	Maria	Inuk
Charles Williams (North River)	1838	English	Mary	Inuk
John Burdett	1839	Unknown	Salome	Inuk
John Lethbridge	1840	Unknown	Mary Ann Louis	1/2 Micmac
James Cridland	1840	Unknown	Nancy	Inuk
George Jeffrey	1840	Inuk	???	Inuk
William Phippard 2	1840	Inuit/Labradorian	Elizabeth	Inuk
Thomas Frost	1840	Unknown	? Marnok	Inuk
James Martin	1840	Unknown	Caroline Bird	European
Thomas Ward	1840	Unknown	Mary	Inuk
Anauke	1840	Inuk	Karatis	Inuk
Thomas Paulo	1842	Inuk	Betsy Williams?	Inuit/Labradorian
Charles Burden	1843	Unknown	Ann Peckham	Inuit/Labradorian
William Webber	1845	Unknown	Jane Isaac	Inuk
Mersai Michelin	1846	French Canadian	Hannah Brooks	Inuit/Labradorian
Hezekiah Thomas	1848	Inuk	Sarah	Inuk
William Peckham	1848	Inuit/Labradorian	Ann	Inuk
John Shiwak	1848	Inuk	Catherine	Inuk
Joseph Tuctoosheena	1848	Inuk	Nancy	Inuk
James Webber	1848	Inuit/Labradorian	Sarah	Inuk
Thomas Marnock	1849	Inuk	Betsy	Inuk
William Russell	1850	Welsh	Nancy Tuccolk	Inuk
Michael Dyson	1850	English	Mary Monygood w. Circum	Inuk
Robert Parr	1850	Unknown	Elizabeth(Betsy) w.Quirk	Inuk
James Roberts	1850	Unknown	Matilda Ann Green	Inuit/Labradorian
James Morris	1850	Inuit/Labradorian	Sarah	Inuk
John Keefe	1850	Irish	Ann	Inuk
Joseph Perry	1850	Unknown	Sarah	Inuk
Thomas Gibbons	1850	Unknown	Sarah Manak	Inuk
Peter Leon	1850	Unknown	Katherine	Inuk
Michael McDonald	1850	Irish	??	Inuk
William Palliser	1854	Inuk	Susanna	Inuk
Joseph Langor	1855	Unknown	Mary Paulo	Inuk
John Heard	1855	English	Maria Bird	Unknown
George Ittiok	1858	Inuk	Eliza	Inuk
William Dicker	1861	English	Sarah Learning	English
Alexander Turnbull	1864	English	Chalotte(Green) Stephens	Inuit/Labradorian
Tuktusna (William)	1882	Inuk	Wife (unknown name)	Inuk
William Palliser II	1891	Inuk	Kitti	Inuk

The table shows first recorded marriages, either in family trees or taken from the records (1765-1865). Records are taken from a multiplicity of sources including merchantile records, church records, written documents, family histories and oral traditions.

The assumed English men are listed above as 'unknown' simply because during the course of this research several individuals who were given as English in the records were, in fact, of Inuit ancestry. The fact that O'Hara, in 1871, observed quite a number of people in Sandwich Bay and area [Aiviktome] who were 'White – parentage doubtful' also attributes to the suspicion that other males may not have been Englishmen, but for various reasons had adopted English names.

The group marked as "unknown" are primarily men who have English names but there is no real empirical evidence of their ethnicity, outside of the supposition that they are English from their names. This topic will be discussed further in the next section. Europeans are those which have been definitely identified through texts or eye witness records. The above table is constructed from the first recorded marriages and the records of people who overwintered in Labrador, were permanent residents, and whose descendants still live in South/Central Labrador. They are the ancestors of today's NunatuKavut.

The lack of surnames in the early part of the century is consistent with Inuit customs and ways. We can surmise that if the Inuktitut name was hard to pronounce (and they usually were on British tongues), then the visiting Missionary seems to have adopted a single European first name, at random. For example, in the case of the 1825 marriages performed by Richard Knight all three marriages list the Christian name of the bride as 'Sarah'. It is suspected that the selection of the first, or Christian, name may have been through the intervention of the minister, rather than the choice of the bride. In fact, there are twelve 'Sarahs' listed from the hundred and ten female marital names in Table # 3. All except one is Inuk, that is Sarah Learning and she is English.

It is important to remember, when reviewing Table # 3, that each person listed as Inuit, whether male or female, usually brought with them to the marriage an extended family. The Europeans were single men with the rest of their families in England. The single European man was not just marrying a single Inuk woman, but was entering into an association and being absorbed into the Inuit culture around him. Similarly, the children from these marriages were primarily influenced by their Inuit mothers and the acculturated European fathers.

To ascertain to which family groupings the Inuit brides derive, and to attach a further identifying name to 'Harriet, Mary or Nancy', for example, would take a very time consuming systematic geographic study, which is outside the time limits imposed by this research. Each of these individuals came from an Inuk family residing in South Central Labrador. These are the people referred by Roger McDonnell as the 'non-missionized' Inuit<sup>53</sup>. No extant genealogies are available for these mostly unrecorded Inuit of Labrador and only very scattered and disjointed

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<sup>53</sup> McDonnell, 2002 - 114

information is available. The expert for Labrador genealogies terms the lack of genealogical history for Inuit people in Southern Labrador to represent a 'gaping hole' in the records<sup>54</sup>.

According to accounts given by Bishop Field in 1848, there was only one English woman on this part of the Labrador coast at that time. Given the above circumstances, it can be stated that a small number of English males (27, for certain) were absorbed into the population. Also recorded were 26 men of unknown pedigree, many of whom were either European or Inuit-Labradorian. Even if they were all European then a maximum of fifty three men were absorbed over a period of ninety one years into an Inuit culture in the nineteenth century with a population ranging between five hundred up to a thousand at the end of the century. Because of name adoptions, some of these forty seven 'assumed Europeans' could have been Inuit as we will see further in this study.

As mentioned, English males came to these marriages without families. Their potential spouses came to these marriages with families and, in fact, the Inuit females came to these marriages with their ancestral land, culture and community. The high number of Inuit 'widows' marrying Europeans came also with their former husbands tools<sup>55</sup> and hunting/fishing attributes, even traditional harvest areas.

Inuit females were the culture carriers from the time of sovereignty to the present. Their silence in a colonial/male dominated era has led to a suppression of the Inuit feminine view. Without the survival techniques taught to them by the Inuit, this small number of English men would never survive and thrive in the Labrador environment. Without effective hunting techniques, high speed sled travel, warm and dry clothes, so important in this harsh climate, they could not survive. For example, over one hundred years of Arctic exploration by the British Navy finally taught Colonial powers the intrinsic survival value of Inuit life styles<sup>56</sup>.

Some Inuit men maintained their single Inuktitut name as a family name during the nineteenth century<sup>57</sup>. In an effort to identify the possible family groupings from which these ninety three Inuit women ('Nancy' or 'Sarah') derive, then a list of Inuit families with known surnames, who resided in South/Central Labrador during the nineteenth century, can be useful;

**Table 4 Known Families with Inuit Surnames residing in South/Central Labrador during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Paulo	Shiwak	Erkok
Kippingguk/Kippenock	Toomashie	Kaijoaluk
Shunock	Shuglo/Shuglowina	Kuppak
Aglolak	Ponniuk/Pennyhook	Isaac
Shappick	Tinock	Kautalik
Shimuk	Tuglavinia	Mikillerak
Manak	Jack	Niakokke

<sup>54</sup> Patricia Way, Pers. Comm., 2010

<sup>55</sup> Revisiting the Labrador Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010, page 10. – Doc # 210

<sup>56</sup> The Arctic Grail, Pierre Berton, Random House, 2001.

<sup>57</sup> Revisiting the Labrador Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010,

Tuccolk	Angnatok/Angutage	Kattigak
Elishoc	Nochasak	Kauksoak
Ittiock	Ooquioo	Netsiak
Tooktusheena	Ikpiarsuk	Arnuayak
Ikey	Ooing-atshuk	
Connunock/Kuniook	Coutebach	
Maggo	Marro	

In spite of the total absence of Inuk genealogical records for the period however, we can generally state that 'Nancy' or 'Sarah' who married an European had to come from the thirty nine family groups listed above or from families with roots on the 'entire' Atlantic coast of Labrador. To positively identify her birth parents is, unfortunately, lost to the vagaries of time.

Given the general lack of historical records for the period, which were often scribed by white European males, it is not surprising that women are almost non-existent altogether. As Cabak has stated at the beginning of her thesis on Labrador Inuit women further north, *"Historians searching for evidence about women's history have encountered the phenomenon of women's invisibility; women have been systematically omitted from accounts of the past"* <sup>58</sup>. The probability of these family groupings from the table above as being ancestors of today's NunatuKavut membership is quite positive based on genetics and geography. To say that these Inuit women entering the recorded marriages were inadequately identified is not to say that they had no influence over future matters in Labrador. Melanie Cabak in researching Inuit women in Northern Labrador stated that. *"I will show that Inuit women were not passive members of their society but participated actively in the many facets of social interaction and change."* and that, *"These lines of evidence suggest that Inuit women were coeval, if not primary agents, of change in Labrador Inuit society."*<sup>59</sup>

To further distill the data from the First Recorded Marriages table (Table # 3), we can see that grouping based on pedigree is possible;

**Table 5 Pedigree Grouping of First Recorded Marriages**

<i>Pedigree of Individual</i>	<i>Number in Grouping</i>
<b>Inuk</b>	152
<b>Unknown</b>	26
<b>European</b>	27
<b>Inuit/Labradorian</b>	14
<b>Micmac</b>	1

It should be noted that sixty nine percent (69%) of the individuals in these first recorded marriages are Inuit and it is likely that several, or at least a number, of the 'unknown' individuals

<sup>58</sup> Cabak, 1991 – Doc # 199

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.,

are also Inuk. The genealogies show that in subsequent years the population did not change significantly due to continuing endogamous relationships into the twentieth century<sup>60</sup>.

From Table # 3, previously, we can also see that at the beginning of the nineteenth century both Inuit women and men were adopting 'Christian' first names<sup>61</sup>, yet retaining their Inuk names, for example the marriage of John Kuniok to Sarah Ooing-atshuk in 1825, or the recording of simply a 'John' at Beareneed, NL, by the Methodist Minister, William Ellis in 1819<sup>62</sup>.

Reverend Ellis was describing Inuit who had been brought to Newfoundland from the area of Spotted Island [Kikkertet area]<sup>63</sup>. According to Ellis, *"They were brought to from thence (Labrador) by a Mr. Barelet, who had been fishing there the past summer. They are all of the same family, consisting of a mother, her daughter, son, son's wife, and their two children. The one other is John (for that is the Christian name we give him) spoke a little English. I was able to converse with the rest of them by means of Mr. Neal who had lived several years on the Labrador coast, where he obtained a knowledge of their language."*<sup>64</sup>

Ellis went on to baptize these individuals, however, to date, the record of these eight sacraments have not been recovered along with any relevant ethnographic information which may have been gathered. It can be assumed from what is said here and the actions of other Methodist Ministers in Labrador between 1824 and 1828, that first names were assigned to the name given to the minister by the individual Inuk. It was common practice for Inuit outside the Moravian sphere to adopt surnames, yet within the Moravian congregation Inuit were given a single name (usually biblical) and assigned a number<sup>65</sup>, similar to methods used by the Canadian Government with Inuit on Baffin Island and areas further north in the next century.

We are informed in Methodist letters and diaries that many marriages and more than a hundred baptisms were performed in South Central Labrador by these four Methodist ministers in a four year period<sup>66</sup>. However, only five out of more than a hundred of these records have been yet recovered, in spite of all efforts to find them<sup>67</sup>. The ones which have been found support the assertion that a 'Christian' first name was added to an Inuk last name upon baptism or marriage.

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<sup>60</sup> Reddekopp, 1996

<sup>61</sup> Revisiting...., Patricia Way, 2010, - Doc # 210

<sup>62</sup> William Ellis, letter to the Methodist Mission, unpublished

<sup>63</sup> Knight, Richard, Visits to Labrador, page 17 – Doc # 148

<sup>64</sup> William Ellis, letter to the Methodist Mission, unpublished

<sup>65</sup> Revisiting the Labrador Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010, page 11. – Doc # 210

<sup>66</sup> Laing, 2007 – Doc #'s 147 - 149

<sup>67</sup> LMN Final Report, Flack, 2010 – Doc # 206

## European Names and Inuit Men

From the few records which we have we can ascertain that a number of aboriginal men during the nineteenth century in Labrador had acquired European surnames. It can be suggested that these names were either changed from an aboriginal name, that they were given a European name at birth, or the person was adopted by a family with an existing English name.



**Depiction of Tom Brown from the Elliot Curwen collections held at the Provincial Archives at The Rooms, St. John's, NL**

The table below shows records of men who were identified as Inuit (generally Esquimaux Indians) by visiting clergy and others;

**Table 6 Identified Inuit Men with English Names**

Inuit Men	Source of Information
<b>William Kay</b>	Elliott sworn at St John's, 1810, (see Tompkins report)
<b>Joseph Diggs</b>	Death Record # 280, Battle Hr Records
<b>George Jeffreys</b>	Journal of Henry Gordon
<b>Jonathan Palliser</b>	Taylor, 1984
<b>John Thoms</b>	Battle Hr Records
<b>John Norman Pitts</b>	Christened by F. Carrington, C of E, 1815
<b>William Webber</b>	Battle Hr Records
<b>William Morris</b>	ditto
<b>William Peckham</b>	ditto
<b>Hezekiah Thomas</b>	ditto
<b>William Phippard</b>	ditto
<b>Tom Brown</b>	Curwen, 1893

From the Table # 6 above, we have twelve records where individuals were identified as Inuit and one person, William Peckham, identified as Innu (Mountaineer Indian). From NunatuKavut genealogies which, for some part, are taken from oral histories of the membership, several of these men are alleged to be English descent, namely, William Webber and James Morris. However, the Oral Histories may not tell the complete story.

Both of the above noted records (Webber and Morris) are from Anglican church itinerant ministers and one can assume that the traveling minister came into direct contact with the individual concerned. Initially the physical features of the person would help to discern a person's ethnicity. If physical features were the only criterion, then perhaps the minister could be in error, since phenotypic characteristics are not always indicative of the parental genotype. One of the parents could be blue eyed and English, however, the child can easily show features of the darker features of the mother, if the mother were aboriginal. The converse, of course, is true.

However, in administering sacraments, religious ministers would, in all likelihood, hold a conversation with the individual being accepted to the church. The record is replete with ministers who needed to have their prospective recipients of baptism or marriage well versed in the understandings of the religion. That being said, a conversation with the individual would certainly be necessary and would give another indication as to that person's ethnicity. That is yet another reason why these eye witness observations can be considered more reliable than personal oral histories which are often lost to obscurity after four or five generations, and the aboriginal contents are sometimes masked by stigmatism and racism by the general population<sup>68</sup>.

Perhaps the most striking example of an Inuk possessing an English name is the case of John Thoms, who by a very circuitous route was described as Inuk upon the death of his wife, as pointed out by Kennedy<sup>69</sup> and is recorded in the Battle Harbour records, thus;

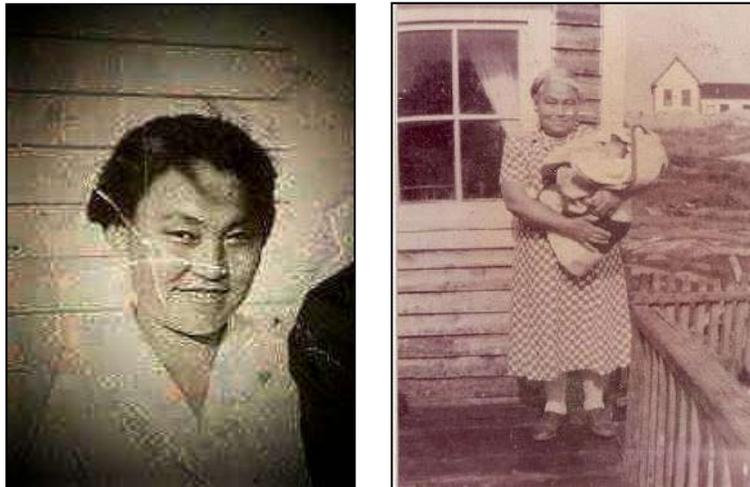
**Figure # 8**

A photograph of a handwritten document on aged paper. The text is written in cursive and reads: "Note B. & B. - 17th Oct. Sarah Shunsock Eskimo, Widow of the late John Shunsock (John Thomas) Died at Fort Harbour and was buried on Battle Island 26<sup>th</sup> October 1867. Aged (supposed to be) 110 years, by W. B. Bondell". Below this, there is another line of handwriting: "Mary Paul, Eskimo, died at Little Harbour, November 18<sup>th</sup> 1867".

<sup>68</sup> Visitor's Accounts of Inuit Metis..., John Kennedy, 2010 – Doc # 202

<sup>69</sup> Kennedy, 2001, A Review of Two Documents by Carol Brice-Bennett, Appendix to Supplementary Land Claim submissions to INAC, LMN.

In the case of the Morris family, again, we are inclined to believe that the traveling minister was correct in his assumptions and that the original James Morris was an 'Esquimaux Indian'. The oldest photograph which we have from this family comes from Minnie Turnbull (nee Morris), as a young woman and as an older woman, Minnie is a grand daughter of William Morris, ethnic attributes being rather obvious;



**Minnie Morris as a young woman and as an older person and midwife**

Picture left; from the collection of Pauline Elson., picture right from the collection of Joyce (Webber) Argotsinger

Figure # 9      Relevant section of the Morris Family Tree on following page.



Also, in the Webber family, for example, we are told by Oral Histories that the original William Webber, married to Jane Isaac at Seal Islands in 1848, was English. This may very well conflict with observations made by clergy. Reverend James C. Harvey, the attending Anglican Minister, considered him to be an 'Esquimaux Indian'<sup>70</sup>. Again one would assume that the minister held conversations with Mr. Webber during the administration of sacraments in order to draw his conclusions on ethnicity, in addition to physical features. Although we have no picture or further evidence for William Webber, we have two extant photographs of his grandchildren which should be given some consideration:



**Photo # 13** Charlotte Paulo (nee Webber) is from the Curwen collection (circa 1891). Charlotte is a granddaughter of the original William Webber.

A direct line of descendants within the Webber genealogy is given Figure 9a on the following page and below are more of the Webber family:



**Photo # 14** The older gentleman in the middle is Tom Webber, brother of Charlotte Paulo (above) and his two sons, Ken and Bart. Tom and Charlotte are grandchildren of the original William Webber who was purportedly English. The ladies in the background (L-R) are Sarah Holwell and Eliza Elson. *Photo from the collection of Joyce Webber Argotsinger, (circa 1916).*

<sup>70</sup> Rollmann, 2008, pg 25 – Doc # 162



Other cases of ethnic determination of men with English names are more clear cut, such as specific records of the descendants of Mikak being called Pallisers, as a surname, after the Newfoundland Governor with whom which the ancestor, Mikak, was acquainted. Or, statements such as those made by Curwen in describing Joseph Diggs as being Inuit and an Inuit speaker, etc. Two salient questions arises from this discourse; Why then did Inuit men end up with English names? And, why did families seemingly cover up their aboriginality? The literature can give part of an answer to the first question. The second question has never been studied.

It was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that Labrador Inuit were required to adopt surnames by the Newfoundland Government <sup>71</sup>. In the North, the initiative was taken by the Moravians to ensure their missionized Inuit were properly named (Lenz, 1928). Inuit people took on surnames of; (1) early German missionaries [i.e. - Kholmeister and Nitschmann], (2) captains of schooners [i.e. - Barber], (3) translations of ancient Inuit words [i.e. - Drie and Finger], (4) religious affinities [i.e. - Lamb for Lamb of God - eventually Lamp], (5) several turned their fathers Christian names into surnames [i.e. - Adams, Freidrich], (6) one musical family took on the surname of the composer 'Rink' and (7) the majority took their forefather's single names as surnames [Aggek, Onalik, etc.] <sup>72</sup>. In addition to these, Inuit chose names of: (1) Inuit words which meant something in nature [i.e. - Terriak - weasel or Saksigak - squirrel] or (2) Occupations such as Igloliarte - carpenter or Mitsuk - one who sews <sup>73</sup>.

At the end of the nineteenth century then, Inuit had adopted nine different ways to appropriate a surname to be used in a binomial system. In much of Southern Labrador, it had become fashionable and perhaps even necessary to identify yourself with an English name much earlier in the century, such as the case of a number of men like Pitts, Thoms (Shunock), Jonathan Palliser, etc. and all the women. From the Record table in the Demographics section (Table # 6a) of this paper, it is evident to see the trend from the beginning of the century to the end. At the beginning of the century all of the people described as Inuit, Esquimaux or Esquimaux Indians have names which are typical Inuktitut. As you approach the twentieth century, even though people are still described with an aboriginal moniker, they mostly have English names.

For the entire female Inuit population in South/Central Labrador, a name change to a 'Christian' name had either already taken place at birth, or a Christian name was taken or given to the Inuit woman upon marriage (Sarah, Mary, Nancy, etc). The husband's last name was taken by her as a surname, in virtually all cases. Subsequently, most individual Inuit names from Inuktitut were lost in the early part and up to the middle of the nineteenth century, when record keeping began. The list of surviving Inuit names in South/Central Labrador is relatively short as a result of these changes (see Table # 6a ) and there was a very early adoption of English names to fulfill the coming binomial system.

Ethnographic observations in the early part of the nineteenth century on this coastline were entirely absent. Except for a very few scattered records from which to draw, it is a complete void. Notwithstanding the five recent marriage records located in the United Church Archives

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<sup>71</sup> Revisiting the Labrador Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010 – Doc # 210

<sup>72</sup> Lenz, 1928,

<sup>73</sup> Revisiting the Labrador Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010, App # 7

from the 1820's, there are no records of Inuit genealogical relations in South/Central Labrador <sup>74</sup>, even though there was a continuing population of five hundred or more people for the entire period.

In other parts of the north, in an effort to identify Inuit, the Canadian Government adopted a numbering system <sup>75</sup>. It was not until the 1960's that Ann Hanson (Annie E7 - 121) of Nunavut (Northwest Territories at the time), for example, even learned about surnames when she attended school in Toronto. She subsequently took on the surname of her adoptive parents and became Annie Cotterill.

Historically, Inuit considered name adoption at birth to be important in maintaining relations with the dead <sup>76</sup>. The naming of the child did not follow gender lines because Inuktitut is almost gender neutral <sup>77</sup>. In the first year of life an Inuit child may be given five or six names if that number of people were deceased in the community and by the time a child was a year or so old one name may seem to fit the person <sup>78</sup>. The name and it's associations engendered in a child in a way belonged to the greater community as a survival mechanism, *"naming helps to transport relatedness through kinship into communities that are comparatively larger than the camps were. Dorais noted that this survival mechanism can create divisions in the community but also creates 'an ecocentric identity' in which 'a person's position within the universe cannot be dissociated from his or her active relations with the community, nature, and the material world"*.

<sup>79</sup> Billson goes on to say that in the early years in the far north, *"if a grandfather or great-grandfather worked for the Hudson's Bay Company, a family might have an English last name like Ford or Kelley"*.

It is, therefore, rather easy to see that Inuit, even though there was a great deal of importance placed on a name, were rather fluid in what name was adopted depending on economic circumstances, social structure and how the name connected to the community as a whole. Therefore, the adoption of English names by Inuit in the early part of the nineteenth century in South/Central Labrador showed a high degree of the very typical Inuit traits of resilience and economic and social adaptation. There seems to have never been much reluctance to adopting English names, either in Labrador or anywhere else in the North under the right circumstances.

## **Inuit Records in the Nineteenth Century**

In an effort to re-visit the aboriginal demographic picture of the nineteenth century NunatuKavut has extracted the names of individuals from available historic records from the time of recorded contact to about 1865. Following 1865, NunatuKavut, for the most part, have solid genealogies

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<sup>74</sup> Patricia Way, Pers. comm., 2009

<sup>75</sup> Hanson, 2009,

<sup>76</sup> Boderhorn, 1990

<sup>77</sup> Billson, 2007

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.,

of individual families in the membership up to the present time. The list below contains five hundred and ninety three names of people who were either particularly identified as Inuit or have traditional Inuit names. The list was compiled from the sum total of all recent research into church, merchantile, military, exploration and traditional oral sources. The list has been reviewed and edited by Patricia Way (Labrador genealogist) for corrections/ deletions and additions. Since the list includes one incident reports, there may be repeats in the list and some names may be the same individual with a different spelling assigned by the European observer. The list is given below in Table 6a:

**Table # 6a Inuit Record List. Records are taken from the available historic documents primarily clerical and merchant records (1765 – 1865).**

<i>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Other notes concerning individual</i>	<i>Source material</i>
Capitena Ioannis	1694	St Lewis Bay	Unknown	Delanglez
Chief Quignac	1694	Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Delanglez
Kamicterineac	1694	St Lewis Bay	Unknown	Delanglez
Acoutsina	1717	Straights of Belle Isle	Captured by Courtemance	DCB 2:9 taken from Hiller,2008
Amaqut (captain Amargo)	1743	Hawke Bay	Unknown	Fornel narrative
Hape - Eskimaux	1743	Norman Bay	Unknown	Fornel narrative
Sarah Shunock	1757	Fox Hr	Birth extrapolated from death record	Anglican records from Kennedy extract
Seguillia	1765	Chateaux bay	Recorded later in the area of Nain?	Lysaght and Moravian materials
Mycock (Mikak)	1767	Near Fort York	Captured, sent to England and died in the North	Periodical Accounts, cartwright Journals
Karpik	1769	Near Fort York	Died in Great Britain in 1769	Periodical Accounts, cartwright Journals
Etuiock	1770	Lodge Bay.	Nephew of Tooklavina	Cartwright Journals
Attooiack	1771	Cape Charles	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
Attuiock	1771	Cape Charles	Died in Great Britain in 1772	Cartwright Journals
Camishima	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
Capic	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
Caubvik	1771	cape Charles	Speculated to have died years later in Hamilton Inlet	Cartwright Journals
Chelic	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
Ickpiaruc	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Imituck</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Nawadlok</b>	1771	Lodge Bay	Unknown	Cartwright Journals
<b>Nawillue</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Newichina</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Pevallo</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Pudnioc</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Tooklavinia</b>	1771	Cape Charles	Died in Great Britain in 1772	Cartwright Journals
<b>Yoickwina</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Ickcongoque</b>	1772	Seal Island	Died in Great Britian in 1772	Cartwright Journals
<b>Ickuena</b>	1772	Henley Harbour	Child of Ickcongoque-Died in England	Cartwright Journals
<b>Manuina</b>	1772	South	Returned from Arbatok (Eivektok?)	Nain Diary
<b>Noozelliak</b>	1772	Lodge Bay	Died in England	Cartwright Journals
<b>Scheidley</b>	1772	Lodge Bay	Unknown	Cartwright Journals
<b>Adlocock</b>	1773	Chateaux bay	Boy brought by Pinson - nephew of Tuglavina	Nain Records - Moravian
<b>Angnutoke</b>	1773	Cape Charles	Unknown	Grimston Papers
<b>Econgohis</b>	1773	Cape Charles	Unknown	Grimston Papers
<b>Emiktoke</b>	1773	Cape Charles	Unknown	Grimston Papers
<b>Kiminguse</b>	1773	South	Fled to the south	Nain Records - Moravian
<b>Shuglawina</b>	1773	Lodge Bay	Known as the 'chief'	Cartwright Journals
<b>Sirlek</b>	1773	Chateaux area?	Travelling as pilot with Curtis	Nain Diary
<b>Sirlek's wife</b>	1773	Chateaux area?	Travelling as pilot with Curtis	Nain Diary
<b>Tweegok</b>	1773	Lodge Bay	Bought by Cartwright as a servant	Cartwright Journals
<b>Jack</b>	1774	Lodge Bay	Referred as 'Indian Boy'.	Cartwright Journals
<b>Phillis</b>	1775	Lodge bay and Cartwright	Daughter of Tweegok and John Ryan	Cartwright Journals
<b>Nooquashock</b>	1776	Isthumus Bay	Had twins for Danial Scully	Cartwright Journals
<b>Catherine Ooquioo</b>	1778	Isthumus Bay	Daughter of Pere Barecack and Cowcosish	Cartwright Journals

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Cattock</b>	1778	Cartwright	Household servant to George Cartwright	Cartwright Journals
<b>Cowcosish</b>	1778	Isthumus Bay	Wife of Pere Barecack	Cartwright Journals
<b>Aituak</b>	1780	Aivertok	Wanted to be near where his father died	Nain Records - Moravian
<b>Ikkerana</b>	1780	Aivertok	Travelling back south	Nain Records - Moravian
<b>Sirmek</b>	1780	Aivertok	Travelling with Aituak	Nain Records - Moravian
<b>Aitauk and family</b>	1781	Chateaux Bay		Nain Diaries
<b>Angekana and family</b>	1781	Chateaux Bay		Nain Diaries
<b>Kemmuserak and family</b>	1781	Chateaux Bay		Nain Diaries
<b>Kullak</b>	1781	Chateaux Bay	Arrived with Gardner/Inuk 'from the south'	Nain Diaries
<b>Sirmek</b>	1781	Itsuarvik	met Europeans	Nain Diaries
<b>Abraham</b>	1782	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	Nain Records - Moravian
<b>Kannigak</b>	1782	Aivertok	wintered	Nain Diaries
<b>Kemuserak</b>	1782	Aivertok		Nain Diaries
<b>Mikak</b>	1782	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	Nain Records - Moravian
<b>Panniok</b>	1782	Aivertok		Nain Diaries
<b>Tuglavinia</b>	1782	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	Nain Records - Moravian
<b>Ikpiarsuk, Simeon</b>	1783	Died at Netsektok, Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Records
<b>John Aglolak</b>	1783	Chateaux bay	Unknown	Taylor, 1984
<b>Kausekkulluk</b>	1783	South	Go south - no more records	Hopedale records
<b>Kippingguk(1)</b>	1783	Chateaux Bay	Died in North in 1812	Hopedale Records
<b>Kitluina</b>	1783	south, Chateaux Bay	movements of 3 families to Chateaux Bay	Hopedale records
<b>Kullak</b>	1783	South	1st wife of Kingminguse	Hopedale records
<b>Kulliat, David</b>	1783	Drowned in a kayak at Chateaux Bay		Hopedale records
<b>Lukas</b>	1783	travel to Chateaux Bay		Hopedale records
<b>Mago</b>	1783	south	Goes to find his stolen wife	Hopedale records
<b>Marro, Nathanel</b>	1783	Ikkerasak, St. Michaels Bay	In 1791 died in boat trip south - he was older brother of Kippingguk	Hopedale Records
<b>Mikak</b>	1783	Chateaux bay	Visiting and trading	Taylor, 1984

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Piorinna, Joshua</b>	1783	south	Died in south (location unknown) after many years in church	Hopedale Records
<b>Piugina</b>	1783	south	Record indicates that seven boats went south and nobody returned	Hopedal Diaries - Herrnutt collection
<b>Salliak</b>	1783	travel to Chateaux Bay		Hopedale records
<b>Settugunna, Magdelana</b>	1783	Arvertok, Hamilton Inlet	2nd wife of Erkaranna	Hopedale Records
<b>Sirkoak</b>	1783	Chateaux bay	Partner to Mikak	Taylor, 1984
<b>Sirkoak</b>	1783	Chateaux Bay	Travel from North	Taylor, 1984
<b>Tuglavina</b>	1783	Chateaux Bay	Trading	Taylor, 1984
<b>Young Pualo</b>	1783	Chateaux bay	Partner to Mikak	Taylor, 1984
<b>Aglukak</b>	1784	Arrives with Tuglavia at Hopedale	Sailed with the English for several years	Hopedale records
<b>Akupiok</b>	1784	Came from south to Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Ekkerana</b>	1784	Died at Aivatok	Record of death along with 11 others	Hopedale records
<b>Ekkerana</b>	1784	Boat shattered at Aivatok		Hopedale records
<b>Erkok, Rebecca</b>	1784	Netsektok, Sandwich Bay	Died in Netsektok in 1793	Hopedale Records
<b>Kaijoaluk, Sussanna</b>	1784	Aivektok	Died in Aivektok	Hopedale Records
<b>Kautalik</b>	1784	Boat shattered at Aivatok		Hopedale records
<b>Kemekserak</b>	1784	Died at Aivatok	Record of death along with 11 others	Hopedale records
<b>Kemuk</b>	1784	Boat shattered at Aivatok		Hopedale records
<b>Kemukserak</b>	1784	Living at Aivetok, wife killed by dogs		Hopedale records
<b>Kingminguse, Petrus</b>	1784	Stayed at Chateaux Bay		Hopedale records
<b>Kippinguk</b>	1784	Born in Chateaux Bay - record at Hopedale	Unknown	Periodical Accounts, cartwright Journals
<b>Kippinguk (2) Noa</b>	1784		Died in Kayak accident in Aivektok Bay, son of old Paronina	Hopedale Records
<b>Kuppak, Pesida</b>	1784	south	died in the south	Hopedale Records

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Lucas</b>	1784	Travels to the south from Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Mikak</b>	1784	Hamilton Inlet	Mikak and Pualo lived in Hamilton Inlet from 1784 to 1795	Taylor, 1984
<b>Paniok</b>	1784	Died at Aivatok		Hopedale records
<b>Petrus</b>	1784	Travels to the south from Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Adlucock</b>	1785	Lance Cove	Overwintered at 'Isle of Ponds'	Cartwright Journals
<b>Aituk</b>	1785	Wintered south of Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)		Hopedale records
<b>Angutauge, Amos</b>	1785	Netsektok, Sandwich Bay	Died in Netsektok in 1793	Hopedale Records
<b>Annugak, Catharina</b>	1785	Netsektok, Sandwich Bay	Died 1793 at Netsektok	Hopedale records
<b>Iggiuna</b>	1785	Arrived in Hopedale after spending two years in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Jonathan</b>	1785	Arrived in Hopedale after spending two years in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Old Nerkinguak</b>	1785	Died last summer at Chateaux Bay		Hopedale records
<b>Sister of Moses</b>	1785	Chateaux bay	married to John Aglugak	Taylor, 1984
<b>Tortosina</b>	1785	Aivertok	Arrived in Okak trading	Okak Diaries
<b>Tukelavinia</b>	1785	Lance Cove	Overwintered at 'Isle of Ponds'	Cartwright Journals
<b>Ussungana</b>	1785	Aivertok	Arrived in Okak trading	Okak Diaries
<b>Aglokak</b>	1786	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Aijoruna, Esther</b>	1786	Aivektok, Hamilton Inlet	Drowned	Hopedale records
<b>Aitauk</b>	1786	Sandwich Bay (?)	Spent three years in Sandwich Bay (?) 83 -86	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Apkajuna</b>	1786	Grosswater Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Dorothea (??)</b>	1786	Grosswater Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Eketcheck</b>	1786	Isthumus Bay	Father of girl who was approached by Cartwright for marriage	Cartwright Journals
<b>Jonathan (Kippinguk) and family</b>	1786	Quite far south (Chateaux Bay)	Born In Chateaux Bay	Hopedal Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Jonathan Paulo</b>	1786	winter with Europeans (??)	Travels	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Joshua (???)</b>	1786	Sandwich Bay (?)	Spent three years in Sandwich Bay (?) 83 -86	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Karitok</b>	1786	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Kausitsiak</b>	1786	Neitsektok (Sandwich Bay)	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Kautalik and family</b>	1786	winter with Europeans (??)	Travels	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Ketornak</b>	1786	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Mikak</b>	1786	winter with Europeans (??)	Travels	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Mikkillerak (Titus)</b>	1786	Quite far south (Chateaux Bay)	Died in Sandwich bay in 1793 (had two wives)	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Mikkillerak, Amos</b>	1786	Netsektok, Sandwich Bay	Died in Netsektok in 1793	Hopedale Records
<b>Naingajok</b>	1786	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Nathanael (Kippinguk) and family</b>	1786	Quite far south (Chateaux Bay)	Born in Ikkerasak (area of Francis Hr)	Hopedal Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Niakokke, Justina</b>	1786	Netsektok, Sandwich Bay	Died in Netsektok in 1787; broke through the ice with her daughter	Hopedale Records
<b>Niakungetok</b>	1786	Neitsektok (Sandwich Bay)	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Niakungetok</b>	1786	south'	Travels	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Nukapiak and family</b>	1786	winter with Europeans (??)	Travels	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Ogitsuk</b>	1786	Neitsektok (Sandwich Bay)	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Paulo</b>	1786	winter with Europeans (??)	Travels	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Sirmek</b>	1786	Sandwich Bay (?)	Spent three years in Sandwich Bay (?) 83 -86	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Tuglavinia</b>	1786	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Apkajuna</b>	1787	Arrived at Hopedale from the the south (Europeans)		Hopedale records
<b>Dorothea</b>	1787	Went to Quebec a year ago with Makko		Hopedale records
<b>Jacob</b>	1787	Planned to go to Allavik - south of Cape Nesbit		Hopedale records
<b>Jonathan</b>	1787	Planned to go to Allavik - south of Cape Nesbit		Hopedale records
<b>Nathaniel</b>	1787	Planned to go to Allavik - south of Cape Nesbit		Hopedale records
<b>Noa - Inuit</b>	1787	Kingmikovik/Spotted Island		Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Noah</b>	1787	Joining Apkajuna to go south and never come back		Hopedale records
<b>Nukakpiak</b>	1787	Arrived at Hopedale from the the south (Europeans)		Hopedale records
<b>Titus</b>	1787	Goes south with Apkajuna from Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Persida</b>	1788	South	2nd Wife of Mikkilerak	Hopedale records
<b>Arngnasuk, Catharina</b>	1789	Died in South at Aivertok (Hamilton Inlet)		Hopedale records
<b>Akokpiok</b>	1790	came from souh		Unity Archives, hernutt

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Akokpiok</b>	1790	returned to Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Anna - Inuit</b>	1790	Oggotet/South	arrival at Hopedale	Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Apkajunna</b>	1790	Oggotet/South	arrival at Hopedale	Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Josua - Inuit</b>	1790	Kingmikovik/Spotted Island		Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Kitlak</b>	1790	South - Eivertok	will return south but must now stay north with mother	Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Kunnubikte</b>	1790	Died in south - probably Oggotet(?)		Hopedale records
<b>Nessoak</b>	1790	South/Aivertok?	returned to south	Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Nukakpiak</b>	1790	Died in south - probably Oggotet(?)		Hopedale records
<b>Okaujak</b>	1790	came from south		Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Okaujak</b>	1790	returned to Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Panninnajak</b>	1790	Died in south - probably Oggotet(?)		Hopedale records
<b>Sattorina</b>	1790	Arrived in Hopedale from the south		Hopedale records
<b>Simeon - Inuit</b>	1790	Kingmikovik/Spotted Island	would not come back	Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Sirmek</b>	1790	South - Eivertok		Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Susanna</b>	1790	Died in south - probably Oggotet(?)		Hopedale records
<b>Titus - Inuit</b>	1790	Oggotet/South	arrival at Hopedale	Unity Archives, hernutt
<b>Ullominna</b>	1790	Died in south - probably Oggotet(?)		Hopedale records
<b>Aglokak and family</b>	1791	Go south		Hopedale records
<b>Aitauk and family</b>	1791	Described as Inuit 'from the south'.		Hopedale records
<b>Attugana and family</b>	1791	Moving south		Hopedale records
<b>Jonathan Palliser</b>	1791	"on the way south"		Hopedale records
<b>Joseph and family</b>	1791	Go south		Hopedale records

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Joshua</b>	1791	Wintered at Cape Bluff in the south for 2 winters		Hopedale records
<b>Joshua and family</b>	1791	Go south		Hopedale records
<b>Kajornak and family</b>	1791	Described as Inuit 'from the south'.		Hopedale records
<b>Kapik</b>	1791	Going south again		Hopedale records
<b>Kavangana</b>	1791	Arrive at Hopedale from south		Hopedale records
<b>Nathan and family</b>	1791	going south (to Aivektok) with six other boat loads of people		Hopedale records
<b>Saegloinak and family</b>	1791	Moving south		Hopedale records
<b>Sallijak and family</b>	1791	"on the way south"		Hopedale records
<b>Samual Shappick</b>	1791	Guys Cove	Unknown	Slade papers
<b>Sirmek</b>	1791	Arrive at Hopedale from south		Hopedale records
<b>Sirmek and family</b>	1791	Described as Inuit 'from the south'.		Hopedale records
<b>Titus</b>	1791	Arrive at Hopedale from south		Hopedale records
<b>Titus</b>	1791	"on the way south"		Hopedale records
<b>Tortosina</b>	1791	Wintered at Cape Bluff in the south for 2 winters		Hopedale records
<b>Tortosina and family</b>	1791	Described as Inuit 'from the south'.		Hopedale records
<b>Ussangana and family</b>	1791	Moving south		Hopedale records
<b>Ussangana jr</b>	1791	"on the way south"		Hopedale records
<b>Amos Angutage</b>	1792	Died of hunger with his family in the Netsektok area (Sandwich Bay)		Hopedale records

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Apkajuna</b>	1792	Will remain in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Apkajuna</b>	1792	Boat arrived fro Aivertok		Hopedale records
<b>Attugunaa</b>	1792	Boat arrived from this side of Cape Charles		Hopedale records
<b>Betsy</b>	1792	Grosswater Bay	date extrapolated from children's birthdates and her own deathdate date recorded	HBC Journals
<b>Ikkerana</b>	1792	Boat arrived from this side of Cape Charles		Hopedale records
<b>Joseph</b>	1792	Arrived from Aievertok in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Joshua</b>	1792	Boat arrived from this side of Cape Charles		Hopedale records
<b>Kapik</b>	1792	Boat arrived from this side of Cape Charles		Hopedale records
<b>Kavsekaluk and family</b>	1792	Arrived from Aievertok in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Nathaniel</b>	1792	Boat arrived from Aivertok		Hopedale records
<b>Sallijak</b>	1792	Will remain in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Sallijak</b>	1792	Boat arrived from Aivertok		Hopedale records
<b>Samual</b>	1792	Will remain in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Samual</b>	1792	Boat arrived from Aivertok		Hopedale records
<b>Serpalo</b>	1792	Arrived from Aievertok in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Solomon</b>	1792	Arrived from Aievertok in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Aminek and family</b>	1793	Went south		Hopedale records
<b>Anna (Inuk)</b>	1793	South	Wife of Mikkillerak	Hopedale Records

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
Joshua	1793	Went south		Hopedale records
Ketornek	1793	Arrives from Aivertok		Hopedale records
Kuvaluk, Tobias	1793	Died in South		Hopedale records
Marcus	1793	Arrives from Aivertok		Hopedale records
Paulo, Abraham	1793	Died in South		Hopedale records
Sirmek	1793	Arrives from Aivertok		Hopedale records
Susan - Inuk	1793	Groswater Bay	marries Ambrose Brooks	Lydia Campbell writings
Titus	1793	Arrives from Aivertok		Hopedale records
Titus	1793	Returns south		Hopedale records
Tuglavina	1793	Chateaux Bay	Baptised by the naval commander there - re Hans	Nain Records - Moravian
Catarina	1795	South	Wife of Niviarsina	Hopedale records
Mary	1795	South	2nd Wife of Niviarsina	Hopedal Records
Uiveruna, Paulus	1795	Born in south		Hopedale records
Ephraim (Inuk)	1797	South	Goes south and does not return	Hopedale records
Jonathan Palliser	1797	Hamilton Inlet	Moved here permanently	Taylor, 1984
Kavangana	1797	South	Arrval at Hopedale	Hopedale records
Kavsek (Niakoke's wife)	1797	Aivertok	Death record	Hopedale records
Ketornek	1797	Aivertok	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
Manumina	1797	Aivertok	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
Niakoke	1797	Aivertok	Death record	Hopedale records
Sirmek	1797	Aivertok	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
Sybilla	1797	Aivertok	servant to Titus	Hopedale records
Titus	1797	Aivertok	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
Tuglavinia (Nangojok's son)	1797	South	Arrval at Hopedale	Hopedale records
Apkajuna	1798	As far south as Newfoundland for a year		Hopedale records
Captain Jack	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
Cognavagner	1798	Battle hr	Purchase	Slade Records
Eteweooke	1798	Battle Hr	Unknown	Slade Records

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>John Sinnick (Shunock?)</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Account	Slade Records
<b>Magaruse</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Mawcoo</b>	1798	Battle hr		Records of Slades
<b>Occabieuke</b>	1798	Battle hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Oglucock</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Unknown	Slade Records
<b>Old George</b>	1798	Battle hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Paulo Owettowey</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Pompey</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Shagareu (Shuglo?)</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Shelmuck</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Shilmuck</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Shilmuk</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Unknown	Slade Records
<b>Teweockinar</b>	1798	Battle hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Thomas Took</b>	1798	Battle hr	Account	Slade Records
<b>Young Jack</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>5 women ???</b>	1799	Aivektok ?	Run away from their husbands	Hopedale records
<b>Joshua</b>	1799	Taking families far into the south		Hopedale records
<b>Kavangana</b>	1799	Taking families far into the south		Hopedale records
<b>Kavsek</b>	1799	Aivertok	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
<b>Kavsokalak</b>	1799	Aivektok ?	Death	Hopedale records
<b>Mannumina</b>	1799	south	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
<b>Marcus</b>	1799	Returns to Hopedale after being at Aivektok		Hopedale records
<b>Niviarsina</b>	1799	south {Aivektok}	Killed a man named Kavsokalak	Hopedale records
<b>Petrus Kingminguse</b>	1799	south	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
<b>Alliak</b>	1800	South	Been in south for several years	Hopedale records
<b>Apkajuna</b>	1800	South	On his way south	Hopedale records
<b>Female Inuk</b>	1800	Groswater Bay	Married John Whittle	Lydia Campbell writings
<b>Kavangana</b>	1800	South	Owed money	Hopedale records
<b>Kingminguse, Petrus</b>	1800	Died in south		Hopedale records
<b>Naingajok</b>	1800	South	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records

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<b>Naksak</b>	1800	South	On his way south	Hopedale records
<b>Naksuk</b>	1800	South	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
<b>Petrus Kingminguse</b>	1800	South	On his way south	Hopedale records
<b>Sermek</b>	1800	South	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
<b>Titus</b>	1800	South	Returned to Hopedale from there	Hopedale records
<b>Toomashie</b>	1800	Sandwich Bay	Full-blooded Eskimo known to many	Harbour Grace Standard May 15, 1896
<b>Joshua</b>	1801	South	Arrval at Hopedale	Hopedale records
<b>Naingajok</b>	1801	South	Arrval at Hopedale	Hopedale records
<b>Petrus Kingminguse</b>	1801	South	Death record	Hopedale records
<b>Phile Shackarew</b>	1803	Battle hr	Account	Slade Records
<b>Ann Shelmuck</b>	1806	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary</b>	1806	Flatwaters	married to William Reed	Hopedale Records
<b>Peter Shelmuck</b>	1806	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Nokosak</b>	1809	South	Wife of Ussangana	Hopedale records
<b>Female Inuk</b>	1810	Groswater Bay	Married Robert Best	Lydia Campbell writings
<b>Harriet Inuk</b>	1810	Sandwich bay	married to George Pardy	Patty Way
<b>Arnuayak</b>	1811	Eivektok (Hamilton Inlet)	Recorded at Ungava	Moravian visit to Ungava in 1811
<b>Kingmiarlak, Paulus</b>	1811	Died in South		Hopedale records
<b>Netsiak</b>	1811	Eivektok (Hamilton Inlet)	Recorded at Ungava	Moravian visit to Ungava in 1811
<b>Paksaut, Priscilla</b>	1811	Died in South	Wife of Paulus	Hopedale records
<b>Sivammakulut</b>	1811	South	Widower, went to Hopedale from south in 1816	Hopedale records
<b>Torkosiot</b>	1811	south - born?	Son of Sivammakulut	Hopedale records
<b>William Kay</b>	1811	Cape Charles	Sworn Affidavit concering Moravian trade	ADM 1 /477 - Fo. 87 & 138
<b>Malina</b>	1812	Aivektok	Visit Hopedale briefly	Hopedale records
<b>Nochaek</b>	1812	Aivektok	Visit Hopedale briefly	Hopedale records
<b>Paronina</b>	1812	Aivektok	Visit Hopedale briefly	Hopedale records
<b>David Shilmoch</b>	1815	Sandwich Bay	Baptised in 1837	Hr Grace Anglican
<b>George Shilmoch</b>	1815	Sandwich bay	From child baptism-david	Hr Grace Anglican
<b>John Norman Pitts</b>	1815	South/ Labrador Indian	christened	C of E, Fred Carrington

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<b>Leah Shilmoch</b>	1815	Sandwich bay	From child baptism-david	Hr Grace Anglican
<b>Abel and family</b>	1816	go to the Europeans in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Erkillana</b>	1816	Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Records
<b>Jacob and family</b>	1816	go to the Europeans in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Jane Kattigak</b>	1816	Sandwich bay	Birth	Hopedale Records
<b>Kattigak</b>	1816	Sandwich bay	Unknown	Hopedale Records
<b>Puttolick</b>	1816	far in the south	Orphan	Hopedale records
<b>Tortosina</b>	1816	Still in the south and arrived to lure others		Hopedale records
<b>Sivummukulluk</b>	1817	Widower from the south		Hopedale records
<b>Ittiveranna</b>	1818	Died in Aivertok, Hamilton Inlet		Hopedale records
<b>Naksuk, Nathaniel</b>	1819	went south died in Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Paulus</b>	1819	Died at Aivatok		Hopedale records
<b>Priscilla, wife of Paulus</b>	1819	Died at Aivatok		Hopedale records
<b>George Dukes</b>	1820	Straits	Identified as Inuit	Etudes/Inuit/Studies 1998
<b>Jane Inuk</b>	1820	Plants Bight	married John Mudge	Will, headstone
<b>Mary</b>	1820	Eskimo Bay	married Pottle, Devon	LMN genealogies
<b>Nerkingoak</b>	1820	Two groups of heathens from the south		Hopedale records
<b>Peter Lucy</b>	1820	Groswater Bay	Place on map named for him	Reichel
<b>Tootac Palliser</b>	1824	Hamilton Inlet	Son of Mikak	Whitely, 2000 (from Methodist records)
<b>Joan(a)h Pennyhook</b>	1825	Indian Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>John Kuniok</b>	1825	Cullingham's Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Pompey</b>	1825	Cullinghams Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Sarah Kouk-souk</b>	1825	Cullingham's Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Sarah Ooing-atshuk</b>	1825	Cullingham's Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Sarah Penni-ook</b>	1825	Indian Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records

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<b>Johannah Pennyhook</b>	1827	Sandwich bay	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Molina</b>	1827	Esquamaux bay	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Sarah Coutebuck</b>	1827	Esquamaux bay	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Ittiverana</b>	1828	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)	Death	Hopedale Diaries - Herrnutt collection
<b>Hannah Kunnunak</b>	1829	Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Hopedale records
<b>Ann Inuk</b>	1830	Seal Is.	m. John Keefe, death	Anglican Records
<b>Connunock</b>	1830	Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Hopedale Records
<b>Jane Inuk</b>	1830	St. Michael's Bay	Married Michael McDonald	Anglican records
<b>Mary Inuk</b>	1830	Swashoe Run	Married Thomas Ward	Anglican records
<b>Mary Inuk</b>	1830	North River	married to Charles Williams	Anglican Records
<b>Susan Phippard</b>	1830	Grosswater Bay	married Thomas Groves	HBC Journal Rigolet
<b>Edward Shickmack</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>George Shickmack</b>	1831	Venison Is.	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>George Stevens</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>John Stevens</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Kitty Shickmack</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Kitty Stevens (Shelmuck)</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Leah Shickmack</b>	1831	Venison Is.	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Stevens</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Eduard</b>	1832	Returns (unhappy) from the south		Hopedale records
<b>Pannijuniok</b>	1832	From South		Hopedale records
<b>Samual Shappick</b>	1832	Battle Hr	Unknown	Moss Diaries
<b>Simon, son of Marro</b>	1832	went south from Hopedale	Died in Hopedale in 1837	Hopedale records
<b>Sophia</b>	1832	Red Point/Domino	wife of Joseph Diggs/Wm Circum	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas Paul</b>	1832	Granby Island	Shows up at battle hr with cometic and 13 dogs along with other Inuit	Moss Records - Slades
<b>Eduard</b>	1833	Returns to Europeans in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Simon</b>	1833	Returns to Hopedale		Hopedale records

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<b>Conrad</b>	1834	Described as a Southlander who returns to Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Ferdinand</b>	1834	Returns from living among the southlanders		Hopedale records
<b>Mary Monygood</b>	1835	Spotted Islands	married Bejamin Circum	Anglican Records
<b>Pannijuniok, Pajuna</b>	1835	Born in Table Bay		Hopedale records
<b>Maria (Inuk)</b>	1836	South		Hopedal Records
<b>Simon</b>	1836	Returned to Hopedale from the south a rich man		Hopedale records
<b>Theophilus (Inuk)</b>	1836	South		Hopedale Records
<b>Inuk Theophilus</b>	1837	Described as a Southlander who returns to Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Pannijuniok, Ussanga</b>	1837	Born in Table Bay		Hopedale records
<b>Susan Kibenhock</b>	1837	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Clara-</b>	1838	returned to Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>Gideon</b>	1838	died in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Rebekka</b>	1838	stayed in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Richard Monnysay</b>	1838	Forteau	Unknown	Bird papers
<b>William Shugalow</b>	1838	Forteau	Unknown	Bird papers
<b>? Manak</b>	1840	Sandwich Bay	married Thomas Frost	Anglican Records
<b>Anauke</b>	1840	Kingmikovik/Spotted Island		Hopedale records
<b>Charlotte Inuk</b>	1840	Seal Islands	Married Daniel Delaney	BH # 807
<b>Inuk wife</b>	1840	Groswater Bay	married Cole	Packard
<b>Jane Shuglo</b>	1840	South	married Toomashie	LMN Genealogies
<b>Jeremiah Solomon</b>	1840	Battle Harbour	Birth record of son	Anglican records
<b>Joanna Solomon</b>	1840	Battle Harbour	birth of son-husband Jeremiah	Anglican Records
<b>Karitas</b>	1840	Kingmikovik/Spotted Island		Hopedale records
<b>Markuse</b>	1840	Rigolet area	trade	HBC Journal Rigolet
<b>Mary Inuk</b>	1840	Bolsters Rock	married to William Clark	Anglican Records

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<b>Matilda</b>	1840	Battle Harbour	married to Abel Symeon	Anglican records
<b>Nancy Inuk</b>	1840	Black Bear Bay	married to James Cridland	Anglican Records
<b>Sarah Jane Palliser</b>	1840	Grosswater Bay	married Thomas Oliver	Methodist Records
<b>Theresa</b>	1840	Eivektok	teaching others, etc	Hopedale notes
<b>Christine</b>	1841	Lived south for several years		Hopedale records
<b>Erkitek, Rosalie</b>	1841	Born in south	Wife of Zacharius; had European father	Hopedale records
<b>Pannijuniok, Nochosak</b>	1843	Born in Table Bay		Hopedale records
<b>Gidornek, Abia</b>	1844	Lived in south for a while		Hopedale records
<b>Joseph Diggs</b>	1844	Porcupine Bay	Birth Date, extrapolated from death record	BH Record # 281
<b>Maria</b>	1844	Died at Hopedale but lived in the south		Hopedale records
<b>Maria Paulo (?)</b>	1844	St Francis Hr	Birth Mary Paulo unknown father	Anglican
<b>Nancy Manak</b>	1844	North River - wife of Tom Williams		Henry Gordon Journal
<b>Ikkiaitsiak, Conrad</b>	1845	Lived in south for a number of years with family		Hopedale records
<b>Justina</b>	1845	moved south in 1832	Wife of Petrus and also married Pannijuniok	Hopedale records
<b>George Morris</b>	1846	Seal Is	Birth	Anglican
<b>James, southlander</b>	1846	Arrives at Hopedale to increase the 'Inuit trade'		Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Clara Lane, southlander</b>	1847	Arrives at Nain		Hopedale Diaries - Herrnut collection
<b>Eliza, Indian(Inuit) girl</b>	1847	Unknown/South	baptism	Methodists, Jno. Addy
<b>James Paulo (?)</b>	1847	St Francis Hr	Birth Mary Paulo unknown father	Anglican
<b>Anne Thomas</b>	1848	Forteau	Likely Thoms (re-Shunock)	Anglican Records
<b>Betsy Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records

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<b>Bridget ?????</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Caroline, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Catherine Shiwak</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Daniel</b>	1848	Born at Aivertok in 1771 and died of old age at Hopedale		Hopedale records
<b>David Stephens</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Diana, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Elizabeth Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Hannah Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Hannah, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Hezekiah Thomas</b>	1848	Forteau	Likely Thoms (re-Shunock)	Anglican Records
<b>Isaac</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>James Shiwak</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Born in 1790	Anglican Records
<b>James Williams</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Jane ?????</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Jane Isaac</b>	1848	Seal Islands	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Jane Isaac</b>	1848	Seal Islands	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>John Paulo</b>	1848	Fox Hr	Received	Anglican
<b>John, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Joseph Tuctoosheena</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Julie Ann Ittiok</b>	1848	South	Married to Webber	Anglican Records
<b>Margaret Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Martin, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary McPherson</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1848	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Sutton</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Tuctoosheena</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Williams</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mrs. Paulo (mother)</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Nancy Paulo</b>	1848	Fox Hr	Rec/parent	Anglican
<b>Nancy Sutton</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Nancy Tuctoosheena</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Nancy, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Nathaniel Paulo</b>	1848	Fox Hr	Rec/parent	Anglican
<b>Samual Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Sarah Thomas</b>	1848	Forteau	Likely Thoms (re-Shunock)	Anglican Records
<b>Sarah, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Seal Islands	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Susan Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Susan, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records

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Thomas Stephens	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Thomas Williams	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
Thomas, Esquimaux	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
William Phippard	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
William, Esquimaux	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
Ann Kibenhock	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Betsy Marnock	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Betsy Marnock jr	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Christian	1849	South	Son of a Hopedale Inuit gone south	Hopedale records
Clara Inuk	1849	South	married to John Lane	Field Baptism
Samual Kibenhock	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Susan Kibenhock	1849	St Francis Hr	Also recorded in 1848	Anglican Records
Thomas Marnock	1849	St Francis hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Thomas Marnock jr	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Thomas Paulo	1849	Francis Hr	Born in 1801	Anglican Records
Ann Toomachoc	1850	Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
Anne Chennix/Shunocks?	1850	Battle Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
Anne Kippenock/Shufwick/Shiwak?	1850	Francis Hr	Repeat	Anglican Records
Betsy Alliswack	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Elizabeth Inuk	1850	Porcupine Bay	widow Quirk married Robert Parr	Anglican Records
Elizabeth Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Emily Julia Chennix/Shunocks?	1850	Battle Hr	Birth	Anglican
George Ittiock	1850	Francis Hr	Possible repeat from Spotted Island records	Anglican Records
George Thoms/Shunock	1850	Swail Bight	Birth - parents	Anglican
Harriet Alliswack	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Harriet Inuk	1850	Seal islands	married to William Morris	Anglican records
Henry Kibenoc	1850	St Francis Hr	Birth	Anglican
James Shufwick (Shiwak?)	1850	St Francis Hr	meeting presence	Anglican
John Alliswack	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
John Chennix/Shunocks?	1850	Battle Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
John Elishock	1850	Francis Hr	Baptism (16 years old)	Anglican Records
John Paulo (?)	1850	St Francis Hr	Birth Mary Paulo unknown father	Anglican
John Thoms/Shunock	1850	Swail Bight	Birth	Anglican
Mary Alliswack	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records

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Mary Ann Paulo	1850	Fox Hr	Birth	Anglican
Mary Monygood widow Circum	1850	Spotted Islands	Married Michael Dyson	Anglican Records
Mary Thoms/Shunock	1850	Swail Bight	Birth - parents	Anglican
Nancy Kibenoc	1850	Williams Hr	<b>Birth</b>	Anglican
Nancy Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Nancy Shelmuck	1850	Sandwich Bay	daughter of Peter, married Simon Lemare	Anglican Records
Nathaniel Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Niviartse	1850	Boy of Gideon - died in south		Hopedale records
Peter Shelmock	1850	Dumplin Island	44 years old - baptised born 1806	Anglican
Salome Burdett	1850	Sand Hill	Unknown	Family Bible
Samual Kippenhuck	1850	Francis Hr	Repeat	Anglican Records
Sara Inuk	1850	Deep Water Creek	married to Joseph Perry	Anglican Records
Sigsigak	1850	Born in 1836 south of Netsektok, Sandwich Bay		Hopedale records
Smoker (Inuk)	1850	Seal Islands	Death	Anglican
Thomas Elishock	1850	Francis Hr	Baptism (20 years old)	Anglican Records
Thomas Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Tom Toomashock (Davis)	1850	Sandwich bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
Tom Toomashoe	1850	Sandwich Bay	Birth - record given in 1864	Anglican
William Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
William Paulo	1850	St Francis Hr	Birth son of Nathaniel and nancy	Anglican
Betsy Paulo	1851	Fox Hr	At birth of William Henry Paulo	Anglican records from Kennedy extract
Jeremiah Thoms/Shunock	1851	Boulters Rock	Birth - parents	Anglican
John Paulo	1851	St Francis Hr	Death at 45 years old	Anglican
Marianne Thoms/Shunock	1851	Boulters Rock	Birth - parents	Anglican
Sarah Jane Thoms/Shunock	1851	Boulters Rock	Birth	Anglican
Sarah Manak	1851	Straits	married to Thomas Gibbons	Patty Way
Thomas Paulo	1851	Williams Hr	At birth of William Henry Paulo	Anglican records from Kennedy extract
William Henry Paulo	1851	Williams hr	Birth	Anglican Records

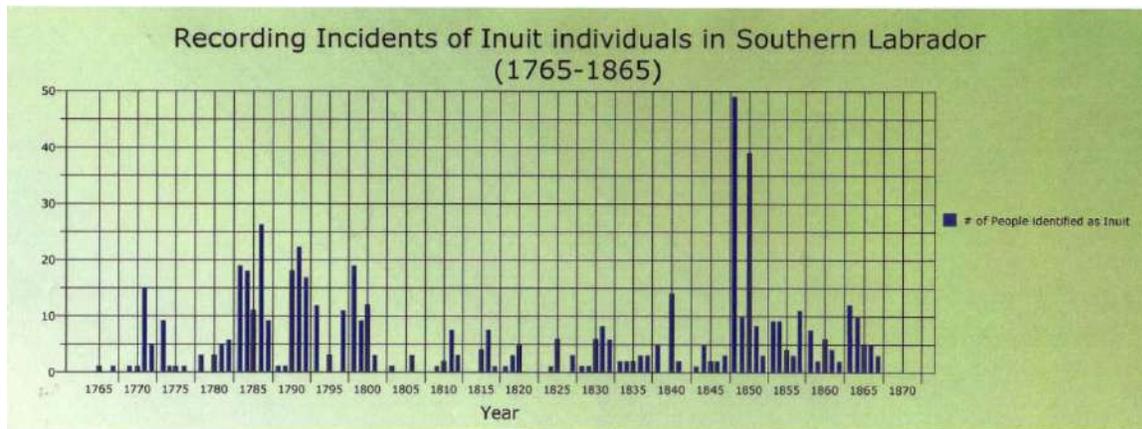
<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Anne Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1852	Spear Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>John Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1852	Spear Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Marianne Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1852	Spear Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>George Tombs/Shunock</b>	1853	Seal Bight	Birth- parent	Anglican
<b>James Sinnick/Shunock?</b>	1853	Spear Hr	Birth - s/o John and Ann	Anglican
<b>Jeremiah Tombs/Shunock?</b>	1853	Seal Bight	Birth	Anglican
<b>John Kippenock</b>	1853	Williams Hr	Birth to Samuel and Nancy	Anglican
<b>Kristian (Inuk)</b>	1853	Groswater Bay	travel account	Moravians
<b>Lydia</b>	1853	Born at Eivertok (Hamilton Inlet)	Wife of Kristian	Hopedale records
<b>Mary Thoms (Shunock)</b>	1853	Seal Bight	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Usanga, Joseph</b>	1853	Born at Netsektok in 1836		Hopedale records
<b>Yaiye</b>	1853	Born on the island of Kemmergovik	moved back to the south from Hopedale	Hopedale records
<b>Elija Shuglo</b>	1854	Groswater bay	Birth	Anglican
<b>George William Tuccolk</b>	1854	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Jane Shuglo</b>	1854	Groswater Bay	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Nancy Tuccolk</b>	1854	William hr	marriage to William Russell	Anglican Records
<b>Paujungit</b>	1854	Born this side of Eivertok	Wife of Jacob	Hopedale records
<b>Sally Thoms/Shunock</b>	1854	Fox Hr	Received	Anglican Records
<b>Susanna Palliser</b>	1854	Aivektok		Hopedale records
<b>William Palliser</b>	1854	Aivetok		Hopedale records
<b>William Shuglo</b>	1854	Groswater bay	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Ann Thoms/Shunock</b>	1855	Salt Pond	Birth d/o Jeremiah and Ann	Anglican
<b>Henry Sinnick/Shunock?</b>	1855	Spear Hr	Birth - to John and Ann	Anglican
<b>Katherine Inuk</b>	1855	Straights	married to Peter leon	Patty Way
<b>Mary Ann widow Butt</b>	1855	Battle Hr.	Married George Jeffreys	Anglican records
<b>James Thoms/Shunock</b>	1856	Salt Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>John Paulo</b>	1856	Williams Hr	Joseph Langar son by Mary Paulo	Anglican
<b>William Toms/Shunock</b>	1856	Fox Hr	Rec'd parents George and Mary	Anglican

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Charlotte Mountain</b>	1857	Georges Cove	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Christian, Lydia's husband</b>	1857	south	Stayed a long time in south	Hopedale records
<b>George Thoms/Shunock</b>	1857	Fox Hr	Birth - parent Nancy Paulo- widow	Anglican
<b>George Toms Holley</b>	1857	Fox Hr	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Henry Kibbinock</b>	1857	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>Jane Kibbinock</b>	1857	Williams Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Joseph Palliser</b>	1857	Eskimo Bay		Elsner - Moravian
<b>Julia Ann Mountain</b>	1857	Georges Cove	Birth	Anglican
<b>Lydia</b>	1857	Baptised	Stayed a long time in south	Hopedale records
<b>Peter Mountain</b>	1857	Georges Cove	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Peter Poniuk</b>	1857	Eskimo Bay		Elsner - Moravian
<b>Eliza Ittiock</b>	1858	Reeds Pond	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>George Ittiock</b>	1858	Reeds Pond	Birth-parent	Anglican
<b>John Paulo</b>	1858	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>Judith</b>	1858	south	Child baptised after a long stay in the south	Hopedale records
<b>Kulak, Justine</b>	1858	Born in Kenalik, EAvertok		Hopedale records
<b>Margaret Ittiock</b>	1858	Reeds Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1858	Williams Hr	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1859	St Francis Hr	marriage to Joseph Langar	Anglican
<b>Susannah Mountain</b>	1859	Georges Cove	Birth	Anglican records
<b>Catherine Langer</b>	1860	Williams Hr	Unknown	Anglican records/LMN genealogies
<b>Edward Holly</b>	1860	Fox Hr	marriage to Nancy Paulo	Anglican
<b>Eliza Ittiock</b>	1860	Spotted Islands	Birth	Anglican
<b>George Ittiock</b>	1860	Spotted Islands	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Harriet Thoms</b>	1860	Fox Hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
<b>Mary Inuk</b>	1860	Deep Water Creek	2nd wife of Joseph Perry	Anglican Records
<b>Ann Toomashoe</b>	1861	Sandwich bay	Birth - record given in 1864	Anglican
<b>Charlotte Smoker</b>	1861	Reeds Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Mary Smoker</b>	1861	Reeds Pond	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>Samuel Thoms/Shunock</b>	1861	Salt Pond	Birth	Anglican

<b>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Other notes concerning individual</b>	<b>Source material</b>
<b>Thamar</b>	1862	After her husband's death she moved to the south and married an European		Hopedale records
<b>Tuktusna, William</b>	1862	Born in Aivertok		Hopedale records
<b>Abel Symeon</b>	1863	Battle Hr	Census - Anglican	Anglican Records
<b>Ann Thomashoc (Davis)</b>	1863	Sandwich Bay	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Anthony Indovick</b>	1863	Battle Hr	Census - Anglican	Anglican Records
<b>Christopher Thoms/Shunock</b>	1863	Salt Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Edward the Indian</b>	1863	Divers Tickle, Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Elizabeth Charlotte Smoker</b>	1863	Reeds Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Isaac the Indian</b>	1863	Main Tickle, Sandwich bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Jane Smoker</b>	1863	Reeds Pond	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>Jeremiah Solomon</b>	1863	Battle Hr	Census - Anglican	Anglican Records
<b>Nathaniel Benjamen</b>	1863	battle Hr	Census - Anglican	Anglican Records
<b>Peter Shelmuck</b>	1863	Main Tickle, Sandwich bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>William Morris</b>	1863	Porcupine Bay	Birth	Anglican
<b>Ann Toomashoe</b>	1864	Sandwich Bay	Mother of Tom and Ann	Anglican
<b>Betsy Paulo</b>	1864	Battle hr	marriage	Anglican
<b>Charlotte Elizabeth Stephens</b>	1864	Seal Islands	marriage to Alexander Turnbull	Anglican
<b>Elizabeth Jacky</b>	1864	Sandwich bay	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>John Paulo</b>	1864	Battle hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
<b>John Thoms (Shunock)</b>	1864	Battle hr	marriage	Anglican
<b>Martha Symeon</b>	1864	Battle Harbour	Birth-Abel & Matilda	BH # 598
<b>Peter Jacky</b>	1864	Sandwich bay	Birth	Anglican
<b>Solomon Solomon</b>	1864	Battle Harbour	birth	Anglican records
<b>William Thoms (Shunock)</b>	1864	Battle hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
<b>George William Ittiock</b>	1865	Spotted Islands	Birth - to George and Eliza	Anglican
<b>James Kibenock</b>	1865	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>Nancy Russell/Tuccock</b>	1865	St Francis Hr	Death	Anglican
<b>Sarah Ann Morris</b>	1865	Pocupine Bay	Birth to William and Hannah	Anglican
<b>Susan Kibenock</b>	1865	Williams Hr	Birth - mother	Anglican
<b>Billy Langar</b>	1866	Williams Hr	Birth to Mary Langar/Paulo	Anglican

<i>Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Other notes concerning individual</i>	<i>Source material</i>
Harriet Thoms/Shunock	1866	Battle Hr	marriage to John Curl	Anglican
Michael Toomer	1866	Battle hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
Samual Kibenock	1866	Starvation Cove	Birth to Thomas and Sarah	Anglican
William Thoms (Shunock)	1866	Battle hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
John Shunock (Thoms)	1867	Fox Hr	death prior to 1867	Anglican records from Kennedy extract
John Thoms (Shunock)	1867	Fox Hr	records from late wifes death record	Anglican Records
Mary Paulo	1867	Little Hr	Death	Anglican Records

It is evident that some of these records are single events and in the case of marriages or baptisms, groups of people are recorded. In examining these records it became clear that just because there was no observer on this coast it did not mean that there was no population present. To illustrate this we can review the information in graphic format as below:



**Figure # 9b** Graph showing the recording incidents of Inuit individuals during the approximate one hundred year period of 1765 to 1865.

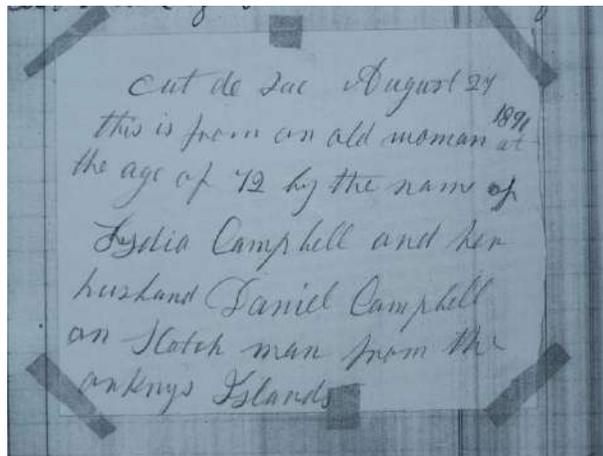
Recorded individuals are the names taken from the Inuit Record List in Table 6a for the time period. It is observable in the above graph that when a merchant or other astute observer arrived, such as George Cartwright or William Richardson, then we get Inuit names recorded. Likewise, when the Methodists and Moravians were interested in establishing missions they similarly recorded some individuals. However, for the hundred year period under question we can see a clear paucity of records.

The above Table # 6a and graph are not population tabulations. They are meant to demonstrate the lack of records only. For example from the Cartwright Journals<sup>80</sup> and other sources we are told that in August of 1773 there are five hundred Inuit present in the Chateaux Bay area, yet from all sources (Cartwright, Curtis and Hopedale records) we only have nine names for that year (Table 6a). In 1824, Hickson records 220 people at Hamilton Inlet [Aivektoke] and only one name is recorded. The next year, 1825, Knight records 352 people (full and mixed ancestry) between Hamilton Inlet and Square Islands [Ikkarisarsuk], yet through extensive research we can only find six of their names (Table 6a). The paucity of records for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is quite striking. However, given that, we have five hundred and ninety three records for the period in Table 6a.

Nineteenth century Labrador was a culturally tumultuous place for the population of Inuit people who lived there. With the influx of sealing posts and the changes to a partial wage economy, the Inuit changed with the times. During the century, some European men (approximately 53 - perhaps less) who were formerly associated with merchants or were visiting fisherman, decided to settle. These men settled amongst a well established population of approximately six hundred Inuit (full or mixed-ancestry) scattered over a coastline of some 3,515 kilometers.

Prior to the middle of the century, the choice of a wife by either Inuit or European men was from the resident Inuit population and the many Inuit families, who were beginning to change their lifestyles from an entirely transhumance existence to more sedentary modes. They were also, like Inuit everywhere, adapting to Christian beliefs and learning to speak English. The Inuit men were changing their names, using guns and generally adapting to the changing economic times and incorporating their new male family members from afar.

At the very center of this changing population, and the major driving force in cross cultural contact, were Inuit women, who saw very real and distinct advantages coupling with European men and sharing their family and cultural values. By the end of the century, the adapting society still carried out many inherent Inuit life-ways, in terms of how time was spent in hunting and fishing, how they traveled, what they ate, how they raised their children and, most of all, the world views which were held and expressed by people such as those of Lydia Campbell.



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**Photograph of the discerning label from the parting gift "Lydia Campbell Diary" to John Mason Hastings in 1891. Photo by Greg Mitchell**

Even though the diary associated to this cover page was given to John Mason Hastings of Bowdoin College as a parting gift in 1891, like the unrecorded cultural history of South Central Labrador, it has not yet been recovered, only this facing page.

<sup>80</sup> Cartwright Journal, 1792, Vol I, page 274.

## **Inuit Movement to and from the South in the Moravian Records**

The picture that emerges from the Hopedale church records is that of considerable Inuit mobility to and from the South as well as long-term residence in the South. This attraction to the South was at times so pronounced that the Moravian missionaries seriously entertained closing Hopedale as a missionary settlement. Despite government appeals and Moravian moral entreaties, this Inuit movement throughout their territory continued through the end-18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and into today.

Various areas with a significant Inuit presence and regular Moravian contact during the nineteenth century can be identified in Central Labrador: 1. Aivektok Bay (Hamilton Inlet) and 2. Netsektok (Sandwich Bay), and 3. Kingmakovik (further south), with further groupings in the Makkovik and Kippokak areas.

We are limited in the understandings available from these Moravian records because:

(1) the Moravians had a particular perspective on what was “right” and “proper” as well as an economic interest to protect; (2) the story of what was going on in the “heathen south” is being told from a distant, disapproving European observer living in the north; (3) some of the information is not eye witness accounts but secondary or tertiary information told to Moravians by people traveling to or from the south with their inherent biases.

Necessarily, the Moravian records are not, therefore, any complete or authoritative description of what the Inuit were doing throughout Labrador. We do not, for example, gain any insights from Moravian records on the lives of the many Inuit who remained in the south and did not visit their missions in the north. However, there is sufficient clear and unambiguous evidence to determine at least certain things.

Inuit in the south were particularly interested in European goods, notably guns, boats, food and alcoholic beverages as well as a less restrained religious and moral life-style than that demanded of them in the Moravian settlements. Inuit in the south could live a more traditional lifestyle than those in the Moravian settlements.

There are no examples which would support the theory that Inuit who married Europeans were “ostracized” by their Inuit families, or that the mixed ancestry children of those relationships were not incorporated into Inuit communities. The Inuit in the south kept up their family connections with those relatives still living in the north and enticed them to relocate to the south. They also served as traders and intermediaries between northern Inuit and European traders and became facilitators for European outreach on the Labrador coast.

Some examples of people who demonstrate this connection can be found in the baptismal and death records for the Hopedale Moravian Mission. The consistent pattern for over a century is of Inuit living throughout Labrador, changing locations at will, while always being among family and in their homeland. Highlighting has been added. The initials “HO” stand for “Hopedale”.

**Table # 6b Baptismal and Death Records from the Hopedale Records<sup>81</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Inuit Name</b>	<b>Christian</b>	<b>Birth Place</b>	<b>Death</b>	<b>Family</b>	
28/11/1783 12/12/1784	Kippinguk k (I)	Jonathan	Chateaux Bay	1812 on journey from HO to OK, buried in N	One wife, older sister in HO, son Marro	36216/1 36232/1
5/12/1783 12/12/1784	Marro	Nathanel	Ikkerasak, this side of Chateau Bay	1791, d. suddenly in boat, on trip to the south	One wife, older brother of Kippinguk	36216/2 36232/3
23/12/1783 12/12/1784	Ikpiarsuk	Simeon	Kivalek, near Okak	1793, d. Netsektok, in the south	Older man, 2 wives	36216/3 36232/5
23/12/1783 7/2/1785	Piorinna	Josua	Kernatullivik	1805, d. in the south, after many years absence from the church	2 wives, Angejokâk HO among Inuit,	36216/4 36233/10
25/1/1784 28/3/1785	Kippinguk (II)	Noa		c. 1804, in Aivektok Bay in a kayak accident	Son of old Paronina, one wife only	36217/8 36233/12
4/3/1784 12/12/1784	Kuppâk	Persida	Ungavak Bay, near Husdon's Bay	In the south	Only wife of Marro	36217/14 36232/4
19/11/1784 25/12/1785	Erkok	Rebecca		d. 1793 in Netsektok in the south	First wife of Ikpiarsuk	36218/18 36234/16
19/11/1784 23/1/1785	Kaijoâluk	Susanna		d. 1787 in the south in Aivektok Bay	Only wife Kippinguk (II); wife of baptized Noa	36218/19 36234/19
18/2/1785 19/2/1786	Angutaug e	Amos		d. 1792 in south near Netsektok of hunger	Husband of one wife	36218/22 36234/20
12/12/1785	Annugak	Catharina		d. 1793 in Netsektok in the south	Second wife of Simeon	36234/15
19/2/1786 25/12/1786	Mikkillera k	Titus		d. 1793 in Netsektok in the south	2 wives	36218/26 36234/21
19/2/1786 20/12/1786	Niakokke	Justina		d. 1787 in Netsektok in the south; broke with her daughter through the ice	First wife of Mikkillerak	36218/27 36234/22
4/5/1786 25/12/1786	Aijoruna	Esther	4/5/1786 Kikkertaujak	b. Drowned when she broke through the ice in Aivektok with her mother	Baptized in HO	36199/7
19/11/1790	Kullak				Widow, former wife of Petrus; she has a brother in the south, is called Sirmek	36220/34
15/12/1795		Simon	15/12/1795 HO	in d. 4 Feb 1837 in HO	Son of Marro and Agnes; left church	36202/19 36350/134

<sup>81</sup> Taken from Rollmann, 2010 - Doc # 203

					and went south in 1832 but returned to HO in 1836	
<b>1796 4/12/1844</b>	Uiveruna	Paulus	1796	d. 1844 in HO	Husband of Juliane; ca. 1796 born in the south and moved with his parents Joel and Rahel to HO where he was baptized where he and his wife were elected chapel servants	36363/194
<b>6/1/1811</b>	Kingmiaralak (also called Ipumnek)	Paulus		d. in the south	husband	36240/72
<b>6/1/1811</b>	Paksaut	Priscilla		d. in the south	Wife of Paulus	36240/73
<b>6/1/1817</b>	Sivammakulut				Widower, arrived last summer (1816) from the south together with his son.	36223/102
<b>6/1/1817</b>	Torkorsiot				Son of Sivammakulut (who presumably came with him from the south)	36223/103
<b>23/1/1818</b>	Ittiverana			d. 1825 in Aivektok in the south	Husband;	36224/106
<b>15/8/1819</b>	Naksuk	Nathanael	Near Nain	d. in HO	After becoming a baptismal candidate on 4/3/1784 he left the church and went south; returned from there and was baptized in HO on 24/2/1808	36336/54
<b>10/7/1829</b>	Usangena	Jakob	Near HO	Near HO	After baptism in 1811 and first communion in 1817 was persuaded to leave the church and go south; but returned immediately when he recognized that he had been too hasty in deciding this.	36338/65
<b>5/4/1838</b>		Clara	26/6/1829 in HO	d. in HO	Parents Gideon and Rebekka left together with their	36352/149

					children (see also Niviartse) the church and moved south; Gideon died in the south and only Clara seems to have returned to HO in 1837		
18/4/1841		Christine	28/11/1815 HO	in	d. in HO	Left the church in 1836 and moved to the south but returned very sick in the summer of 1840 to HO	36355/162
21/2/1844	Erkitek	Rosalia	Before 1824 the south	in	d. HO	Wife of Zacharias; was born in the south and had a European father; came as a child to HO	36360/182
13/4/1844	Gidornek	Abia	b. in Nain		d. HO	Lived in Nain and in the south and subsequently moved to HO	36360/184
6/1/1845		Justina				Wife of Petrus, daughter of Jakob and Tamar; baptized as child in HO. Moved in 1832 to the south, married Pannijuniok; had 3 children with him: Pajunna, a girl, b. spring 1835; Ussanga, a little boy, b. 1 May 1837; Nochasak, a girl, b. 30 Aug 1843; she lived in Table[Bay] [sic]; moved with her children back to HO in 1843 after the death of her husband & married Petrus last spring [1844]	36257/91
17/1/1845	Ikkiaitsiak	Conrad			d. in HO	Came from Okak but received baptism (1824) and first communion (1825) in HO; A few years later he moved with his family to the south	36364/199

					but when he had become old returned to HO in 1843	
30/9/1846		Moses	HO		After admission to the church in HO in 1839, he left the church in the spring of 1845 and moved to the south but returned in the spring of 1846 in a miserable condition	36367/212
28/4/1848		Daniel	b. 1771 at Aivektok	d. in 1848 of Old Age (oldest member of the HO church [baptized 28/2/1802])		36370/229
27/12/1850	Sigsigak		born in 1836 on the other side [south of] Netsektok.		Boy, of the brethren Theophilus and Maria;	36225/133
27/12/1850	Niviartse		born 1831 in Kippokak		Boy of Gideon who died in the south and Rebeka;	36225/134
6/1/1853	Usanga	Joseph	30 May 1838 in Netsektok		Older boy, son of Justine and Petrus	36244/129
7/3/1853		John Reed	24/12/1806 in Flat Waters-Bay		Son of European William Reed and Inuit wife Mary Reed of Flat Waters-Bay	36225/137
7/3/1853		Jane Reed	c. 1816 in Newfoundland at Cap Horn [more likely Cap Horn on Huntingdon Island in Sandwich Bay]		Wife of John Reed of Inuit descent, daughter of Kattigak and Erkillana	36225/138
18/11/1853	Yaiye		24/10/1840 on the island of Kemmergovik, south of Netsetok		Child of Anauke and his now deceased wife Karitas from Nain; Yaiye later "moved to the south" [from Hopedale].	36226/141
18/2/1853		Lydia	Eivektok		Wife of Kristian	36226/142
12/4/1857						36244/138
20/3/1854	Paujungit		June or July 1835, this side of Eivektok		Wife of Jakob and daughter of the widow Justine	36226/143
24/3/1856	Niviartse		Born in the south		Daughter of Timotheus and Dina	36226/147
27/1/1860		Ulrike			Wife of Matheus; some of her	36388/372

				children lived at her death (1860) “among the southern settlers.”	
13/6/1862	Thamar			Baptized with her husband Jacob in 1811. After the death of her husband she moved to the south and married a European. Later returned to HO	36391/397
28/3/1869	Joseph Adam			Unmarried Inuk living with the Lyalls in Island Harbour	36246/156
18/4/1878	Jako			Son of Simeon and Ulrika; mother moved south and child was given to the Inuit family Jako to raise	36228/180
18/4/1878	Mary	22/6/1840	on Manneriktok	Wife of Jako, daughter of Adam and Elisabeth; came as a child with her parents to the south but later came back north and lived with her husband in Ailik	36228/181
17/4/1878	Margarethe	1854	in Aivektok	Wife of Manasse and daughter of William Palliser (grandchild of Mikak) and Susanne	36229/183
5/1/1880	Jane Oliver			Widow of 60 came south in 1879 and was taken in by Markus and Kristine	36229/189
13/11/1884	Susana	Jan 1867	in Kanagiktok	Daughter of Eva; given to the Manak family in Ailik as a young child; Susana’s father Caleb, son of Ferdinand and Marianne married Eva in the south and came back to HO later.	36229/189
11/12/1887	William Tuktusna	20/6/1862	in Aivektok	widower	36248/188a

<b>11/12/1887</b>		John Okopijok	Born in Aivektok		Boy without a father	36248/188b
<b>11/12/1887</b>		Lenna Emilie Eugen	Born in Aivektok			36248/188c
<b>21/1/1888</b>	Kûlak	Justine	2/1/1858 in Kenâlik, Aivektok			36230/190
<b>Easter 1891</b>		Sarah	In Aivektok		Daughter of William and Kitti Palliser (“Palasia”)	36230/193
<b>7/1/1893</b>		Flora	1865		Wife of Ferdinand and daughter of Tom Brown	36249/193a
<b>18/4/1894</b>		Louise Margaret			Wife of Manasse in Aivektok; baptized in Aivektok	36249/194

The Moravians worked hard to try to anchor some core group of Inuit to their mission/trade posts. However, this appears to have always been a challenge, with varied success. The Moravians used a combination of threats, guilt, disapproval, government intervention and trade goods to try to dissuade Inuit from continuing to use their whole territory. These tactics (and the limited success thereof) can be seen in the following extract examples from Moravian records.<sup>82</sup>

- 6 April 1783: Piugina relates that he will likely go south this summer since so many people go to the Europeans there; in the conversation with Piugina, the missionaries remind him that 8 years ago [1775], seven boats went south, among them kin of his, of whom no one came back. (Presumably a suggestion that the south was a dangerous place).
- 25 May 1783, Superintendent Christian Lister writes to the English settlers at Chateaux Bay that “a great many Eskemaux are preparing to go to the Southward, amongst whom are some of our baptized”.
- 13 July 1783: Tuglavina and his party plus Piugina, his 2 sons and Kitluina left as well so that only one family remained in Hopedale.
- 20 September, 1783, Samuel Liebisch writes that “230 Esquimaux were gone from the North & about Nain & Arvertock to Cartwright’s Settlements in the South at which our Brethren were much grieved the more so as several baptized were gone also & it is to be apprehended they will certainly suffer hurt in the South.”

A letter to Lord Sidney, Secretary of State on 27 April 1784 describes attempts by the British to convince the Inuit close by to remain in the Moravian settlements in 1782. However, by 1783, Inuit with some prior connection to the missions were again in the south and were reported to have had conflict with the ‘Heathen Esquimaux’, from which the Moravians feared revenge

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<sup>82</sup> Rollmann, 2010

attacks might ensue. The letter also describes “one of the Esquimaux named Tuglavina, the man who appeared in an officer’s uniform with a sword by his side”.

In July 1785, the Moravians described continuing Inuit movement patterns and reported that very few Inuit died in the south. It is reported that “all Inuit were asked last summer to leave Chateau Bay and go north to the Moravians, which would be better for them”. Despite the Moravian view that the north would be “better for the Inuit”, the report observed that the southern Inuit praised the Europeans in Neitsektok [Sandwich Bay] “very much for being such good people”, and noted that the southern Inuit received “many trading goods, partly for their use, partly to trade with among other Inuit.”

In 1785, the Moravians were forced to change their policy against selling firearms to the Inuit. A letter from Samuel Liebisch to Brn Latrobe Wollin of the SFG in London, Herrnhut, 15 December 1785 signalled a change in policy to permit Moravian stores in Labrador to carry firearms and ammunition in the hope that this will prevent Inuit from going south and buying guns there for their own use and trade in the north. The prohibition by the government had proven useless since the traders in the south continued to sell guns to Inuit.

Reports in 1786 continue to describe the mobility of the Inuit throughout their territory, and the difficulty that the Moravians were having trying to discourage them from continuing their traditional way of life throughout their territory. What can be presumed to be a “normal year” in the late 1700’s is summarized in the following extracts:

- April 1786, people of Arvertok went to “the southern islands.”
- 29 July, Niakungêtok and his own went farther to the south.
- 1 August, arrival of Jonathan’s, Nathanael’s, and Mikkillerak’s families, who were “quite far in the south for subsistence”. They met also Niakungêtok “on his journey south;” also Ogitsuk had left this party with his wife and went with Niakungêtok “to the Europeans in the South.”
- In the afternoon “the so-called Nunangoak large boat” or Mikak’s boat arrived with Mikak, her present husband Pualo and son Jonathan and his wife as well as the families of Nukapiak and Kautalik. “These four families plan to winter with the Europeans, if, as they say, the Europeans are gracious and friendly, if not, they think of coming back to Aivektok. The purpose of their travel is to buy guns and gun powder.
- 6 August, in the evening, a boat from the south arrived with 4 men, Tuglavina, Aglokâk, Naingajok and Ketornak. They had a large black boat with 3 sails. Tuglavina, while in Arvertok, “dressed himself in European manner,” in clothes with gold and silver, which impressed the local Inuit.
- 15 September, Josua and his party came as well as Aitauk and his brother Sirmek with their boat. “They have now been for 3 years in the south and now that they come to see their northern relatives, they bring many trading goods to sell for the Europeans, e.g.,

guns, powder, and lead, big knives, fox traps, beads and many different things.” They hoped to winter in Arvertok and go north next summer or back south. Aitauk, when asked whether he had heard much about Jesus in the south, said that he had heard nothing about him. When asked whether he didn’t want to remain in the north and hear about the saviour, he said: “The caribou in the south are very pleasant to see and also the seals on the ice, and the hunger of the Northlanders is very dangerous.”

1787 appears to have been no different:

- 4 Jun 1787: Josua and perhaps Noah plan to go south this summer “in that the Europeans there are more praiseworthy.”
- July 1787: Old Simeon wants to go south “to the Europeans who also pray”.
- 18 July: missionaries seek to dissuade Inuit to go south, including Josua, to no avail. Apparently “23 souls, among them 11 baptized one baptismal candidates (including 3 baptized children)” went south. 3 families went: Josua’s, Simeon’s and Noa’s. The people who went planned to go for 2 years; Noa might come back next year.

1790 shows similar interactions:

- 13 May 1790: arrival of a sled from Oggotet in the south with Apkajunna, Titus (formerly of Nain), who has as wife Anna, who ran away from Matthäus, and a Northlander, Sattorinna. The 3 wintered in Aivertok with “a Frenchman, whom they call Makko.” They came to find out what people were doing. All those Moravian Inuit in the south except one who live at another place are still alive; of all Inuit people now in the south only 4 or 5 died.
- Josua and Simeon, baptized in Hopedale, would likely not come back since they liked it in the south very much, but Titus, Simeon’s half-brother, intended to come back.
- The Inuit who went south gave up their baptismal names so that they were not even known by their fellow Inuit by these Christian names any more.
- 14 August: arrival of a big boat from “Eivertok in the south” with Akpajuna and his wife Dorothea, who had been in Hopedale last winter, also Titus and Anna, Sirmek, a former inhabitant of Nain, and others. Two more boats from the south had already arrived in Kippokak Bay; also other people from Hopedale, Simeon and his brother Titus and families, might come this year, so that the area “may be well inhabited again”. Apkajunna was especially taken by the south and praised the availability of trading goods among the Europeans there, e.g., large two-mast boats, which a man could obtain in a few years for blubber. Simeon did such. Also, they asserted that they got plenty of food from the Europeans there and did not suffer any hunger.

The Moravian missionaries feared that next time even more Inuit would move south, where they could also “indulge in all of their lusts”. Most of those who came north wanted to return to the south in a few years.

In the *Memorabilia* (1791), a spiritual accounting of the entire year, mention is made that “many Inuit went past us last summer to the South, among them many baptized ones ....” “From the Inuit who lived with us last winter in Hopedale, there are presently 10 in the south and 2 died in the summer elsewhere: Nathanael (Jonathan’s older brother) and the old unbaptized widow Uviluko.”

In 1792, the Moravians were faced with a decision on whether to close the trade mission at Hopedale. Liebisch thought that the closure “*could be done without essential injury to the few baptized, who may remove to Nain.*” SFG thought if they gave up Hopedale they also forfeited the land grant. Several reasons pro and con were entertained, including the paucity of Inuit in Hopedale and lack of missionary success but also the historical fact that Greenland had first shown no promise but then flourished as far as missions were concerned. The SFG eventually resolved: “That we are unanimous, that no outward difficulties should have any weight in determining the giving up of Hopedale—but considering the small prospect of success as to the Conversion of the heathen and the increasing difficulties from the approach of the Europeans, we are willing to submit it to the decision of our Savior, whether Hopedale is to be given up or not & if He approves of its continuance, the Society will take new courage & support it to the utmost of their power.” They thus let the UEC decide, presumably by casting lots, whether the Savior affirmed the closure of Hopedale. The closure was not to be, and Hopedale is thus still in existence today.

The Moravians continued to describe “heathen Eskimo” communities in Labrador outside of their trade mission settlements. Examples of these over time include:

- 6 Feb 1821, two groups of Heathens came from the south. One of them, Nerkingoak, was the brother of a Hopedale widow who had as a child been schooled in Nain. Already last summer he had arrived in the company of a European to pick up his sister and her children, which she had declined and did now so as well.
- 20 April 1828, arrival of two Inuit from Kippokak; one was the son of Markus, who had moved from Okak to the south and died there. His wife and daughter drowned last year in a boating accident. Moravians regret that such young educated Moravian Inuit now live among the heathen Inuit. A young excluded widow moved in May 1828 to the heathen Inuit in Kippokak.
- 1828, 2 men came “from the Inuit who live south” to obtain medicine; these Inuit had lived as children in Okak but went with their father to the south in 1817 [implies 22 years in the south].
- Winter 1830/31: repeated visits by Southlanders and heathen Inuit as well as some Europeans. Mid-July 1831: a boat party from the south arrives.

- 2 February 1839, three heathen Inuit came from the south to trade. They attended Sunday worship and asked for books. One of them had a wife who had attended school in Okak and they were likely taught reading and writing by Moravian Inuit from the north coast. Two of them read well and the other wanted to learn it. Others had given them payment to buy books as well. One of the Hopedale Inuit had been taught writing by a relative living in the south.
- 1839/1840 Housing style in a European manner is adopted by Inuit in Hopedale, although there is not yet a settler community there. It may be that they were influenced by housing in the south, in Aivektok and Netsektok: *“Whenever the Inuit men have no subsistence activities on the sea shore in the winter, they busy themselves with cutting boards and collecting building materials for their houses, which they now build increasingly in a European manner.”*
- September 1843 a family of 7 people who used to live in Hopedale came back from the south. A few weeks later, a widow and her 3 children arrived with a party of Southlanders who had come to trade in the area of Nain. She had moved to the south with her mother 12 years ago and returned now after the death of her husband.
- 3 Feb 1844, a sister called Maria died. She had been born in the south and came as a 10-year-old girl with her mother to Nain. When her mother decided to move again to the south, the daughter wanted to stay in the north and remained with a couple until she was married. On 10 March 1844, “some heathen came from the south to trade”.
- 26 December 1847, a heathen arrived from the south with his family in Nain but left again. He had two wives, one from Hopedale, who “went again to the heathen.” She asked for school books for her children. Another party of Southlanders arrived to trade and visit relatives.

In the early part of the century, and previously, one of the major stumbling blocks experienced by the Moravians in keeping their people north and not ‘attracting’ people from the south, was their trade practices. At the outset of the mission at Nain and up until almost the close of the century Moravians refused to sell or did not have for sale, a number of important items such as alcohol, boats and guns. They also refused to sell the women trade beads since it was not in line with religious beliefs.

By 1810, it appears that the Moravians were expecting too much in trade for their goods. In that year an Inuit by the name of William Kay swears an affidavit and makes oath at St John’s concerning the very high prices the Moravians are asking for their goods<sup>83</sup>. Two other Inuit cited in this report by Commander William Elliott are “Sunach and Pawna”, who are found in many other records as two prominent Inuit being Shunuck and Paulo<sup>84</sup> from southern Labrador and whose families are featured in a case study later in this report.

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<sup>83</sup> Tompkins, page 31, Doc # 204

<sup>84</sup> Patty Way, Labrador genealogist, Pers. Comm.

A comparison with the trade prices outlined in the affidavit from 1810<sup>85</sup> with the Slade Records from 1798<sup>86</sup> shows that the Moravians were asking three times the price for a gun for example, as that asked by Slade and Co. The prices in the time period for seal oil fluctuates but was higher in 1810<sup>87</sup>, so the alleged difference in price between the two traders was likely even greater. Inuit of south/central Labrador were obviously very dissatisfied with prices paid by the Moravians for seal oil and other products to go the extent of swearing an oath against them.

The Moravian's difficulty in anchoring its population continued into at least the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. For example, in 1858, the Moravians complained of a decrease in their congregation by 15 people "*due to the removal of several families to the south*". Unfortunately the desire for European luxury increases among many."

### **Comparison of the Moravian Hopedale Records with other Records for the Period (Church, Merchants, Journals, etc.)**

The Hopedale records are almost like a snapshot in time of who was moving north and south during the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. They are like a record of immigration and emigration at an important observation point between the Moravian "missionized Inuit" of the North and the non-missionized Inuit of the south.

Since the Moravians were very meticulous record keepers and we can expect the record to be somewhat complete, it may be possible to extrapolate from other extant records Inuit who would have stayed in the south and had not come north at all. We can therefore say with some degree of certainty that if Inuit are not mentioned by the Moravians, especially the men, who are usually given as 'so and so and his family', then they did not come north at all, but remained in the south of Labrador.

This very rich data set from Northern Labrador can also be used to show several other characteristics about Inuit during the period (1782 - 1850):

- (1) It can show Inuit who were in the north during the Moravian tenure and were baptized there, but for any number of reasons moved to or returned to and died in the south, and
- (2) The data can be used to graphically show the mobility of Inuit and, to some extent, the reasons for that mobility up and down the Labrador coast.

The reasons for Inuit mobility can be summarized as: (1) acquisition of European goods, (2) trade up and down the coast, (3) subsistence living in various locations, and (4) visiting relatives.

Staying in one place was very low on the list of options for Labrador Inuit in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. For example, over a five year period (1791 - 1784), of the Hopedale Inuit who had been baptized, totaling forty, six had died, one moved to Nain, seventeen were still at Hopedale and sixteen had moved to the south. With the Moravians losing

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<sup>85</sup> Tompkins, page 30, Doc # 204

<sup>86</sup> Slade Record Books, Provincial Archives, MG 236 & MG 504

<sup>87</sup> Gordon Handcock, Pers. Comm.

half their congregation and with a very low rate of converts, they were considering the closure of the Hopedale mission <sup>88</sup>.

### **Inuit Death Records**

To illustrate the death records for the entire period (1783 - 1850), Table # 7 shows forty seven people from 1783 to 1843, who died in the south for many reasons; old age, illness, murder, or accident. In many cases, no reason is given for the death(s) which renders the material somewhat useless for other critical evaluations.

Table # 7 Recorded Inuit deaths in South/Central Labrador (1783 - 1850) from Moravian Records.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Year Deceased</b>	<b>Cause of Death</b>	<b>Location in South</b>
<b>David Kalliut</b>	1783	Accident	Chateaux Bay
<b>Abraham Paulo</b>	1783	Unknown	South
<b>Persida Kuppak</b>	1784	Unknown	Unknown
<b>Kemukserak</b>	1784	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Ekkerana</b>	1784	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>2 Women</b>	1784	Murder	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>4 Men</b>	1784	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>3 Women</b>	1784	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>wife of Kemukserak</b>	1784	Killed by Dogs	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Moses</b>	1784	Murdered by Tuglavinia	Chateaux Bay
<b>Timotheus</b>	1784	Unknown	Chateaux Bay
<b>3 Others Killed</b>	1784	Unknown	South
<b>Child</b>	1784	Unknown	Died in South
<b>Nerkinguak</b>	1785	Possible Old Age	Chateaux Bay
<b>Young Inuit</b>	1785	Alcohol Poisoning	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>One Woman</b>	1785	Unknown	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Several Children</b>	1785	Unknown	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Esther</b>	1786	Accident	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Aijoruna</b>			
<b>Karatok</b>	1786	Shot accidentally	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Susanna</b>	1787	Unknown	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Kaijoaluk</b>			
<b>Justina</b>	1787	Accident	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Niakokke</b>			

<sup>88</sup> Rollmann, 2010

Name	Year Deceased	Cause of Death	Location in South
<b>Kunnubikte</b>	1790	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Susanna, Noah's wife</b>	1790	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Nukakpiak</b>	1790	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Ullominna</b>	1790	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Panninnojak</b>	1790	Kayak accident	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Marro</b>	1791	Accident	Unknown
<b>Amos</b>	1792	Hunger	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Angutaug</b>			
<b>Amos</b>	1792	Hunger	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Angutaug's wife</b>			
<b>2 of Amos</b>	1792	Hunger	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Angutage's children</b>			
<b>Ikipiarsuk</b>	1793	Unknown	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Rebecca Erkok</b>	1793	Unknown	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Catharina</b>	1793	Unknown	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Annugak</b>			
<b>Titus</b>	1793	Unknown	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay)
<b>Mikkillerak</b>			
<b>Tobias Kuvaluk</b>	1793	Unknown	South
<b>Upwards of 40 Inuit die at Netsektok and Aivektok</b>	1794	Some eating a rotten whale	Netsektok (Sandwich Bay) and Aivektok
<b>Petrus</b>	1800	Unknown	South
<b>Kingminguse</b>			
<b>Noa kippinguk</b>	1804	Kayak accident	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Piorinna</b>	1805	Unknown	Unknown
<b>Paulus</b>	1819	Unknown	South
<b>Kingmiaralak</b>			
<b>Priscilla</b>	1819	Unknown	South
<b>Paksaut</b>			
<b>Ittiverna</b>	1825	Unknown	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)
<b>Pannijuniok</b>	1843	Unknown	Table Bay
<b>Paulus</b>			

Records for Makkovik and Kippokak have been excluded and 'South' means south of Cape Harrison (North 55° 54').

These records are taken by the missionaries mostly from second hand information of Inuit traveling the coast and certainly would not reflect all Inuit deaths in South/Central for the period,

since no other 'in situ' records for Southern Labrador are in existence. We do not know how many Inuit died in the south and were not mentioned to the Moravians, nor how many “heathen Inuit” deaths that were mentioned went unrecorded. Clearly the chart of names is an under-representation of the actual numbers of such deaths.

References to the supposed two hundred Inuit who perished in the south following an exodus in 1773 does not indicate who these people may have been. The Nain and Okak materials which have recently been examined also does not indicate who these people were. Since no mention of such a mass death is given in the Cartwright Journals, or elsewhere, this figure could be an exaggeration by the Moravians to persuade their baptized Inuit from going south. A number of records exist in later years, indicating that some Inuit were coming north to escape diseases and threat of diseases in the south. Any nominal records for these epidemics (1794/95 and in 1832) are also non-existent.

One record indicates a major cause of death being the consumption of a rotten whale in the Netsektok area in 1794. It seems very strange that the Moravians did not record the deaths of their baptized Inuit who died in the south during those years when Inuit seemed to be fleeing from epidemics, since the returning Inuit would surely have known the names of their people. It also remains quite possible that the Moravians saw it in their best interests to make the south of Labrador seem like a very scary place. It is hard to credence that Inuit in Netsektok in 1794 (who were experts in whales) did not know when it was unsafe to eat partly-decomposed whale meat.

From the record of deaths (Table # 7, above), it is evident that Moravians appear to have recorded individual deaths whenever they were made aware of these events. Of course, if the Inuit who died were 'heathen Inuit', then they might have gone unrecorded by Moravians since they would have no familiarity with the deceased people in the first place.

### **Inuit Mobility**

Inuit mobility during the early period (1775 to 1840) is quite astonishing.

**Table # 8      Showing Inuit Mobility to or past Hopedale (1775 - 1850) by Inuit traveling either North or South.**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Arrival From</i>	<i>Departure To</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Reason for Travel</i>	<i>Number of Boats (people)</i>
1772	South - far		North	Tuglavina and Abraham	2 (30)
1773		South	South	Unknown	7 (105)
1780			Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)	To winter there	2 (40)
1780			Chateaux Bay	Report in Nain/Kullak	3 (20)
1782	Chateaux Bay		Nain	To be Baptized	2 (30)
1782	South/Cateaux			Aitauk & Agekana	2(40)
1782			South/Chateaux	Tuglavina & Abraham	2 (40)
1782	Netsektok		Nain	Ikkerana	1(20)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Arrival From</i>	<i>Departure To</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Reason for Travel</i>	<i>Number of Boats (people)</i>
1783	Nain	Chateaux bay	Chateaux Bay	Unknown	1 (15)
1783		Europeans in South	South	Pay Debts	3 (80)
1783	Unknown	Chateaux bay	Chateaux bay	Unknown	2 (30)
1783	South		Hopedale	Not pleased with Europeans	1 (15)
1783			South	Nain/ 7 families	2 (40)
1783			South to Europeans	Sellijak/Okak diaries	3 (45)
1784	Aivektok		Hopedale	Unknown	2 (15)
1784	South		Hopedale	Unknown	4 (60)
1784	South		Hopedale	Unknown	1 (15)
1784	Chateaux Bay		Hopedale	Unknown	3 (45)
1784	Aivektk		Okak	Salijak	1 (20)
1785	South		Nagvak/Okak	Unknown	4 (60)
1785	Chateaux bay	Hopedale	Aivectok	Trade/acquire European goods	4 (60)
1785	Chateaux Bay		South of Netsektok	Unknown	1 (15)
1785	South		Hopedale	Unknown	2 (30)
1785	Kangerdluksoak		South	Trade	1 (15)
1785	South	Hopedale	Back south	Return to their people	1 (15)
1786		South		Unknown	1 (15)
1786	South		Hopedale	Susistence in the south	3 (45)
1786		South	Europeans in the south	Unknown	1 (15)
1786	North		South to winter with Europeans	Trade	1 (20)
1786	South		Hopedale?	No trade	1 (20)
1786	Netsektok		Hopedale	Acquisition of European goods	1 (15)
1786	South		Arvertok/ then south again	Trade	1 (15)
1787		South to the Europeans	Kingmikkovik	Susistence, caribou and cod	1 (23)
1787	Aivektok		Hopedale and north	Trade	1 (20)
1787		South	South	Unknown	2 (30)
1790	South		Hopedale	Mikak - probably trade	1 (20)
1790	South		Hopedale		2 (30)
1790	South		Unknown	Mikak's big boat	1 (20)
1790	Eivertook		Unknown	Trade?	1 (20)
1790		South	South	Meeting Friends, etc	1 (20) ?
1791		South		Went south to Europeans	2 (30)
1791	Cape Bluff		Hopedale?	Winter in Hopedale but will go south again	1 (15)
1791	South		Unknown	Fishing?	1 (20) two masted
1791		South		Unknown	3 (45)
1791	North	South	South	Unknown	1 (15)
1791	Passed	South	South	Unknown	2 (40) 2 (30)

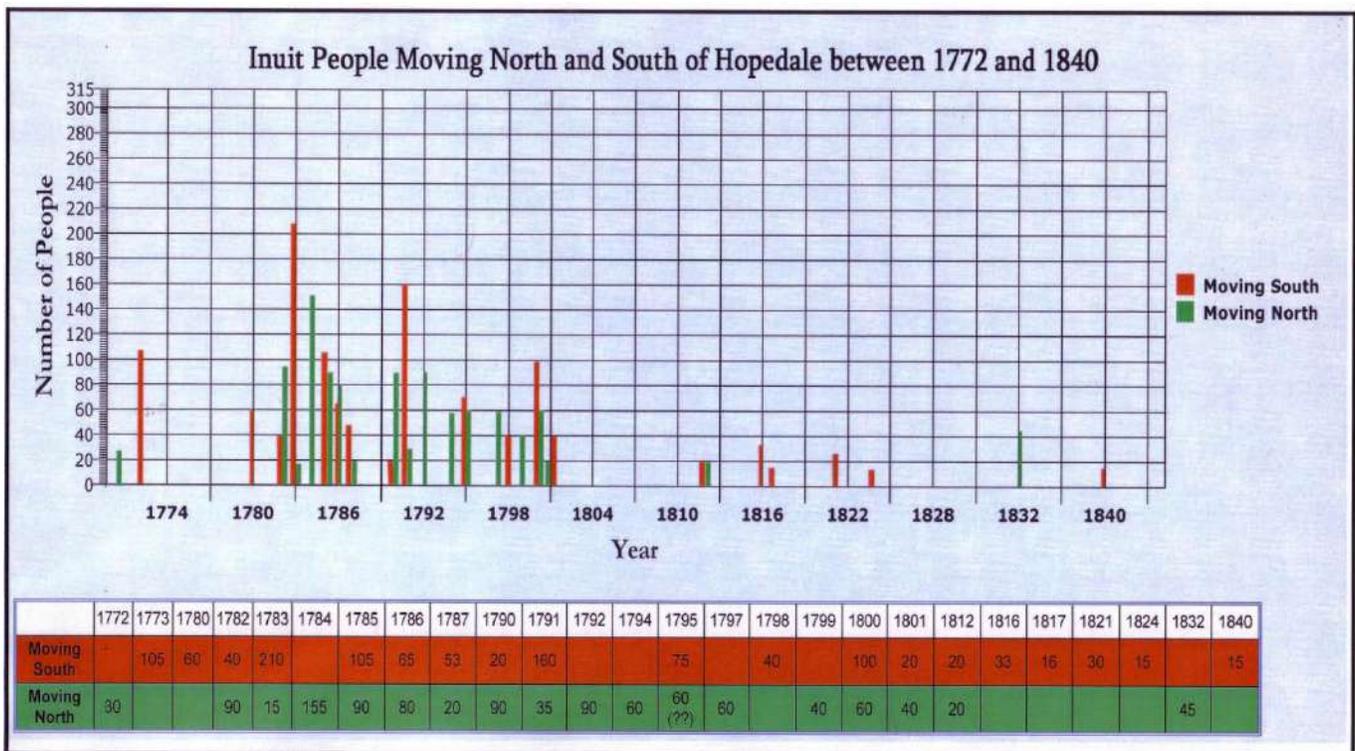
<i>Year</i>	<i>Arrival From</i>	<i>Departure To</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Reason for Travel</i>	<i>Number of Boats (people)</i>
	Hopedale				
1792	Aivektok		Okak	Trade	1 (20)
1792	Aivektok		Nain	Visiting relatives	1 (15)
1792	This side of Cape Charles		Arvertok	Reside there	1 (20)
1792	Aivektok		Kivallek and Nain	Unknown	2 (15) (20)
1794	South		three go further north	Fleeing disease	4 (60)
1795		South		Unknown	5 (75)
1795	South			Fleeing disease	4 (60)
1797	Aivertok			Story of fight between Europeans at Chateaux	2 (40)
1797	South			To winter in Avertok	1 (20)
1798			South	Titus came before from Aivektok	1(20)
1798		went for a year	Far south to Newfoundland		1 (20)
1799	Aivektok			Reported 5 women running away and a murder	1 (20)
1799	South			Kingminguse	1(20)
1800			South	Naksak, etc	5 (100)
1800	South			Titus and Sermek	1(20)
1800	South			Naksak	1(20)
1800	South			Nainjagok	1 (20)
1801			South	From Nain area to south	1(20)
1801	South			Joshua	1(20)
1801	South			Nainjagok	1(20)
1812	South			Paronina, etc	1(20)
1812		Brief visit at Hopedale	Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet	Paronina, etc	1 (20)
1816		Europeans in South		Visiting relatives	1 (18)
1816		South		Picking up a family to go south	1 (15)
1817		South		Unknown, not certain where in the south	1 (16)
1821		South		To pick up relatives and return?	2 (30)
1824	Arrived and then went back south			Trade	1 (15)
1832	South		Between Nain and Hopedale	Fleeing disease	3 (45)
1840	Aivektok		went back south ?	Looking for Bible materials	1 (15)

According to a number of estimates, the Inuit umiak traveled with about fifteen occupants, which Roger Curtis in 1773 figured to be an underestimate<sup>89</sup>. Taylor recorded the number of people transported in umiaks as between fifteen and twenty four people in the late eighteenth century. Taylor placed an average of 19.2 persons for umiaks and 29.6 for wooden boats<sup>90</sup>. The larger two masted wooden boats are estimated to carry up to 50 people<sup>91</sup>.

For the purpose of estimations in the above Table # 8, we have used conservative numbers, since we can't assume boats were filled to capacity on each trip. Conservative numbers of 15 for umiaks and 25 for wooden boats may more accurately reflect the immigration/emigration numbers. Where the boat type is not indicated we will assume the lower number as if it were an umiak. Again, the Makkovik/Kippokak entries from the Rollmann Report<sup>92</sup> are not included in these numbers.

This immigration/emigration at Hopedale can be illustrated graphically by plotting the number of people moving for each year showing whether they are going north or south;

**Figure # 10 Graph showing numbers of people moving North and South at Hopedale between 1772 and 1840**



<sup>89</sup> Curtis, 1773

<sup>90</sup> Taylor, 1974

<sup>91</sup> Kennedy, 2008 – In Doc # 213

<sup>92</sup> Rollmann, 2010 – Doc # 203

The above graph shows an influx of people from Northern Labrador to the south in the very early years of Moravian occupation with an exodus from the north of 105 people in 1773 and 210 people in 1783. The following years are characterized by excessive traffic both into and out of the north and by the end of the period the movements of people is reduced to a trickle primarily of people going south (early 1800's). The only exception to this trend of Inuit trickling south into the nineteenth century is the event in 1823 through an illness scare which is characterized that, *"many people have died in Quebec through illnesses, which caused them to seek refuge in the north"*. This refuge in the north from an illness scare still only involved three boat loads of people.

The graph for these Hopedale records can be summarized then into three periods:

- (1) the early period 1775- 1783, which witnessed several mass movements to the south;
- (2) the middle period (1787 - 1800) which saw a high frequency and amplitude of movement both to and from the south signifying the virtual end of what has been characterized as the 'middleman trade'<sup>93,94</sup>; and
- (3) the late period (1800 - 1840) when there is little movement north, except one illness scare based in Quebec, and a continuous trickling of movements of a boatload or two at a time, to the south.

The large movement of people in the latter part of the eighteenth century can be attributed to several factors: (1) mobility of Thule and historic Inuit is a prime characteristic of this very transhumant society in previous times (the Hopedale records show mobility based on trade, subsistence and relationships); and, (2) the attraction of European goods which could not be obtained from the Moravians (primarily boats in the beginning and guns and alcohol). These rather mass movements of Inuit people were also recorded in the previous two centuries<sup>95</sup> and it was not uncommon for Inuit to move over vast areas in search of sustenance and trade.

For example, Kmoch and Kohlmiester visiting Ungava Bay in 1811 found Inuit from Eivertok (Hamilton Inlet) at George River hunting caribou<sup>96</sup>;

" 25/26 August 1811: Inuit from Eivektok during the summer on the Koksoak river in Ungava:

*"About one P.M. we cast anchor close to their habitations. Fourteen families were here, among whom were some from a distant district, called EIVEKTOK. These had pitched their tents farther up the river. ARNAUYAK was with them, a man, with whom Brother Kohlmeister had become acquainted some years ago, exceedingly regretted, that he had*

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<sup>93</sup> Kennedy, 2010 – Doc # 202

<sup>94</sup> Kaplan, 1983

<sup>95</sup> Martijn, 2009

<sup>96</sup> Rollmann, 2010

*but a few days ago left the place, to hunt reindeer on George's river. The children expressed their joy by running to and fro on the strand, like wild creatures.*

*At first, the people in the tents appeared rather shy, but after accepting of some trifling presents, they became quite /72/ communicative, and gave us some of their toys in exchange; then walking round us, surveyed us narrowly, as if we were a new species of animals. Most of them had never before seen an European. Uttakiyok's brother had joined them, and already informed them of our arrival, without which they would probably have been yet more alarmed at seeing strangers, and hearing the report of fire-arms.*

*They now invited all our people to dine with them, and having heard that Brother Kohlmeister would like to taste the flesh of a whitefish [Beluga], a kettle was immediately placed on the fire, and a large piece put in to boil. Brother Kmoch meanwhile cooked a savoury soup of birds, and reindeer-flesh, more fit for an European stomach. While dinner was preparing, Brother Kohlmeister took a walk up the bank of the river, and across some hills. As the families belonging to EIVEKTOK had their summer dwelling in that neighbourhood, the Esquimaux, on perceiving that he had walked in that direction, and fearing that the Eivektok people, seeing him alone, might mistake him for an Indian, and shoot at him, dispatched two men to bring him back. They missed him, and he returned before them. He found our people very pleasantly conversing with the heathen concerning the aim of our journey, and the way of salvation. Even Uttakiyok was thus engaged, explaining, as well as he could, the cause of our living in Labrador: he exclaimed, "let us, my friends, all be converted to Jesus." He was heard with peculiar attention, being considered as a captain among them. In the evening we sang hymns in Jonathan's tent. The people all came and listened with much seriousness.*

*26th. Today the Eivektok families came in a skin-boat down the river, to see us. They were full of astonishment, but soon took courage, and handled us, to discover whether we were made of the same materials with themselves. An old man, NETSLAK, addressed Brother Kohlmeister: "Are you Benjamin? I have seen you with my eyes, but at /73/ Eivektok have heard your name often mentioned." He seemed to be a sensible man, and a captain among his tribe.*

*We could not help remarking the difference between these Esquimaux and their countrymen living on the same coasts with our settlements. The former are very poor, and miserably equipped, whereas the latter, by their intercourse with us and other Europeans, have acquired many conveniences, and are, by barter, well provided with what they want." <sup>97</sup>.*

These were obviously Inuit who were unfamiliar, for the most part, with the Moravians at Hopedale, Nain or Okak and may have accessed the George River overland from Hamilton Inlet, since the records, at this point in time, do not show them stopping on the Atlantic Coast at either of the Moravian missions that year. The records at Okak and Nain have also have been reviewed and there is no record of these people passing through that coast.

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<sup>97</sup> Rollmann, 2010, Report to LMN – Doc # 203

The Moravian Records have been exhausted for Inuit movements north and south for the period of 1772 to 1840<sup>98</sup>. Results from the research shows that there were 1,040 person trips moving north and 1182 person trips moving to the south during the period. The net movements of people for the sixty eight years, is estimated from the data at 142 Inuit to the south. The theory that Inuit flocked to the north following Moravian establishments in any permanent way, does not stand up to the empirical data from the records.

### **Who were the Inuit that did not go North?**

If the early mercantile-colonial period is little assessed or understood, the period between the 1850s and the later 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries stands out as relatively lightly documented in official records, despite the nominal administration of the territory by Newfoundland. There were few officially sponsored British or Newfoundland forays into the region, and even the few circuit court sessions held from 1826 – 1833 (to deal with issues arising amongst Newfoundlanders occupied in the seasonal fishery) were not revived in the form of surrogate judges until the 1870s. Indeed, the American government appeared more interested, no doubt in relation to the American fishing privileges in Labrador, sending two gun-ships into the region up to 1870.

However, there is a growing literature and documentation sourced from within Labrador, both from religious and the occasional medical mission and as well from the indigenous and settler populations. The latter documentation on family and community histories has already been well canvassed (in particular, see Hanrahan 2002, Kennedy, 1995 and McDonnell 2002).

In this section we are more concerned to assess demographic information that has not been otherwise subjected to detailed analysis in relation to the following key questions:

1. What demographic transitions have occurred in southern Labrador – and in particular have they been characteristic of demographic transitions generally?
2. Is there clear evidence of significant demographic variance attributable either to Inuit moving or migrating northwards or experiencing significant reductions due to disease or other sources of unusual mortality?
3. What can be gleaned – particularly for the period from the early 19<sup>th</sup> through late 19<sup>th</sup> century in relation to ethnographic transitions or cultural transformations?

The key data for this period derive from archival, census and genealogical information. The estimates coming from archival sources are based on Wesleyan, Anglican, Moravian and Baptist missionaries who occasioned southern-central Labrador during this period, and it is to them that we owe our fragmented knowledge of population dynamics in the era before governmentally held modern census information emerges.

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.,

## Census Data

Organized census data for Labrador were not gathered by Newfoundland until 1935. Prior to that there are only two partial census collections: that of the Moravian Reverend O’Hara from 1871 and that of the Canadian Census of 1911 – which however only included the Straits settlements and the two Hudson’s Bay posts of Rigolet and Northwest River.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century census data are useful from both a demographic and genealogical vantage as they are organized by household and record at least family names and names of other persons in the household and their relationships.

From the two earlier census estimates, as well as that of 1911, we also have attributed ethnicity, which is of particular importance in determining ethnocultural changes in the population of Labrador over time, and particularly the cultural transformation that occurred to the Inuit population.

The following table is somewhat tentative, in that it attempts to link up five census data periods, only two of which are consistent in their data bases. However, even ignoring the fact that three of the five data sets are drawn upon different populace/locales, a broader sense of the demographic realities of Labrador become apparent, particularly when we take into account the genealogical data under discussion.

**Table # 9 Demography of Central-Southern Labrador: 1765-1945**

Period	Coverage	Ethnicity					
		<i>Inuit</i>	<i>Inuit-Metis or Half-Breed</i>	<i>White Parentage Doubtful</i>	<i>“Native White”</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Newfoundlander/Other</i>
1765	To Cape Harrison <sup>99</sup>	600	None reported				
1870	Hopedale-Sandwich Bay <sup>100</sup>	148	290 Inuit-Metis 34 other “mixed”	82	53	5	134
1911	Rigolet and Northwest River	33	508			excluded	64
1935	Cape Charles – Cape Harrison						2,295

<sup>99</sup> Based on the Inuit reporting Kikkertek (Thousand Islands) and Hamilton Inlet (Nueingame) as their winter homes.

<sup>100</sup> Excluding Moravian Settlement of Hopedale

1945	Cape Charles – Cape Harrison	2,823
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The 1870 data comes from a quite detailed census conducted by Reverend O’Hara (Moravian), of the population outside of the Moravian settlements as far south as Sandwich Bay. See text relating to Figure 7.

It is unclear what social or informant-based measures he might have used, and it is possible that it was family names not well identified with or associated with known Inuit or Inuit-Labradorian. Since O’Hara was stationed at Hopedale he could probably tell if people were of mixed race. On the other hand, it may be that by this time some people did not want to admit to their aboriginal roots in any way and by this time had clearly inherited or adopted primarily English names.

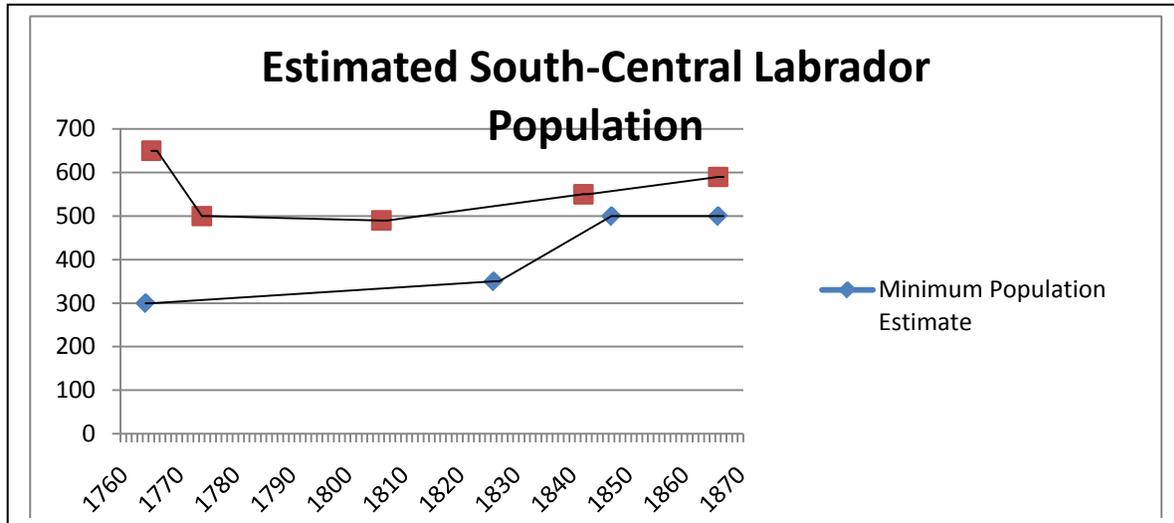
By way of comparison, the following Table, derived from Scheffel (1981:59) provides Moravian mission demographics for the main stations from 1800 through to the two major influenza epidemic years of 1918 and 1919.

**Table # 10 North Coast/Moravian Demographics: 1800 – 1919**

<i>Location</i>	<i>1800-29</i>	<i>1830-59</i>	<i>1860-89</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>
<b>Hopedale</b>	180	207	225	175	145
<b>Nain</b>	210	300	266	243	200
<b>Okkak</b>	335	362	328	263	48
<b>Hebron</b>	-	191	248	220	70
<b>Total</b>	725	1,060	1,067	901	463

Scheffel notes that the rise in numbers at Okkak until the 1850s was attributable to immigration of “heathen” from the northwards. The size of Okkak created scarcity problems leading the Moravians to open a new “frontier post” at Hebron. Inuit further north appear to have associated themselves with the Hudson’s Bay new post at Fort Chimo. Also of relevance is the out-migration southwards from Hopedale and Nain in the 1830s and 1840s, prompted in part by the availability of alternative sources of trade goods (including alcohol and the high price of guns) and the strict nature of Moravian mission life (1981:60). In addition, however, scarcity seems to have been a major motivation: the Moravian preference for population growth led to overcrowding and a draining of subsistence resources. This too prompted regular dispersal of Inuit into smaller bands travelling southwards to the Hamilton Inlet, Sandwich Bay and Alexis Bay in particular.

In summary, and based on various reports and estimates found in the ecclesiastical and merchant records, the following provides a range of minimum and maximum demographic totals for the period to 1870:



**Figure # 11 Maximum/Minimum Estimates for South-Central Labrador.**

The Moravian records are by far the most complete we have and other records are not consistent in any way. The other scattered records which we have show extreme gaps for the period and many are a one-time event, so there is little consistency for the purposes of critical comparison. However, they do give names and some, like the later church records of the Methodists and Church of England, give some ethnographic observations.

In the process of collecting the data for this submission, Table # 11 ( Appendix II) was constructed and shows individual records of people, for the time period, which do not show up in Moravian records, did not travel north and were a part of the group considered the 'southlanders' or 'heathen' described by Moravians.

They can be described as the 'non missionized' Inuit of the South <sup>101</sup>, at least until the time of a brief foray of four years with the Methodist Church in the 1820's and the establishment of the Church of England in the 1850's. (See Appendix II)

The table does not include records of anyone described as 'half breed', 'half eskimo' or other such monikers. The list only includes people who were described in the records as Inuit with the names of Eskimo, Esqumaux, Esquimaux Indians, etc. These three hundred and twenty five records, even though they are sparse, eclectic and inconsistent, demonstrate a clear link between these individuals who are ancestors of today's NunatuKavut and the area of South/Central Labrador as still their homeland.

<sup>101</sup> McDonnell, 2002

Many individuals and family names not listed in the table above, and some by more than one source, moved between north and south as we have seen from the Moravian records. Examples are: Kippinguk, Paulo, Marro, Palliser, Tuglavinia, Mikak and others. Many of these people and families who initially moved north and south through the Moravian records, are also ancestors of today's NunatuKavut membership.

One person of some interest, and during the period may be the same person, is one John Aglukak. He first shows up in the Hopedale records as Aglukak in 1784 as a fellow traveller of Tuglavinia and is said to have 'sailed for several years with the English'. He is also implicated in the murder of a man, Moses (baptized name) at Chateaux Bay along with Tuglavinia the year before. The next record is for 1785 in the Cartwright records where Cartwright indicates that an Adlucock overwintered at Isle of Ponds [in the Kikkertet area]. The next indication of his presence is in the Hernutt collection from the Hopedale records where he is present at Chateaux Bay as Aglokak in 1786. Five years later in 1791 we learn from the Hopedale records again that Aglukok and his family 'go to the south'. Finally, in 1798 John Oglukok is listed in the merchant records of Slade and Company at Battle Harbour (Catucto). It is fair to assess that this is in fact the same person, since his first record indicates his association with the 'English' on their ships and that he worked as an interpreter for the English at Chateaux Bay according to one scholar<sup>102</sup>. After 1798, we lose all record of Aglokak and the surname does not survive in Labrador. We do know that Aglokak had family and any descendants probably survived in the south. Aglokak himself may have died or changed his name which was not entirely uncommon.

The mobility of Inuit on the Labrador coast in the nineteenth century is somewhat astounding. What the records do not show are families who stayed in regional areas and had no 'reason' to be recorded or for whom there were no 'recorders'.

**Table # 12 Inuit Surnames in the cumulative records from South/Central Labrador which are not represented in the Moravian documents. Many of these surnames can be found amongst the ancestors today's NunatuKavut.**

Surname	Surname
Connunuck (Kuniook)	Diggs
Ooing- atshuk	Toomashie
Couteback	Ittiock
Molina	Penni-ook
Kauk-soak	Shunock
Shilmuck/Shelmuck	Tooktoosheena
Ouquioo	Manak/Marnock
Ickpiaric	Dukes
Pitts	Shappick
Moneygood [Monikut]	Tuccolk
Isaac	Ikey
Elishock	Mountain

<sup>102</sup> Taylor, 1984

Surname	Surname
Smoker Eteweooke	Tinock Toomashie

\* The cumulative list of Surnames is taken from church records, oral histories, ships' journals, personal journals, published sources and merchant records.

### Summary of Hopedale Records

What can be gleaned from a review of these Hopedale documents when compared to other sources of information? First of all, it verifies that Inuit up to the beginning of the nineteenth century were extremely mobile for any number of reasons, primarily sustenance and trade being the 'pull' factors to any area, and conflict and disease being the 'push' factor from any particular area.

In the latter period (1800 to 1840), with the establishment of European traders at Kippokak, it seems that the Northern Inuit had less reason to venture far into the south to be near Europeans who were not missionaries. We can also say that the Moravian missionaries went to some extremes to convince Inuit to stay in the north. In addition to trying to frighten them with stories of horrifying death and disease, at every opportunity the missionaries were vilifying southern traders, to the point where in 1792 after twenty one years on the coast, this statement seems to typify the Moravian attitude towards other Europeans and the Moravian political stance in terms of trade, *"Settlement of Europeans in Kippokak weak. ...Even Inuit despise them but they are friendly toward Inuit and treat them to liquor and some bread. If they don't develop this settlement more, there is little of a threat to the Moravian trade."*

The Moravians left us with a window into southern Labrador for a time when there was no census taken, no ethno-historian to accurately record events, and an almost total lack of useful written information from the Atlantic Labrador Coast, an area which has been aptly described as an 'unorganized territory', outside the purview of almost all government and other organizational agencies.

When first encountered, the Moravians represented another source of trade to the Inuit and 'nothing more', as theorized by the scholar Linda Sabathy-Judd. In later years, the Moravians become full time traders to Inuit and employed Inuit in catching and rendering sea mammal oils, fishing and as house servants. Yet Moravians, in several instances, seem to vilify southern fishermen and traders for making Inuit into 'servants' (See Rollmann, 2010, pages 47 and 50). The difference between what the Inuit were doing in the secular world for the Moravians, and what they were doing for fishermen further south in Labrador simply eludes this author.

These records tell a great deal about how Moravians dealt with Inuit. Moravian records have been seen in almost the same light as the Jesuit Relations and bring light to bear on the Moravian attitude to a slow absorption of Christianity, rather than wholesale and pushy evangelism, *"Moravians always considered themselves less aggressive than other evangelicals in winning*

*souls for Jesus. 'We are like servants at the master's door', they wrote, who scratch softly that those who will want to hear us will hear, while others so inclined can ignore us' ",*<sup>103</sup>.

The Moravians at Hopedale then, instead of pushing Inuit into a faith in Jesus, were patient at the waiting game, thus they absolutely needed Inuit to stay around them in order to fully accept the faith. The replacement of ancient beliefs was a hard sell, thus the strong words of discouragement at every opportunity for Inuit to leave the locality and go back to the heathens either in the North or South of Labrador was paramount.

In general, the three places which Inuit traveled to in the south were the same places as other recorded locales frequented by Inuit in the early eighteenth century in South/Central Labrador. For example, from the writings of Jolliett and Fornel<sup>104</sup>, Inuit were encountered on the entire south coast. In fact, in 1765 the three general regional places described for Inuit habitation<sup>105, 106</sup>, namely, Nunainguak, Arbatok and Kikkertet from the 1765 Haven map, are in the areas of Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet), Netsektok (Sandwich Bay), and Kingmikovikk (Island of Ponds area), respectively, from the Hopedale records. The latter being the described bays and inlets from the Hopedale records of the former 'regional areas' in the south described to Moravian observers in 1765 (also see Lysaght, 1971).

The scattered extant records from other sources which have been brought together for this work can be used to supplement and verify parts of the picture through this small window into the events of South/Central Labrador in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth century described by the Moravians. Inuit did not vacate southern Labrador at any time. The Inuit in the north were often anxious to re-frequent the area or to live there permanently. The concept that Inuit were 'from' somewhere up until recent times is an error. From these documents, it appears that Inuit were 'from' all of Labrador with their incredible mobility and long distance relations.

### **Demographic Picture over Time**

A review of the nominal demographics for the Labrador coast from the following century, in 1945, shows a very clear picture of who lived along the coast and from what families the population derived ( <http://ngb.chebucto.org/C1945> ). This demographic would have been obtained before the movement of many families to Goose Bay as a result of Air Base and gives a good picture of the more settled endemic population. In our study area (Cap Tikerak, North side of Groswater Bay to Caractucchuac, Belle Isle) the 1945 census shows that at least 90% of the surnames are those found in the membership of the today's NunatuKavut or, in the North, are members of Nunatsiavut. This demographic does not show a dominant European genotypic population even though many of the last names are European. From the genealogies of NunatuKavut there are approximately 53 (likely less) European men who married into a primarily Inuit and Inuit/ Labradorian population of anywhere from a low of 400 to a high of 600 people in the nineteenth century. Today's increases in population are due to better health care,

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<sup>103</sup> Sabathy-Judd, 2009

<sup>104</sup> Kennedy, 2009 – In Doc # 213

<sup>105</sup> Rollmann, 2008 - Doc # 164

<sup>106</sup> Rankin, 2008 – Doc # 150

better living conditions and as in the rest of North America the ‘baby boom’ following World War II.

To sum up, the problems associated with teasing out the ethnicity of the historic population of Inuit in South/Central Labrador are as follows:

1. observer inabilities to determine ethnicity;
2. an immense and complicated geography;
3. inaccessibility;
4. their seasonal transhumance resources patterns;
5. the influx of itinerant Newfoundland fishing families in the summer which often confused the numbers;
6. the migratory pattern of English families, especially in the south where they only lived for a few years and then moved on;
7. the propensity for the loss of Inuk female names and seeming loss of visibility;
8. the adoption of English names by male Inuit because of stigmatism and social pressures; and
9. observer bias (sometimes extreme).

## CONCLUSIONS

In essence, the demographic data would appear to sustain the same position that most ethnological analysis has taken: that Inuit frequenting central and southern Labrador were not “from” the “North” or “from” the “South”. Instead, what emerges is a highly diffuse and mobile population all along the Labrador coast from at least Cape Charles after the early 18<sup>th</sup> century to as far north as Nain sharing a highly varied and relatively unstudied set of social networks, bonds, trading and filial relationships. There was no united or single Inuit population in the sense of holding to any uniquely shared social structures markedly separate from other Inuit (e.g., in the region from Hebron through to the Ungava). As Curtis and Cartwright both noted in the later 18<sup>th</sup> century, there appeared instead to be several social and economic groupings they called “tribes”.

As a marine-oriented people, Inuit (whether full-blooded or mixed ancestry) were adapted not to fixed places, but to seasonal occupancy of diverse locales suitable to Inuit sustenance patterns. Trading opportunities and what trade brought to a highly mobile marine culture was also a major factor in both occupancy patterns and cultural adaptations, and had been apparently since the Thule culture first began moving so rapidly from the Beaufort Sea region circa 1,000 B.C.E.

Accordingly, some Inuit became oriented to a Moravian cultural form or style, which also accentuated relatively “closed” communities with strict trade, religious and settlement controls (Scheffel, 1981; Kennedy, 1994; McDonnell, 2002; Hanrahan, n.d.). Others became adapted to a more mixed cultural form and the associated trade and sustenance opportunities of central and southern Labrador, with its more diverse and diffuse settlement patterns and cultural-religious styles. No doubt the same adaptations and acculturations occurred over time for Labrador Inuit

oriented to the resource and trading opportunities in the Ungava Bay region and its Hudson's Bay operations in northern Quebec.

Inuit families, bands and multi-band groupings continued their presence in central and southern Labrador. With the contribution of several dozen permanent European men who inter-married with Inuit women or children of mixed unions, the Inuit emphasis was continued. The emergence of the NunatuKavut communities in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and its demographic dominance by mid-century is the cultural successor of traditional Inuit society and use and occupancy, in the same way that the Moravian oriented Inuit in Northern Labrador acculturated, and transformed, during the same period into what would be called today's northern Labrador Inuit and Kablunangajuit.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## INUIT CULTURAL CONTINUITY

An examination of Inuit cultural continuity requires some consideration of:

- the state of “Inuit culture” in 1763;
- whether “Inuit culture” can be said to be a static or monolithic construct;
- what ‘markers’ exist in Inuit culture to allow for a tracking of them over time;
- a description of the Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador from the date of British sovereignty to the modern time;
- impacts of political separation and government interference since World War II;
- impact of “passing” to avoid discrimination.

### **The State of “Inuit Culture” in 1763**

Dr. Peter Ramsden<sup>1</sup> tells us that Thule culture was originally characterized as a whale-hunting adaptation to the perennially frozen waters of the Arctic Ocean, distinct from later Inuit cultures. More recently it has become generally accepted that all modern Inuit cultures are in fact the results of rapid changes in Thule culture from the late 15th century onwards, and a drastic redistribution of population in many parts of the Arctic.

Much of archaeological Thule culture demonstrates a seal-hunting economy. Hunting gear includes a series of seal-hunting harpoon heads, either self-pointed or with separate blades; other harpoon gear including foreshafts, socket-pieces, ice picks, finger rests and kayak rests; bladder float mouth-pieces; wound pins; drag-line handles; and other items associated with hunting seals, either from kayaks or at breathing holes. Other types of hunting gear include arrow points, bows (of bone, antler and wood), bird darts, whaling harpoon heads, lance heads, bolas balls and numerous other items. Most of these objects were made from bone, antler and ivory; some, such as the arrow and harpoon points, may also have slate, iron or copper blades.

Other artifacts include men’s knives and ulus with bone handles and slate blades, bone snow knives, bone flensing knives, bone needle cases and needles, ivory or antler combs, stone bowls and lamps, whale bone mattocks, wood and bone sled parts, ice creepers of bone (devices to

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Ramsden, The Acquisition And Use Of European Goods By The Labrador Inuit – Doc # 201

assist walking on sea ice), bone and ivory dog trace buckles and toggles, toys and art objects of bone, ivory, wood and baleen, and numerous others.

The most readily visible features of Thule archaeological sites are the winter houses, characterized by raised earth walls, often with stone and whale bone roof supports. They are usually round semi-subterranean structures with an entrance passage. The interiors typically display raised rear sleeping platforms, paved floors and stone lamp stands, and there may be a small annex to one side. While most houses have one main living area, some have two or three that share a common entrance passage. Also occurring on Thule sites are tent rings of various types, representing occupations during those months when it was warm enough to move out of the subterranean winter houses, or perhaps not cold enough to build snow houses on the sea ice.

Inuit cultural impact can be assessed in three stages:

#### Stage 1: the Colonization Period

This stage is essentially the 17th century. In this stage, items of traditional Thule material culture are predominant and houses resemble typical Thule forms. European items recovered from these sites are dominated by iron objects, mostly nails and spikes, many of which have been re-shaped into traditional Thule objects: harpoon blades, ulus, knife blades, etc. There is also a wide range of other European items, including glass fragments, ceramics, pipe stem fragments, gun parts, lead shot, glass beads, Basque roof-tile fragments, and so on. These kinds of European objects are those that might well have been recovered from European whaling and fishing camps or beached vessels through raiding or scavenging in the off-season, even though some intermittent trade may also have been taking place.

#### Stage 2: The Intermittent Trading Period

The second stage spans the 18th century. Characteristic of this era is the development of large communal sod-walled houses, perhaps arising as expressions of prestige, authority, or economic and social solidarity resulting from the development of a trading and 'middleman' economy. Traditional Inuit artifacts continued to be made and used during this period, and include such items as bows and arrows, harpoons, kayaks, bone knife handles and soapstone lamps. European items begin to dominate the assemblages, and a much wider variety of goods is represented. In addition to the nails and spikes are numerous items likely to have been brought over for trade, such as axe heads, muskets, glass beads, clasp knives and fish hooks, and personal items like cuff-links and buttons that are also most likely to have been obtained in face-to-face trade. The Inuit economy of this period underwent a re-orientation towards a greater focus on open-water whaling, trade with Europeans, and inter-community trade between Inuit up and down the length of the Labrador coast.

#### Stage 3: The Trading Post Period

The final stage covers the period from the late 18th through the 19th century, and is the foundation for the modern era. The significant development in this period was the expansion of permanent European settlement along the Labrador coast, resulting in widespread and everyday

face-to-face contact between the Inuit and Europeans. The construction of large communal houses was gradually abandoned in favour of smaller dwellings located near European trading posts. The material culture assemblage is largely composed of European items: files, fishhooks, shovels, axes, scissors, thimbles, buckles, gun parts, shot, iron pots, ceramics, glassware, kaolin pipes, and other items. Some traditional Inuit items continued to be made: whalebone mattocks, sled runners, snowknives and soapstone pots and lamps. Some iron spikes and nails were still being re-worked into knife and harpoon blades, but in this period iron served less as a raw material than in previous periods, and iron artifacts were more likely to be acquired as finished products. Greater intermarriage arises during this period, with a small number of European men living in Inuit communities in the area.

To consider the evidence from these time periods, Dr. Ramsden concluded as follows (pages 4 and following):

*The first important point here is that the Inuit were accustomed to obtaining articles of European manufacture long before moving to Labrador (and, in archaeological terms, before they became the Inuit), and it could be argued that such articles really ought to be considered part of traditional Inuit material culture. The second important point is that the acquisition of these Norse items did not visibly alter any aspects of the Thule/Inuit economy, settlement pattern, social structure or value system. This is not to say that there were not changes in any of those things during the Thule period, but only to emphasize that none of the changes that did occur can be reasonably attributed to the acquisition of Norse metal or cloth.*

*... (T)he acquisition of European goods by 16th century Labrador Thule/Inuit had no real impact on the traditional nature of Inuit culture. Most of the items obtained were iron objects, and for the most part these functioned as raw material for manufacture into traditional artifact forms. Inuit subsistence continued to be based predominantly upon seal hunting, residence continued to be in warm season tents and cold season sod-walled houses of more-or-less traditional Thule pattern, and settlements continued to be located primarily with respect to the availability of local resources. As Fitzhugh has pointed out, the Inuit made no attempt to borrow new technologies, such as iron smelting, from the Europeans – they were interested merely in acquiring the objects as raw materials.*

The first Thule pioneers set about obtaining Norse iron, copper, bronze and cloth by whatever means they could, whether that be raiding or trading. They were followed over the next couple of centuries by other Thule immigrants, who settled in parts of the Canadian Arctic archipelago adjacent or handy to the Norse colonies. These Thule settlers set up a profitable mercantile trade system, whereby they exported whale products, walrus ivory, and probably other commodities in exchange for Norse metal, cloth, weapons, and perhaps food items. This exchange took place in some cases directly with seafaring Norse, and in other cases through Thule intermediaries. The exchange system was not just simply Norse items for Thule items. In the process, Thule communities in different areas exchanged between themselves commodities that were available in their own particular regions, but scarce and valuable in other areas.

The main difference in the 17th century is that with increasing and more widely dispersed European activity along the coast, Inuit sites grow to possess greater quantities and wider varieties of European item:

*The characteristic dwellings in this period continued to be the traditional semi-subterranean sod-walled winter houses with entrance passages, paved floors and raised sleeping platforms. Traditional Inuit artifacts include soapstone lamps and pots, snow goggles, whalebone sled runners, bone knife handles, baleen and wooden containers, dog trace toggles, and other items.*

*European items are numerous and varied, but consist overwhelmingly of iron nails and spikes, as well as miscellaneous fragments of iron, copper and lead. Most of these have been modified in some way, and many have been hammered into traditional Inuit artifacts such as end blades, ulus, knife blades, and harpoon heads. Other European goods include glass beads, fragments of glassware, earthenware, gun parts, musket balls and shot, iron pots, fragments of roof tiles, kaolin pipe stem fragments, and occasional other items.*

*As in the earlier stage of Inuit-European interaction, the acquisition of European goods during the 17th century on the south-central coast appears to have had little, if any, impact on traditional Inuit values, activities, or technology. The ... primary concern of the Inuit was to acquire metal scraps and iron nails and spikes to serve as malleable raw materials from which to fashion traditional artifacts that previously would have been made from naturally occurring materials such as slate. Even despite the probable acquisition of some new types of implements, such as fire-arms, it does not appear that the kinds of activities that the Inuit engaged in changed significantly, or that they were conducted in particularly new ways. A concern with inter-community trade along the Labrador coast, which began to intensify during this period, might be considered a re-orientation of part of the Inuit social and economic system, but it might be worth remembering that this was due primarily to the linear nature of the distribution of Inuit settlement and the location of the European camps at one end of it, rather than to the acquisition of European goods in itself.*

*The first really marked changes in Inuit settlement and economy came about in the 18th century and resulted in part from the development of trade between the Inuit and Europeans, and its impact on Inuit social structure and values.*

*The most immediately obvious change at this time was the growth in the size of dwellings. Houses from the late 16th and 17th centuries average about 39 m<sup>2</sup> in area, whereas those from the 18th century have an average area of nearly 80 m<sup>2</sup>. This clearly indicates a drastic change in household composition, and by implication a change in the socio-economic orientation of Inuit society on the Labrador coast...*

*A variety of explanations have been offered for this sudden increase in household size, and the most generally accepted, and most plausible ones, involve the emergence of powerful local Inuit traders who acted as middlemen in a coastal trade. Products like*

*baleen and whale oil from Inuit in central and northern Labrador were traded southwards in exchange for European goods from the Straits area which were then traded northwards. The most active and successful individuals in this trade were able to amass prestige and wealth, which enabled them to attract other people to join their households – people that they could then put to work in communal sealing, whaling and trading activities. The growing size of the household further increased the prestige of the head of the household, and the process was to some extent self-reinforcing...*

Items of traditional Inuit material culture continued to be made during this period, although there seems to be a decrease in variety and quantity. Articles include soapstone bowl fragments, wooden bow and harpoon parts, kayak parts, bone knife handles, sewn hide, and cut and perforated baleen. European items are many and varied – among them are objects probably made for the North American trade such as clasp knives, fishhooks, lead weights, axe heads and glass beads. There are also personal items such as swords and cuff links that suggest a pattern of direct face-to-face trading. The presence of gun flints, musket balls and lead shot suggests that the Inuit continued to have access to European fire-arms. In addition there are items that still suggest scavenging of abandoned camps or ships, such as roof tiles, nails and spikes. As in previous periods, the nails and spikes were re-fashioned into traditional Inuit forms: end blades, ulus, arrow points and harpoon heads.

Although the 18th century has been widely discussed as a period of dramatic change for the Inuit of coastal Labrador, there are three points about this which should be kept in mind. The first is that the period of the 17th and 18th centuries was a time of economic re-orientation for Inuit communities throughout the Arctic, as Europeans established whaling, fishing and other industries in northern waters. It has been cogently argued that the very nature of post-Thule Inuit culture everywhere is a reflection of a geographic and economic orientation toward the seasonal presence of European outposts, and the luxuriant new resource opportunities presented by European camps and ships. This is only to point out that the settlement changes and economic developments of the 18th century on the Labrador coast were in a general way in keeping with what was happening throughout the Inuit world.

The second point to bear in mind is that while the development of large communal houses may be unusual, it is certainly not unique, as similar developments occurred elsewhere in the eastern Arctic and in Greenland at various times from the 17th to 19th centuries, and probably for largely similar reasons. Similarly, the emergence of high-status individuals who functioned as economic leaders is not unique among Thule and Inuit societies either, despite the widespread perception that Eskimoan societies are generally egalitarian). Indeed, situations very similar to that of 18th century Labrador, in which status and wealth differences between individuals and households were fueled by interregional exchange of whale products for prestige goods, including European items, have been documented in so-called ‘pre-contact’ contexts elsewhere in the Arctic during the 14th and 15th centuries.

The third point to note is that in spite of these changes, the underlying nature of the Labrador Inuit economy, and of Labrador Inuit society and culture generally, probably did not change between AD 1500 and AD 1800 any more than any culture might be expected to change over the course of a few centuries. In spite of the intensification of some economic activity oriented

towards trade, and particularly trade in whale products, the underlying Inuit subsistence remained overwhelmingly dependent upon seal hunting. And in spite of adjustments in settlement locations (which might well be due in part to environmental considerations) and changes in the size of households, communities continued to be small and to locate in essentially the same areas, and people continued to live in variations on traditional styles of houses. In spite of the acquisition of new technologies from Europeans, Inuit material culture, with a few exceptions, contained basically the same categories of items that it always had, although many came to be made of new materials, and others were acquired from new sources and had new forms. And in spite of the emergence of new social roles, social relations probably continued to be mediated primarily through kinship networks.

Dr. Ramsden confirms, at page 8, that traditional house styles, traditional settlement locations, and traditional subsistence pursuits continued in Inuit culture throughout the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Despite these changes in “material culture”, non-material culture showed “the maintenance of a successful and relatively stable cultural tradition by the Labrador Inuit throughout most of the 17th and 18th century”, supported by a “remarkably persistent subsistence orientation throughout the contact period”. Despite involvement in European trade and adoption of new European artifacts and raw materials, the overall Inuit way of life remained recognizably the same.

Dr. Ramsden comments on the adoption of boating technology as follows:

*Substantial ocean-going boats have been a part of Inuit technology since before the Thule colonization of the Canadian Arctic. It seems likely, in fact, that such ocean-going technology was among the things that made that colonization possible. Throughout the Thule occupation of the Canadian and Greenlandic Arctic, from the 13th to 16th centuries, open water whaling in large boats (umiaks) was a common activity in those area where whales were plentiful. Furthermore, long sea journeys were always a component of Labrador Inuit interaction with Europeans, and by the early 1700s there is documentation of large flotillas of Inuit boats travelling from northern Labrador to European camps in southern Labrador for the purpose of trade.*

These vessels are described by John Kennedy as follows:

*During the open water season, the large amount of coast used by Inuit traders required large vessels. Traveling in one or two masted biscayner boats, around 40 feet long, and capable of carrying 50 people and supplies, Labrador Inuit traveled between the Strait of Belle Isle and Lake Melville in several days. Biscayner boats (or another, presumably larger vessel called the charoüet) were accompanied by kayakers, which ... could travel 50 miles in one day. In his diary entry from 3 August 1752, Moravian J.C. Erhardt wrote the following upon encountering Inuit boats. “I was very surprised, as I saw that they had really large wooden boats, which had been made by Europeans, with a mast and rectangular sail out of canvas, which they had bought from the French. They had also in each a large five-jagged iron anchor and European anchor rope”.*

According to Dr. Ramsden, engaging in trade with European commercial interests is not in any way inconsistent with Inuit culture and is core to the reason that Thule came to Labrador in the first place. There can be no doubt that Inuit and their Thule ancestors traded with Europeans of one sort or another since at least the 13th century, and there is probably no Thule site with a large sample of artifacts that has not produced at least some fragments or items of European metal. The conclusion is virtually inescapable that the Thule migration into Labrador was precisely for the purpose of obtaining metal from Europeans in southern Labrador in place of the metal they were no longer able to get from the Greenlandic Norse. They were intent on obtaining that metal as they had obtained it in the past: through raiding, scavenging, indirect trade, or whenever it was feasible, through direct trade with the Europeans themselves. The evidence quite clearly shows that this migration was directed, purposeful, and very swift. By the beginning of the 17th century, the evidence of interaction with Europeans, undoubtedly involving face-to-face trade occasionally, is very plentiful on Inuit sites throughout the length of coastal Labrador. By the 18th century, both archaeological and documentary evidence indicates intensive Inuit-European trade throughout Labrador.

Dr. Ramsden confirms that:

*“As a result, it has become increasingly obvious that, far from being a repudiation or rejection of traditional Inuit culture and values, the quest for European technologies, and the concomitant participation in mercantile activities, is actually at the very core of traditional Inuit culture and values.”*

One result of this early trading activity was the emergence of powerful and prestigious Inuit ‘boat captains’ - men who commanded a whale boat crew, or a walrus boat crew. These men came to occupy larger than average houses, to enjoy the prestigious portions of whales, seals and walrus, and to have higher than average access to prestige and ritual objects, including foreign trade items.

Since its very beginnings, Inuit culture has been a trading, mercantile culture, focused on obtaining high-prestige European metal goods in exchange for whale, walrus and seal products and other commodities. The pay-offs involved in this were partly economic - surpluses, trade food commodities, superior raw materials - and, for some individuals, social: prestige, travel, knowledge, high status within one’s community, preferred access to ritual places and activities, etc. This is how Inuit society has always functioned, and it has always involved interaction with Europeans.

This was never dependent on Moravian trade missions. Inuit trade prospered long prior to the establishment of Moravian missions. Even after the Moravians began their trade/mission post, Inuit in Labrador continued to trade in the south. An excellent example of the continuation of this can be found in the records of Ambrose Crofton, master of HMS Pluto, who observed in 1797 that the Inuit on the south coast of Labrador had no knowledge of the Moravians at all.<sup>2</sup>

From Dr. Ramsden’s materials, we can see that Inuit culture at 1763 included as attributes at least the following:

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<sup>2</sup> Edward Tompkins, Review of British Admiralty Records, at page 22 – Doc # 204

- hunting, fishing, birding and other harvest activities;
- use of European materials to fashion Inuit artifacts;
- Sod houses in the winter and tents in the summer;
- A mercantile focus, which included the intentional creation of surpluses for trade;
- Trade with Europeans and between Inuit communities;
- Use of some European items for distinctly European purposes;
- Dogs, komatiks and sleds;
- Both communal houses and single family houses;
- Boating captains, with status and wealth.

James Wollett confirms that the Labrador Inuit employed an economic strategy of logistical mobility that encouraged a delayed return economic system, food storage, sedentism and a measure of economic specialization and leadership in task groups.<sup>3</sup> Individual Inuit diverted surplus production, time and labour to acquire social personae and to realize strategic, social and political ends, as well as to build group cohesion. A variety of leadership roles overlapped in particular individuals, facilitated by kinship, complex marital alliances and household organization, controls over corporate household resources and transportation infrastructure, hunting skills and attributed spiritual skills. Ethnographic sources document social rivalries, conflicts and feuds that sometimes erupted from stresses generate from the pursuit of surplus-producing activities.<sup>4</sup>

A snapshot of Inuit culture in 1798 can be sensed from the following extract from the Journal of Ambrose Crofton, Master of HMS Pluto:<sup>5</sup>

*I proceeded to the Coast of Labrador and anchored in Temple Bay... [D]uring my continuance in Temple Bay a large shallop arrived from the northward, with and belonging to a tribe of Esquimeaux Indians, consisting of six men, five women and seven children, they were on their passage to the Harbour of Bradore, where it was their intention to remain the winter with the English fishermen, and to be employed in the seal fishery. They had been so provided as to bring with them some oil and whalebone to barter for English provisions and necessary's, which they are now very partial to, preferring European cloathing [sic] to the seal skin dresses they formerly appeared in, and are now so much civilized as to abhor raw meat, and always dress their victuals in a very decent manner, having several cooking utensils with them. They have likewise laid aside the bow and arrow for muskets, and are excellent marksmen.*

*... I am sorry to observe that want of knowledge of their language and their short stay prevented my obtaining all the information respecting them, that I wished but am confident they are numerous being not less than four thousand along the coast to the southward of the Moravian or Unitas Fratrum settlement of whom they seem not to have any knowledge. Mr. Noble's agent who has resided here the last three winters, has not seen more than twenty Esquimeaux Indians at one time at this place. He says they form*

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<sup>3</sup> James Wollett, *An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change*, page 641 – Doc # 130

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, page 642

<sup>5</sup> Edward Tompkins, *Review of British Admiralty Records*, page 21

*themselves into small tribes under the control of a chief of their own choosing to whom the most implicit obedience is paid, and they are strictly honest and well behav'd which I had an opportunity of observing having the whole tribe to visit me twice on board the Pluto, and sent them on shore much pleased with their reception.*

*I likewise beg leave to make known to you, that the Esquimeaux Indians are more inclined to pursue commerce at a greater distance than any others that I have met with, not being particularly partial to their own country, as the first object is to obtain a large shallop sufficient to transport not less than six men with their wives and children, the one I met with had six canoes hoisted in, and for those shallops they pay a considerable amount in oil, whalebone and furs. A merchant from Quebec who has a small settlement about seventy leagues to the northward of Temple Bay, has hitherto been the principal supplier [sic], but from the great alteration, I have observed in the Esquimeaux Indians since I met them twenty to years ago [1775], its probable in a short time they will navigate the coast in vessels of their own construction, as I discovered in their shallop carpenter and shipwrights tools of all descriptions...*

Although we have selected 1763 as the earliest possible date for British sovereignty in Labrador, there are those, such as John Kennedy, who argue that this is a misreading of Labrador history. Continuous and effective European control of the coast between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison is more recent. Unlike Moravian Labrador, where settlers and Inuit enjoyed a degree of self-government after 1901, the Inuit living between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison settled any problems within their small communities on their own, through informal means. All of Labrador lacked the franchise until voting for Labrador's representative to the National Convention (1946-48). Commission of Government (1934-49) brought the Newfoundland Rangers, and following Confederation, the RCMP. Crime was rare, leaving Rangers to serve as social workers, development officers, and wildlife guardians. In the opinion of John Kennedy, relatively effective and continuous European control is probably best dated to 1934.<sup>6</sup>

### **Is "Inuit culture" a static or monolithic construct?**

Not all Inuit are identical. It is not a monolithic, homogeneous population. It has never been "static". There were always different populations of Inuit. This is the case across the world, and in Labrador itself<sup>7</sup>. Cartwright and the Moravians reported different names for different groups of Inuit, based possibly on different harvest preferences or on different land use areas. Frank Speck reported different harvest patterns for Inuit at George River and for those at Back River (Speck, p. 315). Even in Speck's time, the southern Inuit continued to have a separate name, "Patlava'miut". Not all northern Inuit communities were Moravian. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 11)

It is important to eliminate Eurocentric views of what an "Inuit" is, as if all Inuit are alike and "Inuitness" describes a homogeneous group of relatively identical people. The reality is that there are, and have always been, a range or spectrum of people who were Inuit, although identifying themselves, from time to time, as being from different places in their traditional territories. In the prehistoric period, there was more than one Inuit grouping in Labrador.

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<sup>6</sup> Kennedy, Visitor's Accounts – Doc # 202

<sup>7</sup> Hanrahan, Solid, p. 11

Looking globally, there were Inuit in other parts of Canada as well as in other countries. Not all of these people were relatively identical. However, all identified themselves as being Inuit and were accepted by other Inuit as being Inuit.

Not all Inuit people should be expected to be relatively identical. Inuit hunted and harvested the species that were available to them in the lands and waters over which they travelled and resided. If whale were prevalent, they hunted whale. If, instead, seal were available, they would harvest seal. In the case of the Copper Inuit, for example, they changed in the prehistoric period from the harvest of seal to the harvest of caribou. This did not stop them from being Inuit people. They remained, and are, Inuit, despite the fact that a significant part of their culture changed and adapted to the changing conditions of their environment.

In the case of Labrador, there were, in the prehistoric period, different groupings of Inuit. The fact that they described themselves in a way to differentiate themselves from other Inuit around them demonstrates that there was no homogeneity to the Inuit people. They recognized a shared commonality with other Inuit groups, while at the same time also recognizing a distinctiveness from other Inuit groups, although no less Inuit for that uniqueness. In turn, these distinctions were porous, and fission and in/out migration would have been common and accepted.

Roger McDonnell reports that all aboriginal societies were able to traverse their own social boundaries and, in various ways, regularly incorporated limited numbers of strangers (including those from other cultures or ethnicities) and newcomers as political confederates, trading associates or marriage partners. They did not accentuate or valorize the attribute of 'aboriginality' as a pivotal exclusionary criteria for achieving access to aboriginal society. It was customary for aboriginals to incorporate others and the inclusion of non-aboriginals (or Aboriginals from other nations) did not detract in any way from the aboriginality of their social organization.

Dr. McDonnell also confirms that diversification was a fundamentally Thule response. For example, as whaling became less prominent, some regional communities moved out on to the pack ice for walrus and winter sealing while others moved inland and relied mainly on caribou and inland fisheries, and some did both by seasonal turns. The result of this diversification was to intensify trading between groups that had begun to specialize.

This diversification can be found throughout the Arctic zone. One example can be found among the nuunamiut and taremiut. Co-residence, sustenance cooperation, sharing and kinship formed the vectors of community solidarity - they were predicated on each other in the sense that kinsmen tended to live together, share and cooperate, just as those who came to live together (because of marriage arrangements, cooperation in sustenance pursuits etc) would also come to refer to each other as kinsmen. The vocabulary of kinship thus formed the language of orderly, co-operative relations although "practical considerations were paramount; proximity, residence, frequency of contact, mutuality of interest were all more important in the maintenance of kinship ties than the mere recognition of relationship itself."

Orderly relations between co-residents and antagonistic abuse of strangers or antagonists bracket a middle ground that entailed relationships of exchange between nuunamiut and taremiut trading

partners. The nuunamiut were predominantly inland nomadic caribou hunters who seasonally came together for collective hunts where they were able to develop a surplus of skins. The taremiut inhabited small but relatively permanent communities of semi-subterranean houses along the coast. They engaged in collective whaling and sealing activities and were able to develop a surplus of oils. Trading partners were designated as such; they were not considered kinsmen and the vocabulary of kinship was avoided precisely because it could solicit a relationship of sharing rather than exchange. Each category aggregation was broadly endogamous; each had permeable rather than closed boundaries in the sense that inland - coastal marriages did occur and some that were raised on the coast occasionally took up an inland life and vice-versa.

Another manifestation of this diversity is evident in the relations between ahiarmiut of the inland caribou lands traversed by the Thelon and Back River drainage, on one hand, and the coastal paallirmiut of West Hudson's Bay, on the other. The early trade relations show that, at the time of explorer contact and early trade, there existed an extensive Inuit trade network between inland-coastal peoples and between interior Inuit and the arctic coast. There were also amicable trade relations between Chipweyan and ahiarmiut that long pre-dated the activities of the HBC in the area. Inland wood and caribou skins were traded north in exchange for surplus walrus products (oils, tusks), soapstone, dogs and raw copper moving south.

According to MacDonnell, communities designated by the suffix -miut did not refer to closed groups with an enduring membership. People could and would change their geographical and social sphere of primary reference several times during their lifetimes. Ahiarmiut assimilated some paallirmiut and Coppermine Inuit in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The process was gradual and involved the weakening of ties to old -miuts as relations became more deeply enmeshed in the new. It was progressively affirmed in a general form of reciprocal sharing of food and other necessities among those who camped together frequently. Jones quotes the response of an Inuit who was asked where his homeland was located. He replied, "*I have many homes. It makes no difference which you call my home ...for I have lived in all those places*".

People changed their membership in local Inuit communities for a variety of reasons, some social (such as feuds) and some material (such as the demographics and migratory routing of the caribou). There was not, in any case, any institutionalized way to inhibit such movement from occurring. And certainly there was no social position at the level of the regional -miut that could prevent departures or arrivals. People of influence - such as those who might organize a collective caribou hunt - had no general authority to direct peoples' actions beyond the hunt itself.

Dr. McDonnell advises that in these Inuit community relations, there was no impermeable social barrier. Nuunamiut and taremiut individuals could and did cross over and become kinsmen and affines. What the named designation of groupings indicates is a propensity for endo-sociality, a tendency to interact for certain purposes within the aggregation rather than without. Although it is proper to acknowledge the existence of socially identifying markers associated with regions, it is also important to concede their provisional status over an Inuit person's life and beware of over-determining their exclusive nature or the rigidity of their application.

As Dr. McDonnell advises,

*“Prior to World War II, there is simply no evidence that a generalized Inuit population along coastal Labrador thought of the north coast as its true homeland, and no generally available evidence that it considered its legacy of custom and convention to be derivative of something that exists within a northern population. When John Kennedy, in his complementary report, further argues that there is nothing much to the idea that an indigenous Labrador Inuit population was composed of socially or economically discrete entities he too is on firm ground. And when he remarks that the historical evidence for population distribution indicates roughly similar densities both north and south of Hamilton Inlet we are getting a hint of a social picture that possesses neither a center nor fixed authorities - just a lot of pathways (or footsteps) without there being a Rome for them to converge upon.*

According to Roger McDonnell,

*“One of the most pervasively common features of Inuit organization is processual continuity (in contrast to substantive continuity). By processual continuity we refer to an Inuit disposition to act and interact as well as form and reform cooperative arrangements of various kinds.”*

Rather than define relationships genealogically and accept the limits and boundaries of such connectedness, Inuit regularly employed many different means to cross and exceed such boundaries. According to MacDonnell, this propensity to override prevailing boundaries and bring otherwise disconnected and disparate social entities into stable articulation is pervasive in Inuit culture. Kinship in this setting may be seen as being elaborated and extended by this propensity, or as merely a rhetorical device that defines a prevailing sphere of amity and moral order. The open character of Inuit social practices allowed them to negotiate their access to new regional groupings and to create relationship where none had previously existed - as between whalers, missionaries and traders from Europe.

The means for doing so varied as did their emphasis and the details of their application. They ranged from a form of caretaker adoption, to child betrothal, namesake relationships, spousal exchange - all or any of which could be employed to extend and elaborate or simply create relationships with individual, families or groupings that had previously not existed. Often they were a strategy for forging alliances. Marriage betrothal, for instance, did not ordinarily result in marriage - they were mainly to link the parents of the betrothed rather than the couple themselves.

Namesake relationships link a child (and his parents) to a large number of other people (and their current groups) with the same name. The namesake relationship could occur within the sphere of kinsmen or without. Typically the parents would choose some one of prestige or who was well positioned in the region or who possessed admirable personality traits that were thought to enhance the future course of the young person's life. But even more interestingly those who share a name were considered to be the same person - thereby creating a link between one

individual's kinsmen and those of another. And, finally, there was spousal exchange that often attended the formation of partnerships - for the purpose of trading or food sharing.

### **What 'markers' exist in Inuit culture to allow for a tracking of them over time?**

Key recognizable "markers" of Inuit non-material culture are:

- Inventiveness
- Engagement in, and dedication to, the 'chase'
- Adaptability
- Food ways
- Seasonal Transhumance
- Commensality and Competence
- Non-authoritarian
- Intentional creation of surpluses for the purpose of trade with non-kin.

Based on the Anglican Church accounts<sup>8</sup>, we can identify the following Inuit cultural attributes through the mid-1800's:

- possible literacy in either Inuktitut or English;
- belief in spirits and visions;
- permissive child-rearing practices;
- being "moderate and peaceable";
- shared housing by more than one family;
- adoption of some European-style clothing, but retention of seal-skin boots;
- the Inuit children were "most anxious and most quick to learn";
- Inuit technology in the form of komatiks, dogs, snowshoes, etc, continued in use;
- fishing and marine-going vessels of various sorts were common;
- seasonal transhumance;
- houses very clean;
- communal water-based meals;
- no discrimination against the offspring of mixed marriages;
- Trapping for furs, and trade in them, common;
- Continued generational transmission of how to do things in the "Inuit way".

To this list Rainer Baehre would add the following (with some overlap)<sup>9</sup>:

- scrupulously honest;
- careful of the aged;
- affectionate to their children;
- devotedly attached to each other;
- good humour;
- hospitable to guests;

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<sup>8</sup> Hans Rollmann, Anglican Beginnings – Doc # 162

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Rainer Baehre, Ethnological and Anthropological Explorations of the Labrador "Eskimo" before 1880, page 24 and following – Doc # 198

- wide geographical knowledge;
- resourcefulness;
- intellectually powerful.

**The Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador from the date of British sovereignty to the modern time.**

There are numerous examples of the continuity of Inuit culture in the Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador. Beginning in the 1800's, those communities began to have some European ancestry individuals. However, they lived in Inuit communities and raised children that lived with Inuit people as kin. They worked together, socialized together, shared kinship relations and raised families together. They may not all have been identical: however, identity is not an anthropologic or legal test for membership in a culture or community. Inuit culture has always been willingly absorptive of outsiders who agreed to accept its norms and standards.



Lydia Campbell

Lydia Campbell provides an interesting testimonial for the continuity of Inuit culture in early mixed-ancestry children. She was born November 1, 1818 at Double Mer, Groswater Bay, and died April 24, 1905 at Mulligan River. She is an iconic Labrador figure from her memoirs serially published in 1894 as "Sketches of Labrador Life by a Labrador Woman". Those "sketches" provide numerous examples of strong Inuit cultural continuity and relations.

**Photo # 16 - Lydia and Daniel Campbell**

Her accounts reflect the following:

- Lydia, and her sister Hannah Michelin, had all of the skills of their Inuit mother. They made sealskin boots and deerskin shoes, they hunted, snared and fished and lived a seasonally transhumant lifestyle;
- They used komatiks, snowshoes and dogs;
- They could fish, snare game and do other "woman's work" of the harvest;

- They respected Inuit food rituals and knew, for example, that if you ate deer and seal, you had to eat white moss between them to keep them apart;
- In accordance with Inuit custom, they kept their children from eating different kinds of berries according to their names;
- They knew and told Inuit legends, including the legend of the flood and of thunder and the split rock;
- In 1829, at age 11, she lived as a ‘maid’ with John Whittle and his Inuit wife. She spent many years caring for an older Inuit woman. She adopted an Inuit boy;
- She had the nickname “Alaka louksuah”;
- She had a winter home 70 or 80 miles from her summer house;
- She was known to be much affected by “visions and dreams”;
- She understood the use of traditional Inuit medicines;
- She lived among, communicated with and worked with Inuit.

What is to be remembered is that Lydia Campbell’s mother had been an orphan, felt a rejection by her home Inuit community as a child, being considered ‘bad luck’ and blamed for the death of her parents. As a result, Lydia’s own experience as a child would have not offered the same continued connection to her Inuit extended family as other mixed-ancestry children had.



Although Lydia was more famous, a better exemplar might be her sister, Hannah Brooks, who she also describes in her sketches.

**Photo # 17 Hannah Michelin, sister of Lydia Campbell. Photo from the Curwen Collection at the Rooms Provincial Archives, ST. John's, NL.**

### **Observations of Anglican Clergy**

The Labrador Journal of Rev. Thomas Hickson, 1824 contains a description, at page 12, of the Inuit, and their clothing, hairstyle, tattoos and boots. The Inuit woman living at Mullins Cove with an English husband, and her three children, continued to demonstrate those cultural attributes. Rev. Hickson described the Inuit as having a confused belief in a devil. According to him, they try to chase it out of the wigwam or might sit silently for long periods of time or might sacrifice to appease it.

Rev. Hickson noted <sup>10</sup>(at page 18) the burial custom that on death, the corpse is wrapped immediately, laid on ground and covered with stones, and buried with tools, kettles etc. He acknowledged the Inuit to be strictly honest and (page 52) superstitious of anything that

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<sup>10</sup> Hickson, Doc # 149

belonged to a dead person, which would be immediately thrown out. There is no distinction noted in these customs as to whether the male in the household happened to be originally European. The family continued the Inuit ways of the mother and surrounding community, which Inuit ways were passed on to all the children in the community, whether mixed-ancestry or not.

The Labrador Journal of Rev. Richard Knight <sup>11</sup>(1825) contains similar evidence of cultural continuity. He describes (p. 54) the women's role as including making boots, moccasins and various articles of the kind. The community consisted of 12 Inuit and 9 half-Inuit, living together in a single community without distinction between its members based on ancestry (page 57). Rev. Knight noted (page 74) that the number of Inuit in the area would increase since 2/3 of the married women were under the age of 30 (a prediction which came true and is inconsistent with any theory of "Inuit extinction").

Regardless of the ethnicity of their husband, all of the women were responsible for covering the kayaks and wigwams (page 91). The women made clothing for their husbands, themselves and their children. He observed (page 94) that the "Eskimo women" and their children were very attached. His observation of this permissive parental approach does not suggest that mixed ancestry Inuit children were raised any differently by their Inuit mothers than their "full-blooded Inuit children" were.

Rev. Knight observed (page 99) that the Inuit were very honest but shrewd in trade. They share everything they catch with other members of their community (with no distinction as to whether they are pure-blooded or not) and do not save for future (page 101). As a result, it is "always feast or famine" for them (page 108). No man has power over another and each does as he wishes. However, they all have much respect for the Angkoks (sorcerers) (page 115).

Examples of Inuit cultural continuity from the Hans Rollman Report "Anglican Beginnings" include:

- In 1848, there was a continued practice by Inuit in Sandwich Bay area of burying their dead in clefts of rock," with food and other necessities for a journey.<sup>12</sup> In that year, there was not "an Englishwoman on the coast".<sup>13</sup>
- In 1848, the Inuit at St. Francis Harbour were described as exercising permissive parenting techniques: "The children were never corrected, and seldom seem pleased or interested. They care not to have their heads stroked. Brought into the presence of a stranger, they generally begin to cry. They always look fat, but it is not, so to speak, wholesome fat."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Knight, Doc # 148

<sup>12</sup> Hans Rollmann, Anglican Beginnings, page 5 of 65 – Doc # 162

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, page 2 of 65

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, page 10 of 65

- European men who ‘married’ Inuit women lived in communal houses with their Inuit relatives and their mixed ancestry children.<sup>15</sup>
- In 1849, the Inuit at Sandwich Bay continued the practice of placing corpses in a cleft of rock, “with all things supposed necessary for a journey”.<sup>16</sup>
- In 1851, all winter inhabitants of the coastal area from St. Francis Harbour to Battle Harbour and Venison Tickle travel inland, using snowshoes and traveling in komatiks drawn by dogs.<sup>17</sup> This was still the case in 1921.<sup>18</sup>
- The Anglican records from the mid-1800’s clearly show that Inuit communities incorporated occasional European males, and that the family unit so created lived inter-mixed within (and never ostracized from) the Inuit community that he had joined.<sup>19</sup>
- In 1863, the Inuit wife of an Englishmen, whose family lived in Battle Harbour, continued the Inuit cultural practices of cleanliness, having a raised sleeping platform, males and females all ate together communally and children were raised permissively.<sup>20</sup> This was also observed in the Russell household at St. Francis Harbour<sup>21</sup> and the Holwell household at Spotted Islands.<sup>22</sup>
- The mixed ancestry Phippard family at Sandwich Bay was raised with Inuit legends.<sup>23</sup>
- Hans Rollman’s Report on Elsner’s trip from Hopedale to North-West River, Esquimaux Bay, in April, 1857 described the population as being a mix of Inuit, “half-breeds” and the “occasional settler”. Although the dress of the Inuit and mixed-Inuit had become ‘very European’, they were all “inclined to trust very much to dreams and imagined visions”.

### **Charles and Mary Williams**

The recent excavation of Charles and Mary Williams shines a light on the continuation of Inuit culture in mixed-ancestry homes. Matthew A. Beaudoin<sup>24</sup> was involved in a dig of a house lived in by the Williams family. Charles was born in 1808 in England. He came to Labrador in about 1840. He first married an Inuk woman named Mary, who died in the late 1840s. Her date or place of birth is not known. He remarried a woman named Mary MacPherson, the mixed-

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid, page 11 of 65

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, page 17 of 65

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, page 25 of 65

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, page 57 of 65

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, page 41 of 65

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, page 46 of 65

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, page 48 of 65

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, page 53 of 65

<sup>24</sup> Sweeping The Floor: An Archaeological Examination Of A Multi-Ethnic Sod House In Labrador –

Doc # 195

ancestry daughter of a Hudson's Bay trader and an Inuit woman. Charles had two children by his first wife and possibly three children by his second wife.

This dig tells us quite a bit about how Mary MacPherson, raised in a mixed-ancestry family, lived and raised her family. We will see from the evidence that Mary MacPherson, although of mixed ancestry, can not be distinguished archaeologically from other Inuit women of the same time period.

According to Beaudoin, multi-ethnic children had likely been present in Labrador since Europeans began resource procurement in the region in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup> Seasonal European settlers would take Inuit women as temporary wives while in Labrador and would then abandon them when they returned to Europe. Any children resulting from these relationships would have been adopted into the women's families and would have been considered for all purposes to be Inuit.

In later years, some of the trained workers from Europe brought to Labrador by merchants would also take Inuit wives. In some cases, once a man's contract with his merchant was completed, he would remain to establish a homestead with his Inuit wife.<sup>26</sup>

Their mixed ancestry children acquired the skills traditionally associated with Inuit. At the same time, these children also had a European background. Moravian missionaries list individuality, a sense of hard work and the participation in a cash economy as their European values. However, individuality, hard work and being mercantile are also core Inuit values and are certainly not exclusive to Europeans!

This family, described paternalistically only by the husband's name, was shown on the Reichel Map in 1872.<sup>27</sup>

In his report, Beaudoin compares the Williams House to various known Inuit and European houses of the time. There are a few identifiable concessions to Charles' European background. There is evidence that some occupants of the house were literate.<sup>28</sup> The building was only somewhat subterranean, did not have a long entranceway and had a cellar. There is no evidence of a raised sleeping platform (although they may have slept on movable chests, which would have provided the equivalent).<sup>29</sup> However, that is about it for European characteristics in this home.

The overwhelming evidence points to this as a home which functioned in an Inuit fashion. Examples include:

- Page 91 – European style clothing was being used by the occupants (and by other Inuit of the time), but the predominance of a large number of embroidery beads suggest that they

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, page 15

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, page 17

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, page 33

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, page 82

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, page 132

were decorating their clothing in a manner that is common among the Inuit of the time. Embroidery beads were adopted by post-contact Inuit women as a status symbol (page 135). Mary MacPherson obviously felt the same way.

- Page 81 – Inuit used hollow ware vessels to eat liquid based communal meals. (Europeans used flat ware vessels for solid based individually portioned meals.). The items found in this home were definitively hollow ware vessels for communal Inuit-style eating. Page 135 - Hollow ware vessels were the predominant vessel forms in the home and a clear continuation of traditional Labrador Inuit foodways. Mary and Charles ate in Inuit fashion.
- Page 106 – They used a Komatik and had sled dogs, both clearly Inuit in origin



**Photo # 18** The photograph shows a loaded Komatik from the early twentieth century with another family of Williams from the Flatwaters area just north of the Charles and Mary Williams house.

- Page 111 – Consumption was focused on mammals, birds and fish, with an intense focus on seals. There is no evidence of pork or beef consumption or imported foods (page 156), despite the trading post in the near vicinity. Seals made up the largest single species (page 139) of food, which was not the case in European homes.
- Page 132 –The midden was located directly outside the entrance, which was typical for an Inuit home but would not have been tolerated in a European home (where the midden was always located at a distance from the entry).

- The structure was one open room. That is how Inuit homes were built.
- Page 137 – Drilling of housewares was done in the Inuit fashion, being drilled halfway through and then flipped over to be drilled from the other side. That is not how things were done in European homes, who drilled all the way through from one side.
- Page 151 – The structure was inhabited by the family for only a portion of the year. The occupants harvested the local resources as a single family unit through hunting, fishing and trapping. However, other parts of the year were spent at salmon berths and on outer islands for the cod fishery. This is a typical seasonal transhumance land use pattern.
- Mary would have done her activities in an Inuit manner and with Inuit understandings and taught that manner and those understandings to her children.
- How did Charles learn to do things the Inuit way? Either from Mary or from her male relatives.
- Page 153 - Charles' life style was not like that of seasonal European fishermen, who were focused primarily on the cod fishery and consumed domestic animals and food that they brought with them.
- Page 153 - Charles' life style was not like that of permanent traders, who had an economy based on trade in furs, fish and sealing. Their local subsistence was focused on domesticates and bird hunting.
- Page 153 - The Labrador Inuit of that area during this period were pursuing fur bearing animals to trade or material items and their subsistence economy continued to focus on seal. That is the same way Charles lived.
- Page 153 – Evidence in the home for clothing maintenance and decoration, food preparation, food storage and smoking are all present. These activities were traditionally associated with Inuit women and were all conducted in the Inuit way by Mary MacPherson.

Beaudoin points out (at page 155) that Labrador Inuit women were considered shrewd bargainers and conducted the majority of the trading with the merchants. This would suggest that Labrador Inuit women would have been the ones to select which trade items were brought into the household and this would allow for the retention of Labrador Inuit traditions. That is what we see in the Williams home.

It can be seen that the assemblages found in the Williams house mirror those which Dr. Peter Ramsden describes as typical for an Inuit house in Labrador in what he describes as the “Colonization Period” (even though by this stage the Inuit might very well be said to have been in the Trading post period).

Matthew Beaudoin concludes at page 158 that the preference for a broad based diet with an emphasis on seal and lack of domesticates matches that of recorded 19<sup>th</sup> century Inuit sites. The Labrador Inuit sites, including what he calls “the current one” (referring to the Williams home), all had a significantly larger amount of hollow ware vessels than flat ware vessels. This pattern represents the primary difference between Labrador Inuit and European sites and indicates a domestic subsistence where all of the occupants of the structure had more in common with Labrador Inuit sites than European.

### **Casual (and Untrained) Euro-Canadian Observers**

This hard and clear evidence of cultural continuity competes with more confusing accounts from miscellaneous traveling Euro-Canadian chroniclers. There is certainly no reason to give high credence to random, untrained, visitors to the territory. Travelers visited Labrador for only short periods and often had very different cultural assumptions than those of the Labrador people they encountered. Visitors may not have understood much of what they observed and subsequently wrote in published accounts. Most visitors were members of scientific expeditions and had academic backgrounds in the natural sciences (geology, ornithology, biology, meteorology, and others). They were generally not trained in anthropology or ethnology. Perhaps inevitably, such travelers focused more on natural phenomena than on local people.

Many of the accounts which did mention Inuit people were written between the mid 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when idealistic and romantic notions of racial and cultural purity and of scientific racism prevailed. Visitors wanted to encounter pure Inuit and, consequently, usually ignored the Inuit of southern Labrador in favor of the “supposedly-pure” Moravian Inuit. Some visitors, like 19<sup>th</sup> century Hudson Bay Company employee/explorer John McLean, went so far as to denigrate historic southern Inuit as a mongrel race of Esquimaux half-breeds. But most visitors ignored them or did not bother to comment on their ethnicity or culture. Visitors traveling further north along the coast may have decided to save their ink for the ‘supposed-real Inuit’, in Moravian Labrador.<sup>30</sup>

Randle Fynes Wilson Holme wrote a *Journey in the Interior of Labrador, July to October 1887*. After the lawyer/explorer (but otherwise untrained) Randle Holme opens with the dreary image of Labrador as a real abomination of desolation, he adds:

*“The whole of the south [coast] and the greater part of the east coast is devoted in the summertime to the cod-fishery. For the purpose of this fishery, large numbers of Newfoundlanders settle in the spring on the coast in villages, and return to Newfoundland in the autumn at the close of the fishing season. About the inlets and estuaries, and wherever any salmon are to be caught, there live a few British and Newfoundland emigrants, and a large number of Eskimos and half-breeds. These men spend the winter as well as the summer in the country, living, not in villages as the [Newfoundland] cod fishermen do, but in scattered homesteads. Their employment consists in the summer of salmon-fishing, in the winter of trapping, and in the spring of seal-hunting. They never live far from the coast; but in the wintertime they sometimes*

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<sup>30</sup> Kennedy, Visitors Accounts – Doc # 202

*walk considerable distances inland in search of fur. The pure Eskimos are not often found further south than Hamilton Inlet. In that inlet, however, they are numerous”.*

He describes the North West River thus:

*“This post is in charge of Mr. Walter West, and a considerable number of families, mostly half-breed Eskimos, live scattered about the head of the bay, engaged in salmon-fishing, seal-hunting, and trapping”.*<sup>31</sup>

Despite the insensitivity of the language, even these late-1800’s casual observers document the communal living of the “Eskimos and half-breeds” and their seasonal transhumant lifestyle.

The outsider (and ethnologically-untrained) Commander Graham in 1936 demonstrated the continuing prejudice in favor of the Moravian communities in his descriptions of the citizens of south and central Labrador as follows:

*The country [Labrador] is entirely unchanged by man. There are, perhaps, 3000 permanent settlers of European extraction, mostly descendants of servants of the Hudson Bay Company who remained in the country after their period of service had expired. A few hundred Eskimos live in settlements northward of Hamilton Inlet. Some scattered tribes of Indians roam the interior. The permanent settlers, livieres as they are called (because they live ere), have winter homes at the head of the bays, from which the men go some hundreds of miles into the interior trapping furs. In the spring the river mouths are netted for salmon and later they move to the outer coasts for the cod fishery. During the summer some 10,000 fishermen, mostly from Newfoundland, come to the coast after the cod”.*

*“The livieres are all desperately poor and permanently in debt to the merchants. The truck system, by which the merchants supply outfits and take the furs and fish in exchange, has been sufficiently described in the report to the Royal Commission, which, a couple of years ago, visited Newfoundland. That the system is a bad one can be readily admitted, but blame cannot be attributed to individuals”.*

*“The livieres have intermarried to a considerable extent with the Indians and Eskimos. There is not evidence that this racial mixture leads to any degeneration. There is an entire absence of any class or race feeling, so that children of mixed blood incur no social drawbacks. It is a hard life for the men, but they live an active life and are their own masters. For the women it is not so good, confined, as they may be, to their houses for most of the winter”.*

Upon visiting Lake Melville, Graham described:

*“On Henrietta Islands, near the western end of the narrows, there is a settlement of Eskimos, but when I sailed past the houses were deserted. Later I learned that they have gone a few miles down the coast to a wedding, at which one of their girls was being*

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<sup>31</sup> Kennedy, Visitor’s Accounts, page 48

*joined to a white man. The opinion seemed to be that she was a good worker, and that he was lucky to have got her. I had a few minutes conversation with an Eskimo working for the Hudson Bay Company at Rigolet, and regretted very much not having the opportunity of seeing more of these engaging folk. They are much darker than I had expected, though not quite so black as a negro. The Labrador Eskimos have been in touch with white men for so long that they have adopted the clothes, houses, and food of their so-called superiors, though they retain their own language. They have been saved from extinction by the devotion of a small band of Moravian missionaries. They can mostly read and write, and are said to be very musical.”<sup>32</sup>*

The diary of Simeon Adams Evans, written in 1889, describes his participation in the Williams College Expedition near Forteau in southern Labrador and gives a picturesque glimpse of how “Inuit” Mr. Goddard’s wife was:

*“Goddard’s house was neat and clean, showing that his [Inuit] wife was a neat and careful house wife. In fact that was her reputation along the coast. She was a typical Esquimaux squaw, such as you have seen described in many books of northern travel. She was about five feet in height, plump and chunky in form, straight and active in figure and movement. It was said of her that she was not only a model house keeper but a skillful huntress particularly of seals. She had a seal skin dress, made after the Esquimaux style, which you know, does not affect skirts, but consists of moccasin boots, pantaloons, and jacket and hood in one; so that, when clad in these garments, she looked not unlike a seal. Encased in these integuments, she would start off alone in her boat armed with her trusty shot-gun. On arriving at the hunting ground, she would conceal her boat among the rocks and lie down on the flat ledges where the seals were wont to crawl out to sun themselves, having chosen a locality where the water was not very deep, because seals sometimes sink to the bottom, when shot, and, if the water is very deep, they are lost. She would now begin to imitate the sounds that seals make, when on the rocks. A seal would now perhaps pop up his head from the water, at some distance out from her place. Hearing the voice of another seal, he would look about and spying Madame Goddard on the rocks, would say to himself, there is one of my cousins taking a sun-bathe over there I think I will join him. So he swims up a little nearer and pops up his head again when crack goes the gun and poor Mr. Seal is a victim of misplaced confidence. Now the Madame gets into her boat, paddles out and pulls in seal number one, which she disposes in a natural attitude on the shore. She lies down behind him, rests her gun over his back, begins to talk seal talk again, and in short, repeats the process over and over again until she bags a boat-load or the sun-shine which attracts the cold blooded animals vanishes and the sport is ended for a day”.<sup>33</sup>*

The 1860 diary entitled *Winter in Midsummer or A Summers Jaunt to Labrador* by Oscar Montgomery Lieber described a meeting near Spotted Islands with what he describes as a woman of mixed Inuit-European descent as follows:

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<sup>32</sup> Kennedy, *Visitor’s Accounts*, pages 28 and 29

<sup>33</sup> Kennedy, *Visitor’s Accounts*, page 13

*“Later in the day, after various endeavours to leave the ship and visit an adjacent Esquimaux settlement, some of whose members had already sculled round us. A sail of about two or three miles in a very greasy, dingy boat landed us at the settlement on Spotted Island, where our friendly host at once introduced us to a stout, merry looking Esquimaux lady of very respectable size and prepossessing appearance. She spoke English fluently, albeit with the somewhat Irish brogue peculiar to these remote English settlements. Although we saw many others of these half breeds, the progeny of a New Foundland fisherman, who had married an Esquimaux woman (poor fellow he must have been hard pushed for a wife) this jolly friend of ours was the one who chiefly occupied my attention. Indeed she was so full of honest, confiding good humour and fun that very naturally the new acquaintance was cultivated to the best of my ability. Apparently her satisfaction was equally flattering and she certainly exerted herself to be entertaining during our brief stay. It was thus that she showed me how the nut-tchak a woman’s parka with enlarged hood for a baby] is worn and how a baby may be conveniently carried in the copious folds of its cowl, for she thought we had not seen this dress before, which in these more southern regions is too warm to wear in summer. I wished to purchase this fanciest of all female dress. It would, no doubt, have been a great accession to a fancy ball. Unfortunately four pounds sterling were asked for it and that was too large a sum for my meager purse. It took six or seven sealskins, the owner told me, each of which is valued at a dollar, and required several months of labour. Besides it was her whole dependence for the approaching winter.*

*I can well conceive that much time should be occupied in the manufacture, for it was most elaborately decorated with cuperadded [?] stripes of variously coloured seal skin a most tasteful piece of workmanship in truth. So forcibly was I struck by its unexpected elegance, that I exclaimed, why that must be a wedding dress upon which my new and swarthy friend remarked with her strong Irish brogue (most lubricious when combined with her Mongolian features) and all but Irish quickness: And hoode be after wearin a nut-tchak to carry a babie in when they get married, shure But this was not the only proof of her Hibernian humour, which I had. She was talking in the Esquimaux tongue to another woman and I, by way of introducing her to speak again in an intelligible language pretended to understand them and said Exactly, thats my opinion too. Just what I said. Suddenly she wheeled around and addressed a sentence to me in Esquimaux, which again pretending to understand, I responded to by saying: Yes, to-morrow. Why that is very unkind she said. How so? What did you say? I inquired. Why I asked you to let me smoke your pipe and you say to morrow, she answered. Was not that Irish all over? Would any woman, in a like uneducated station in life, without that quick-witted blood in her veins, ever have dreamt of turning a joke as cleverly? You may depend upon it I did not hesitate to reward her by handing over my meerschaurm filled with the fragrant contents of the blue bag. Nor was my pipe between her lips - not such bad looking ones by the way half so objectionable a sight as the new-fashioned fish ladle at the fisherman’s dinner. Of course she wanted to know something about our object in traveling so long. I told her we had done so for the purpose of seeing the eclipse. That we call suchunik ivunga tallinga mucktok she said. I remarked that where we had been it was all dark and here could only have been partial. Oh, she said, when its all dark we call it suchunick illunane tallinga lucktok. What I told you just now means half dark. Suchiniulp she*

*observed, means the sun, but when we talk of it that way we say suchunik. Suchunik is therefore very evidently the genitive of suchiniulp Tallinga lucktok or nucktok means dark, illunanek, whole and ivunga half or partial. POniuk is the word for dog, and nutchak and kai-yak have already been explained. These were all the words I could scribble down on a little slip of paper at the time, but it would be easy to learn the language thoroughly from the English-speaking Esquimau of this place. From the occurrence of the name Oppernavik or Uppernavik both at the north end of Labrador and in Greenland I should suppose that there is much similarity in the dialects of the two countries. Dr. Hayes told me that this word means a summer retreat.*

*The Esquimaux of Domino seem to be a prolific set to judge by the number of children. .... We had procured some seal and ermine skins and I had contrived to purchase a fine Esquimau dog”.<sup>34</sup>*

It is clear from this encounter in 1860 that this woman of mixed ancestry spoke Inuktitut to the other “half-breeds” that were with her. Although able to speak English, she did not do so with her companions, preferring their native language. It is obvious that she, and those with her, lived in a completely Inuit manner, save only her ability to speak English with an Irish accent!

## **Visions and Dreams**

The Inuit descendant community at Karawalla was described by Brother Jannasch in March 1897 as having a “deep longing for God’s word and holiness of life”, despite much “heathenism” and “superstition” (as well as reported “sexual transgressions, presumably polygamy”).<sup>35</sup>

The prevalence of, and belief in the significance of, visions and dreams remains deeply held in the communities. In the same way as Lydia Campbell trusted to ‘visions and dreams’, so do many of the community members into the modern time.

Chris Montague describes multiple examples of stories told in the communities about visions foretelling the future or describing the events happening in other communities. For example, one woman fell into a trance and “saw” a family dying in a house fire. What she described matched exactly what happened 60 miles away. Similarly, a grandfather fell into a trance and saw his grand-daughter’s hair floating in his cup. He knew right away that she had drowned and indeed she had. All the people took these visions very seriously.<sup>36</sup>

## **Inuit Women**

From the recent research for NunatuKavut, there seem to be only a few reasons why Inuit women were recorded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; (1) as a marriage partner, (2) occasionally, but seldom, when Moravians record them travelling (the record usually only stated the man’s name ‘and family’) and, (3) in the latter part of the nineteenth century as some sort of

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<sup>34</sup> Kennedy, Visitor’s Accounts, page 86, Doc # 202

<sup>35</sup> Hans Rollmann, Chronological Summary, page 28

<sup>36</sup> Personal communication, Chris Montague

anomaly by outside observers, such as the case of Mrs. Goddard, the Spotted Island lady from Leiber<sup>37</sup>, and others. However, their names are seldom mentioned.

Following the influx of traders and the establishment of shore based sealing posts in Labrador, what was the role of Inuit women in the evolving Inuit society of the eighteenth century? Actual ethnographic observations for this period are almost entirely absent, except for those occasional comments which may be gleaned from Moravian missionaries in the latter part of the century. For example, from the Hopedale Diaries of October 1796, "*In Makkovik,' this side of Old Hopedale'; two Europeans living here took Inuit wives, 'this is becoming very popular' [das reißt izo sehr ein]", Kakkârsuk and Mikak have come to Keppokak, and Mikak has left her husband and would like to have a European as husband.*" (322) [Rollmann transcription, 2010]. It is clear from the above statement that at least one Inuit woman in post contact Labrador was pressing for a marital relationship with Europeans.

Matthiason describes the assertiveness of Inuit women of the Pond Inlet area, "*Inuit women of the Pond Inlet area have traditionally, in my opinion, been both assertive and, on occasion, aggressive in their relations with men. They are not, nor does it appear that they ever have been, passive manipulators who handle men carefully in a self-protective manner, fearing for their own well being.*"<sup>38</sup>).

From the Moravian example given above in 1796, it was becoming 'popular' for the incoming European males to acquire Inuit wives and historically sex-role identity was a critical variable in the history of inter-cultural transactions in the Eastern Arctic (McElroy, 1976, pg 184).

The task specific skills and attributes brought to these few mixed marriages by Inuit women were essential to survival, and these women would contribute highly to the cultural survival and adaptations of the evolving Inuit population in Southern Labrador as well.

Surviving photographic records are very few for the individuals of the one hundred and ten marriages listed in Table # 3 discussed previously. It is interesting to visualize these daughters of Labrador and some depictions survive. A number of women were taken to England from Southern Labrador (area around Chateaux Bay) during the latter years of the eighteenth century (Stopp, 2009). Drawings and depictions of several of these women survive from various sources;

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<sup>37</sup> Kennedy, Visitors Accounts Doc # 202

<sup>38</sup> Matthiason, 1996, 203



**Caubvik**



**Mikak**



**Icongoque**

Unfortunately, Icongoque who was taken to England with George Cartwright in 1772, died en route back to Labrador from Smallpox. Caubvik, who was also taken to England with four other Inuit at the same time as Icongoque, sadly died on her return to Labrador the following year. Mikak was captured near Chateaux Bay in 1767, along with eight other Inuit after a bloody battle and brought to England the next year. On her return to Labrador, she spent much time traveling north and south on the Labrador coast and is an ancestor of the present day Palliser family of Nunatsiavut.

It is interesting to note the elaborate body decorations and jewelry displayed in these late eighteenth century depictions of Inuit women. During a spiritual awakening at the Moravian missions further north, women were highly influenced by Moravian desires and attitudes of piety. In one case three women gave up their jewelry to conform to Moravian norms (Cabak, 1991, pg 153). The strict mores of the Moravian missions may very well have also prevented women from visiting the missions or staying in Southern Labrador where jewelry, guns, boats and spirits were available (Taylor, 1974, pg 9).

A century later, some photographs were taken in South/Central Labrador by itinerant explorers and adventurers. Below are pictures of what is believed to be two cousins born in 1841.

**Mary Paulo**



**Betsy Paulo**



By the time these pictures were taken, there were reliable records from which to construct family trees and genealogies. In the recorded genealogies for the aboriginal descendants of South/Central Labrador there are still many questions about this particular family, since, one woman may have had several husbands in her lifetime and sometimes concurrently. The person who took the above photographs, D H Talbot, remarked about a photograph in the same collection, *"The younger of the women here shown informed me that owing to too much scandal was the cause of her having several husbands. When asked the number, she began to count on her finders (fingers) and while enumerating stated where each one was"*. (Talbot Collection, Univ. of Iowa).



**Photo # 24** Picture shows the two ladies mentioned above and their husky dogs. From the statement given by Talbot concerning the sexual norms of one of the individuals, it seems that the relatively common Inuit practice of polygamy in Labrador (Taylor, 1984, pg 20, Taylor, 1974, Cabak, 1991) was alive and well at Fox Harbor in 1882.

For the European males identified in the above Table # 3, the economic necessities of learning Inuit skills such as dog team control, hunting, fishing and house building techniques were paramount in surviving a Labrador winter. The Inuit male relationships brought by an Inuit wife would bring these skills to the European male who was, following his choice to adopt Labrador as his home, being absorbed into Inuit aboriginal lifeways and means for his mere survival.

The recent excavation at North River demonstrated a high percentage of subsistence survival through hunting and the consumption of seals and caribou which are typical food sources of Labrador Inuit during this time period (Cabak, 1991, pg 33). These findings in this cross-cultural marriage are different than the faunal assemblages showed for typical European households in

Labrador, at this time. It seems clear that the occupant at North River, Charles Williams, lived a subsistence aboriginal life style, after the lifeways of his wife, rather than a typical European life style in Labrador (Beaudoin, 2008). The Inuit wife was influential in directing not only the domestic affairs of the household but the general economy of the household. Instead of being the passive recipients of European men's advances in marriage they not only chose the marriage partner but seriously influenced the direction of the household economy.

To reinforce the assertive nature of Inuit women and to demonstrate the control held by them, we can witness the rejection of Cartwright's approaches to a young Inuit woman for marriage and her subsequent and prompt refusal<sup>39</sup>. Even though this woman was very young and the proposal was approved by her elders, she was not impressed by Cartwright's apparent wealth and influence, and certainly had a mind of her own and capable of making her own decisions. This assertiveness was a trait in Inuit society across the Arctic, stemming from the recorded equal roles of men and women in pre-contact times based on gender oriented division of labor<sup>40</sup>. Excepting the recorded desire of Mikak for an European husband, this record of Cartwright's rejection is the single extant record which we have of a cross cultural marriage proposal for Labrador in this period, even though we know of as many as a possible fifty three of these cross cultural marriages. The doubt lies in the pedigree of some of the men entering these marriages, as we shall see further. In fact, we only have twenty seven out of one hundred and ten of these marriages where the European pedigree has been recorded reliably.

In the absence of direct historical or eye witnessed observations on cross cultural marriage in Labrador, it is necessary to look at similar events in other Inuit communities in the north to gain an understanding of this phenomenon. The gender roles of the three types of people involved in the cross cultural/contact marriage situation in South/Central Labrador are important. These three would be the roles of European men, Inuit women and Inuit men, since there is a noted absence of European women until after about 1860 (Rollmann, 2008).

From an academic perspective, little attention was paid to Inuit women by early anthropologists, except for, "*much of this preoccupation with Inuit sexual relations has been concentrated on so-called Inuit 'sexual hospitality'. Beyond that topic, anthropologists have rarely tried to truly describe Inuit women, for they have been too fascinated with their husbands, their brothers, their fathers and their sons*"<sup>41</sup>. Since the mid nineteen seventies anthropologists such as John Matthiason, Jean Briggs, and Ann McElroy have been bringing forward their observations of Inuit women. By 2007 Janet Mancini Billson in her book Inuit Women: Their Powerful Spirit in a Century of Change, in describing the situation into the twentieth century writes, "*Accounts by white male explorers, archaeologists, police, traders and government workers added to a sometimes distorted picture of 'Inuit Life'. Assumptions of universal patriarchy; devaluation of women; male control of the material base of daily life; woman as outsider, deviant, and alienated are inextricably bound to the narrow context of white social science - and all these assumptions have been made about Inuit women.*"<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Townsend, 1911, pg 329

<sup>40</sup> Guemple, 1986, pg 12

<sup>41</sup> Matthiason, 1976, pg 201

<sup>42</sup> Billson, 2007, xviii

Matthiason writing in 1976, describes some relationships of Inuit women with Hudsons Bay Company keepers on Baffin Island in the nineteenth century, thus, "*Canadian Arctic tradition has it that women who had employment at HBC posts were normally expected to give sexual favors to managers for whom they worked. Often, a husband or father would have been given a job as clerk or general handy man in return. The story is widespread enough to deserve some credence, at least in the contact-traditional period.*", (Matthiason, 1976). Similarly from McElroy, "*opportunities for women to form liason (sexual) with Europeans, either with the consent or initiative of their parents or spouses, or independantly, strengthened the role of the Inuit woman as mediator of material and political transactions. Oqomuit informants living in Pangnirtung recall six long term marriages between Cumberland Sound women and Europeans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and could produce photographs of family groups for three or four cases. Individuals descended from these alliances were among the most prestigious family groups in the settlements of Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung.*"<sup>43</sup>. Inuit women at Nain and several other Moravian Missions were highly influential and the primary catalysts of change in the spread of Christianity in early 19th century Labrador<sup>44</sup>.

In nineteenth century Baffin Island, Inuit men employed as rowers, hunters and whalers were very independent of their European 'bosses'. Even though the whaling ships and traders treated them well, if something took their fancy to go deer hunting or some other activity, the Inuit men went their own way and the Europeans simply waited for their return. At Hebron in northern Labrador, during the early 19th century, "*the missionaries observed among visiting unconverted Inuit that the women wanted to stay and hear the gospel, but their husbands would not abandon a traditional lifestyle*"<sup>45</sup>. In Labrador very few men were interested in staying at mission stations, "*Only men who lacked hunting skills or were too old to hunt were interested in working for the Moravians. According to Brice Bennet (1981:344) active hunters only sought wage employment as a last resort because they valued independence and self reliance*"<sup>46</sup>.

Inuit men were threatened in their traditionally accepted leadership roles in the community by the interloping missionaries and other European men. In the Baffin Island situation Ann McElroy reports;

*"The major components of the sex - role which Inuit women brought to the contact situation were not threatened by interaction with Europeans and may in part have been enhanced by their role as mediators in alliances and by the value of their exclusive skills in preparing skins and clothing for Europeans. There was little pressure on women to abandon their esteemed roles -- the bearing and rearing of children, processing skins, manufacturing clothing, and preparation of food, In addition, the basic modalities of the relationships between Inuit women and European men, that of the woman providing nurture, sexual enjoyment, and assistance in work, were essentially appropriate to the traditional role of women, although the effect of missionaries was to inhibit the woman's sexual autonomy. In contrast, the subordination required of Inuit men by Europeans not only represented a departure from respected male behavior, but also represented a*

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<sup>43</sup> McElroy, 1976, pg 191

<sup>44</sup> Cabak, 1991, pg 59 – Doc # 199

<sup>45</sup> Cabak, 1991, pg 60

<sup>46</sup> Cabak, 1991, pg 160

*regression to the emotional dependence fostered in early childhood which male Inuit children were (and still are) encouraged to repress in middle childhood and adolescence. ... This paper has attempted to demonstrate that the male Inuit role has been unstable and discontinuous during the period of European contact and acculturation toward a Eurocanadian socioeconomic lifestyle. In contrast, the female role has been relatively continuous and stable."*<sup>47</sup>

The equal role played by men and women in the whaling traditions in Alaska is very similar to those described from the Eastern Arctic. Women were considered equal to men. The wife of the Inuit whaling captain must attract the whales in order for the hunting crew to kill them and her role was critical to aiding the guides, rowers and harpooners<sup>48</sup>.

The women of Labrador harvested small game, fished, made sealskin boots and clothing, raised children and kept households the same as their Inuit mothers and grandmothers.



**Photo # 24a** Shows women from most of the families and family names located at Spotted Islands [Kikkertet area] in the mid twentieth century [Winters, Curl, Webber, Elson, Holwell, Mesher, Hopkins, Circum and Langer].

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<sup>47</sup> McElroy, 1996, pg 193

<sup>48</sup> Bodhoren, 1990

## Cross Cultural Marriages

We can generalize that the relationships between Inuit women and European men in Labrador were similar to those further north. Table #3 shows a possible fifty three cross cultural marriages in the genealogical records of Inuit/Labradorian ancestors within the NunatuKavut population for this period, and circumstances surrounding these marriages are, so far, lost to antiquity. It is, however, possible to extrapolate from further afield in drawing upon both pan Arctic examples within Inuit society, and examples from other aboriginal groups in North America. Spindler reports that "*while male Menomini role prescriptions have changed greatly (during colonialism), female roles have retained relative continuity*"<sup>49</sup>.

That the aboriginal woman was in a position to negotiate and mediate between her group and the incoming Europeans can be found in many other examples in the immediate and intermediate contact period. In reviewing the recording of a Beothuk descent woman, Santu Toney, Beverly Diamond was of the opinion that colonialism was experienced differently by women and men and that, "*Already in the seventeenth century, then, women (aboriginal) in eastern North America were cast as cultural mediators. By the nineteenth century, women had acquired specific forms of economic power, as basket makers or beadwork artisans, for example.*"<sup>50</sup>. In Labrador, the Inuit women would play a much higher role on the economic scale, in terms of their skills at cleaning and processing skins, making winter clothes and footwear, as well as teaching a new husband necessary skills which were absolutely essential to survival in this very harsh environment.

Hall reported from the vessel George Henry in 1860 that he "*viewed Inuit women he encountered as more cooperative and more accepting of foreign customs than were the men*". Aboriginal women, in general, then could be considered 'cultural mediators' as easily in the Mi'Kmaq and Malliseet tradition<sup>51</sup> as could Inuit women on South Baffin island following contact<sup>52</sup>. Roger McDonnell and previous observers considered the work of the Inuit woman in sewing together tents and kayak covers was akin to the concept of encircling and protecting for the good of the community. Many of these activities carried on by the woman were in company with other women and can be seen as various mechanisms of forming alliances<sup>53</sup>. In other words, the ease with which women formed alliances within the Inuit community was not a far step for them to form alliances with strangers or interlopers. The ease with which Inuit women in South/Central Labrador accepted European husbands, the ability to bargain and trade (Cabak, 1991) and their ability, in many ways, to control or compliment a European husband's activities places these women in a rather powerful position in the developing and adapting Inuit culture of South/Central Labrador during the nineteenth century.

The most important gender specific roles in the division of labor in a pre-contact Inuit household were, "*that women cleaned and processed skins, manufactured and repaired clothing and boots,*

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<sup>49</sup> McElroy, 1996, pg 195

<sup>50</sup> Hewson and Diamond, 2007 – Doc # 194

<sup>51</sup> Hewson and Diamond, 2007, pg 242

<sup>52</sup> McElroy, 1976, pg 189

<sup>53</sup> McDonnell, 2002, pg 41- Doc # 114

*prepared food, maintained dwelling interiors and tended the stone lamp, gathered shrubbery for summer fuel and bedding and insulation, gathered berries and sour grass, made tents and boat covers, and took care of the children. Men hunted and fished, butchered animals, made weapons and tools, managed dogs and sleds, and constructed dwellings".* These were clear divisions of labor (McElroy, 1976).

The skills of Inuit women in processing skins were always of value in Inuit society and as pointed out by McElroy, *"the opportunity to trade skins for store goods increased the prestige of the skills and knowledge involved". The changing economy of early nineteenth century Labrador was no different from this model from Baffin Island. In Labrador, Inuit, "were pursuing fur bearing animals to trade for material items..."*<sup>54</sup> and it stands to reason that the Inuit women would continue to process skins for this trade, similar to Baffin Island activities. Labrador Inuit women may have also increased their prestige in other ways, *"Archaeological evidence suggests women gained access to European goods for their household tasks and women's prestige may have been enhanced by the acquisition of these items. Previous archaeological research indicates during the 18th century European goods were prestige items"*<sup>55 56 57</sup>. Having an European husband would certainly enhance the Inuit women's access to these goods and increase prestige within her social circle. Being a part of the trade economy gave the Labrador Inuit wife much more say in future events of the household and family, not dissimilar to twentieth century American homes, where both parents are 'bread winners'.

The Inuit (full or mixed ancestry) woman could also play a rather powerful role in trading with the merchant for goods and directing what European items were chosen to be brought into the household<sup>58</sup>. That Inuit women were good at bargaining and trade can also be taken from the wife of a Hudson Bay Governor who observed trading alongside the company ship in 1840, *"The men were all in small canoes, composed of a wooden frame entirely covered with seal skin...Several Oomiaks, or woman's boats, filled with women and children, were also alongside, the Ladies appearing even more skillful in making good bargains than their husbands"*<sup>59</sup>. In nineteenth century Labrador, as the economy of their society changed, the choice of a European mate for the Inuit woman could bring the distinct advantages of a better trading position for the family, and the women, or a possible fifty three of them, saw a competitive advantage of a European mate over Inuit men.

Therefore, the nineteenth century Inuit woman entering a marriage with a European man, as well as being a 'cultural mediator' with the general changing population, brought the skills of her gender/trade to the marriage. Also, she brought her relationships with her family from whom the incoming male could learn for his survival. Instead of being viewed as the passive recipient of the incoming cultural values of a 'dominant' foreign male interloper, she must be regarded to have the lead role in the changing Inuit society around her.

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<sup>54</sup> Beaudoin, 2008, pg 153 – Doc # 195

<sup>55</sup> Kaplan, 1983, 1985

<sup>56</sup> Jordan 1978

<sup>57</sup> Cabak, 1991, pg 181 – Doc # 199

<sup>58</sup> Beaudoin, 2008, pg 155

<sup>59</sup> McDonnell, 2002, pg 43, quoting Ross – Doc # 114

She changed none of her traditional gender/work associated roles or cultural values upon marriage. However, the European male had to change his eating habits and adjust to hunting seals, caribou and porpoises, along with learning typically Inuit skills, as the empirical evidence of Charles Williams, in the late nineteenth century, shows very clearly. At a time when Europeans were eating beef, pork and farmed vegetables, Charles Williams was hunting and eating traditional Inuit foods and running a dog team. The diet of the Williams household consisted primarily of seal, caribou, porpoise and trapped furbearers such as fox, similar to all other Inuit households in Labrador. We can surmise that many of these eating habits and skills were learned by Charles Williams from his wife, Mary, and her extended family. Those culturally grounded skills were passed on to their Inuit descendants well into the twentieth century.

Near the end of the century, the culturally mixed Campbell family were wearing sealskin clothes and footwear and using harpoons to acquire seal meat and other such foods even though guns



and ammunition were readily available. The harpoon is still a widely used tool for the retrieval of seals and other game in present day communities. Recently, Bowdoin College in Maine acquired a sealskin coat and harpoon which were collected by an expedition from Bowdoin College to Labrador in 1891. From diaries written at the time, both items were acquired from the Campbell family of Grosswater Bay and it seems very likely that the coat was produced by Lydia Campbell. Lydia being the daughter of Ambrose Brooks and an Inuk woman by the name of Susan (see Table # 3) and married to Daniel Campbell, a Scotchman.

**Harpoon obtained at the Lydia Campbell house by members of Bowdoin College in 1891. Photo by Greg Mitchell.**

From 1891, the clothes being worn by mixed ethnic families and the tools used in hunting were clearly Inuit in nature. The photo on the left shows the sealskin coat acquired from the Campbell family in Grosswater Bay probably sewn together by Lydia Campbell. The photo in the middle shows the museum curator, Genevieve LeMoine, with the harpoon also purchased from the Campbells in 1891. In the background of this second photo is the coat worn by Robert Peary's wife in her excursions to the north. The photo on the right shows another type of harpoon, again from the Campbell family. Photo by Greg Mitchell and the demonstration is compliments of Bowdoin College.

From these images we can see that Lydia Campbell was quite proficient in sewing together Labrador Inuit garments, surely taught to her by her mother and grandmother. Her acculturated European husband was making typical Inuit harpoons of a number of designs as above. The depiction opposite is an image of Attuioc drawn by Nathaniel Dance in 1773. Attuioc was brought to England by Cartwright the year before, where he unfortunately died of smallpox:



Even though there are one hundred and eighteen years between the time which Attuioc brought his harpoon to England and 1891 ( the time of the harpoon acquisition from the Campbell family) the one held by Attuioc and the one held in the previous picture by Dr. LeMoine are similar and typical of an Inuit harpoon. That part of the culture was alive and well at the close of the nineteenth century.

**Attuioc with a harpoon  
from a depiction by  
Nathaniel Dance in 1773.  
*Picture from Lysaght, 1971***



**Photo # 27 -**

**Wilson Williams (shown here) is the great grandson of Charles Williams of North River. At the time this photograph was taken (1983) Wilson discussed with John Kennedy the 'darting' of seals at a polynya near North River (probably in the same location as his great grandfather). *Photograph compliments of Dr. John C. Kennedy.***

From the depiction of Attiock in 1773 holding a sealing harpoon, to the depiction of Wilson Williams holding a sealing harpoon in 1983, is a span of two hundred and ten years. This Inuit harpoon technology has not changed in that time period and is still used at NunatuKavut today. There is a certain poignancy to discovering the inherent Inuit life-ways of Charles and Mary Williams during the Beaudoin dig at North River, and to still find their great grandson exhibiting this traditional life style in 1983. It is a visual and empirical demonstration of cultural continuity.

In sixteen interviews recently done with elderly women from the communities, they all displayed a high degree of traditional Inuit skills related to harvesting, midwifery, home making and child rearing. They had all ridden on dog sleds (kometics) during their youth and, surprisingly, a number of them were skilled at the useful art of driving dogs by themselves in their youth to various communities up and down the coast in winter. In the 1940's or 1950's, at a time when automobile and public transit were moving women in Halifax or Ottawa, these women were driving dog teams. These women, like their grandmothers, are the primary culture carriers for the communities of today. Had they been able to retain their Inuk names in their marriages, instead of a missionary labeling them as something else, then the general perception of their present day political organization would be entirely different.

To put this issue into perspective, Cabak states:

*"The active role of women in influencing cultural history is not unique to Labrador. Feminist anthropologists have shown that, cross-culturally, women are active participants in their societies. Explanatory models that see women as passive and men as active, such as 'Man the*

*Hunter', are especially counter-productive for understanding the dynamics of gender relations in past arctic cultures. This prevalent approach has a hunting bias, leaving one to think only men were active participants in Inuit societies" (Cabak, 1991). The empirical evidence brought forward by Cabak, for Inuit women in Labrador, contravenes this approach and shows women to be primary motivators in a cross cultural setting.*

### **Inuit communal law**

Law from Newfoundland or Canada was virtually unknown in most places in Labrador until recent times. Inuit cultural practice created its own communal "custom" law which was evident in many practices. As elder Ken Mesher reports in his February 17, 2010 letter:

*I remember we had our customary law made by our elders. They were the authorities back then. This law was respected by the communities. For instance, we had our own fur trap lines and fishing berths to set nets for fishing. These fishing berths and trap lines were handed down from older persons who harvested these resources from generation to generation.*

*In the early days, we harvested our resources from the land and sea using our customary law without harassment and hindrance from any form of government. For instance, my father Robert John Mesher born Sept 6, 1886 lived off the land fur trapping, fishing, hunting and gathering food from the land in order to survive. He traveled inland in winter through Labrador interior and at time went over to Quebec to trade his furs for supply goods by foot and dog team in the area of St. Paul's River.*

Customary law governed the operation of these communities. Areas were used at different times for different purposes. No one owned the title to the land they used. Deeds were unknown until the mid-1930's. Each family had their own area and they were accepted as having the exclusive right to use it during that time of the year.

However, anyone one else could use it for other purposes and at other times of the year. For example, a trap line belonged to the family. (Trapping for furs such as fox, lynx and marten had been an integral part of Inuit culture in central Labrador since at least the French trade post era of the early 1700's.) However, that did not stop anyone from using that trap line area for hunting, berry-picking or any other activity. It was exclusive to that family for trapping alone. Otherwise, it remained communal land. It was a modified form of private property, while retaining its communal nature.

Houses or tilts were similar. If you were already there, anyone who came would be taken in and treated as a guest. The person knew that you had the right to be there and their status was only 'guest'. However, if you were not there because it was the wrong season (you were living somewhere else at the time), that person could live there if they wanted to.

Trap lines could be passed on to another person, either in the family or outside of it. If someone got old, injured or died, the person who acquired the trap line was obliged to pay 1/3 of the catch to the predecessor or his widow or infant children.<sup>60</sup>

These are just a few examples of the continuity of Inuit culture and evidence that operated as a common law legal system among members of this identifiable community.

### **Traditional Ecological Knowledge**

Dr. Hanrahan, in “Salmon at the Centre” examined Indigenous Knowledge (“IK”) in south and central Labrador in the context of Inuit cultural continuity. Many of these cultural patterns remain, rooted in their Inuit heritage.<sup>61</sup>

Dr. Hanrahan found clear examples of IK traceable exclusively to Inuit culture. IK is the cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief about the relationship of living beings with one another and their environment, transferred from one generation to another by cultural transmission. One category is local knowledge of animals, plants and landscape. Dr. Hanrahan found that elder and experts IK of this sort was vast. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 16)

Another type of IK relates to world view, the meaning of people’s environmental observations. Dr. Hanrahan identifies a strong conservation and anti-wastage ethic in the community membership. An elder in Cartwright is typical in describing the use of a seal; to make boots, the use of the windpipe, making bridles for the komatik, the use of the ulu. An elder in Charlottetown describes commensality, the sharing ethic. These practices, identical to those in Nain and other communities of northern Labrador, are all derived from longstanding Inuit customs. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 18)

Dr. Hanrahan provides clear evidence of an entrenched Inuit conservation system, with a ban on wastage. Sports fishing or hunting was absolutely unheard of. Every part of a resource was used. This prevented food shortages and built community food security. These are all elements that flow from their Inuit heritage. (Hanrahan, Salmon, p. 8)

### **Commensality**

Commensality (communal sharing) is a core Inuit cultural trait. It continues today to define community, make membership in that community explicit and to demonstrate the fundamental social unit. Food exchange is based on a reciprocity principle. (Hanrahan, Salmon, p. 10)

These communities continue core aspects of Inuit non-material culture. One of these is the Inuit tradition of food exchange. Food exchange expresses solidarity and reflects social cohesion. It assists in defining communities. It maintains egalitarianism in the form of economic parity and reinforces commensality. (Hanrahan, Salmon, p. 7)

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<sup>60</sup> Personal communication, Chris Montague

<sup>61</sup> Hanrahan, Salmon at the Centre, June 2002, Supplementary documentation to DIAND, p. 3-

For quite a number of years Nunatukavut has operated a 'community freezer' at Happy Valley Goose Bay for the many elders who live there and cannot access the land and sea as easily as others. The community freezer supplies cod (fresh and salted), salmon and caribou to the elders.

### **Seasonal Transhumance**

Another feature of Inuit culture which remains in the membership is seasonal transhumance. This ethic of summer aggregations and winter dispersals fosters community, while engaging the maximum resources consistent with conservation. W. H. A. Davies described this pattern in the "half-breeds" during the 1840's. Considerable evidence exists which demonstrates the continuance of this culture in the membership, certainly up until the forced resettlements in the 1960's. (Hanrahan, Salmon, p. 14)

Dr. Hanrahan found that members' lifestyle was based on seasonal transhumance. Many moved two to three times a year. Summer stations, in larger groups, were located on islands or headlands. Smaller family groups lived in wooded bays in the winter. Travel and visiting between the communities happened all up and down the coast. This is confirmed by the genealogies, which show intermarriage between communities, such as Sandwich Bay women marrying Mary's Harbour men.

### **Relationship with the Territory**

Inuit have had a relationship with their territory from prior to European contact. Through this relationship, they have lived in their communities and within their own worldview, customs and traditions. Those evolved over time and their lifeways became a mixture of Aboriginal and modern subsistence strategies. Inuit descendants were and are free to choose among them, while making full use of their own cultural expressions. There remains a normative Inuit conceptualization of the land as the caretaker or provider, and they, in turn, show it respect. Following a protest by Inuit/Labradorians against the export of pulpwood in 2002, a proposal to develop a commercial forestry operation at Cartwright was met with a great deal of opposition because of basic world views and respect for the land. When community members were told that this commercial activity would bring economic prosperity, it was explained that they had 'no real reason' for the opposition to the plans except that they just did not want the forest cut down, that they had enough for themselves and saw no reason to expand those activities beyond their own uses<sup>62</sup>. Community members have a constant and intimate relationship with the land that supports them as individuals, their families and their communities, both socially and economically. Knowledge transfer continues to affirm the role of the elders and to strengthen inter-generational ties.

During the influx of seasonal Newfoundland fishermen along the Labrador coast, for example, the 'overwintering' population of Labradorians knew who their people were and that they were separate from the transients. In a formal conversation with Mr. Jimmy Burdett of Sandy Hill in 1978, Mr. Burdett recognizes his own people. In this interview he brings a clear distinction in this regard;

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<sup>62</sup> Reports to Dept of Forest Resources and Lands, Interim Forest Management Report, 2003

**"Interviewer: Joshua Burdett**  
**Interviewee: James Burdett**  
**Date: February 22, 1978**  
**Tape No: 224**

**Joshua Burdett:** *In Sandy Hill Tickle there was Burdetts, Rendells, Reeves, Danl's. Ah, Butts, they used to be down from Newfoundland.*

**James Burdett:** *Well, they, they was in schooners come down, lots of people to be in Schooners, different ones. Before there was Josie Brien, and Harry Brien. [Newfoundlanders]*

**Josh:** *They used to be in schooners.*

**James:** *No, no, they was fishin' on the land, them two. They had a crew each there in the beginnin' see. The two crews there. Two Briens. That was the skipper men but I don't know who they had for ? perhaps they had different ones all the time.*

**Josh:** *Now the next ones was out her to Sandy Hill Point aye.*

**James:** *The next place was up in the Bay where we salmon fishes now.*

**Josh:** *Who was out to Eagle Point? That was Rendells, was it?[our people]*

**James:** *Rendells, George Rendell. I don't know who else. Some of the Elson's could of been there too I s'pose. Oh, out to Sandy Hill Tickle on Cole's Island, Sam Elson lived there. Uncle Sol's father's uncle Sam Elson lived there*

**Josh:** *He'd be in the harbour too, aye?*

**James:** *No, he was in the Black Gulch, out in the Black Gulch there on Cole's Island. I don't know who else lived there but I know he live there two or three year, but I don't know who else was there.*

**Josh:** *Sandy Hill was all Burdetts was it, or was the Rendells in there too?*

**James:** *Rendells used to live in there winter time, see.*

**Josh:** *Not out to the summer house?*

**James:** *Yeah, out to the summer house. They fished out there in the last of it, see. Last five or six years they was there. They fished out there, see.*

**Josh:** *They lived out there in the winter time?*

**James:** *No, no. They lived in the bay in the winter time but they lived there all summer long on the last five or six years fishin' down the Bay see. He had his nets down where we got ours now. But he lived up to the house. He lived in poor Grandfather's old house.*

**Josh:** *There's a graveyard on Sandy Hill Point. You know any of the people was buried in that?*

**James:** *My mother, that's your Grandmother is buried there, and Grandfather. Aunt Jane Holwell got a couple of children there. They used to live in Sandy Hill winter time, see. Aunt Jane Holwell and Sam Holwell come down from Spotted Islands'*

**Josh:** *People used to live to [the] Cape aye? Who used to live there?*

**James:** *Newfoundlanders used to live there. Poor old Uncle John Burdett[our people] lived there one spring, shift out there in the spring and he was*

*there until open water and he shift up to Indian Tickle. Cape Grepp, yeah. And that was Quinlan's used to live there. Jim Quinlan and John Quinlan, they had a crew apiece, and then in the other place there was the Whelans. There was two crowds of them. I don't know now what their other names was but Charlie Whalen was one of the young fellars at that time. Come down in the last of it and a crew. Lived out where Quinlans was. Where John Quinlan was. Build his house out there.*

**Ken S.** *Can you mind any dates when these people left?*

**James:** *No. They left it before I could mind, I s'pose, they left it. I can mind about when Charlie Whalen come back and build up agin where John Quinlan had the house but I can't mind what time it t'was. Oh t'was before we was married, he come there. Some 35 years ago, I imagine.*

**Ken S:** *Did all these all summer places – did people move out of them in a very short time?*

**James:** *Oh no. They used to fish there for a long time I think you know, come there for years and years but the fish got scarce and people [Newfoundlanders] had to leave.*

**Josh:** *This was before the last time the fish got scarce, aye?*

**James:** *Oh yes. Years before that. Fish got scarce and people had to give it up and then fish begin to come back. People begin to work back around agin and that was around farty or fifty years ago, I imagine. T'was before I could mind, the people, I s'pose I could mind it but t'was a long time ago. I might been four or five or six years old. Oh, been scarce two or three times since that, and come around agin. Be only for a year or so and then come back around agin, see. But now they been gone for the past five or six year, more than that.*

**James:** *Mother Burn's Cove. That's this big one here aye. Is it the big one or the little one?*

**James:** *It's the big one. Only its right in the carner there. Right in along south there. Casey's cove is well out towards there where we lands to, is Casey's Cove. Mother Burn's cove is right in the bottom there.*

**Josh:** *Who used to live there?*

**James:** *The Burns and the Longs. They was all Newfoundland people.*

**Josh:** *Can you remember em there?*

**James:** *No, I can't remember about em there. They was gone 'fore I could mind. Casey Cove, Casey'd used to live there and Roses. Jim Rose and the Casey's. I don't know what the old feller's name was. Casey, he had a crew there. So did Jim Rose. Two crews live there. Five or six men in each crew.*

**Josh:** *And the next place then I s'pose, was up the tickle, was it?*

**James:** *The next place then was Red Isalnd, Red Island Tickle. Parsons lived there. Uncle Jake Parsons, on the island side. There was all summer fishin' places, Newfoundland fishin' places.*

**Josh:** *The only winter places was Sandy Hill and Roaches Brook and Bill's Brook and Reed's Brook and Porcupine. Ok, next was Indian Tickle. T'was all different places all around, wasn't it?*

**James:** *Yeah. They lived to Sandy Islands and they lived off Sandy Islands. There's Salters Tickle. There's Salter's Tickle inside Sandy Island and off Sandy Islands. There'd inside Sandy Islands in the ones they lives on there now, you know. Sheppard lived there.*

**James:** *That's Salters Tickle. But t'is Sandy Islands they lives on see, fer all that they calls it Salters Tickle. That's Salters Tickle, but the island they lived on but the inside Sandy Islands was the right name. Salters Tickle is the Tickle all right. Like Indian Tickle. Same as Indian Tickle. Going through Salter's Tickle. Sandy islands was right there and there used to be people livin' this way. Uncle James Davis and poor old Uncle Andy Davis they lived on the inside from Salters Tickle.*

**James:** *Now there was a place in the run there goin' up through. Punch Bowl. There was a lot of people used to live in there.*

**Josh:** *On in here is it?*

**James:** *Newfoundland crews, eight or ten crews. First goin' up through the run there. In on the right hand side there as you're goin' up through there's a long cove runs in. He opens up. You go in through and he open up in to a big harbour.*

**Josh:** *Yeah, that's he there. Where did they live to there, I wonder.*

**James:** *They lived all around. T'was a big cove if you was in there. There was a lot of people there one time. They had a shop, there was a shop and everything there. T'was in the song, I think, isn't it, Punch Bowl.*

**Josh:** *Nobody fished in Rocky Bay, aye?*

**James:** *No.*

**Josh:** *They all used to move out to the outside land*

**James:** *Too far inland, they couldn't get nothin' see, they had to go out further to get the fish and salmon.*

**Josh:** *There was winter places here, there, here. Ok, we'll start right back to Roaches Brook. There was Parrs.*

**James:** *Parrs and Curls and Hogans. That's all it t'was. They used to live there was different fellers. Sam Elson lived there one or two years on the last of it. In some of the other old houses. Jack Holwell, he lived there a year or two. Old Jack.*

**Josh:** *They all moved out of there about the same time you moved out didn't they?*

**James:** *Yeah. They moved out before we did. They moved out of that and Uncle George Parr went to Port Hope Simpson to work see, took all his crowd. They all went out of it then.*

**Josh:** *That was when Port Hope started up, aye.*

**James:** *Yeah. Port Hope Simpson started up. There's Roaches Brook, Toomashie's Brook. George Parr went down there first, eight or ten year, then Bill's Brook.*

**Josh:** *George Parr lived there before he lived down Roaches Brook aye. Bill's Brook and there was Elsons there and Holwells.*

**James:** *There was Elsons and Holwells and Dysons and oh, there was a lot of 'em used to live there.*

**Josh:** *They used to move out to Spotted Islands was it?*

**James:** *Yes, move out to Spotted Islands.*

**Josh:** *Ah, did anybody else live from that down to Reed's Brook?*

**James:** *No.*

**Josh:** *What about ah, what about out on Grago? Did anybody live there in the summertime?*

**James:** *Uncle George Davis lived there fer a couple or three year. He had a house there on the side of the island there. I can just mind about that. I was there and had a drop of tea one time with father.*

**Josh:** *That was a summer house?*

**James:** *That was a summer house, yeah.*

**Josh:** *They used to live up here in the Brook, aye. And then t'was Parcupine. Dyson's used to live there too, aye.*

**James:** *Oh yes, and the Webbers, and Holwells and Elsons. Lot of people used to live there. There was more than that but I can't remember.*

**Transcribed by:** *Diane Brown*  
**Date Transcribed:** *November 22, 2009"* <sup>63</sup>

The Burdett family comes from a long line of descendants living at Sandy Hills, Labrador. The salmon berth at Sandy Hills in the middle of the nineteenth century was fished by one Simeon (Inuk)<sup>64</sup>. From the recent research in the Hopedale records, this Simeon is very likey the son of the older Simeon (Ikpiarsuk). In looking at all the records, Richardson records meeting one 'Ickpiaruc' probably at Sandwich Bay (Netsektoke), very near Sandy Hills, in 1771. Whether this is definitively the same person or family, we may never know but on a balance of probabilities in terms of genealogy and geography the Burdetts are very likely the descendants of this ancestor from 1771.

The first Burdett married the daughter of the resident Simeon at Sandy Hills, in order to fish the salmon berth at the Sand Hill River<sup>65</sup>. John Burdett married Salome Simeon around 1840 and the James Burdett of the above narrative is a great grandson . Below is a picture of Jimmy's grandfather;

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<sup>63</sup> Bounty of A Barren Coast, Jackson, 1982

<sup>64</sup> Patricia Way, Labrador genealogist, Pers. Comm..

<sup>65</sup> Oral Tradition



**Photo # 28    Solomon Burdett of Sandy Hills, born 1846 and died in 1919.**

### **Generational Transmission**

Grandparents and parents continued to teach, expressly and through how they live, cultural features which continue into each successive generation. This generational transmission is identified as being important and its results can be seen in many incidents of continuing customs, traditions and practices. This resilience maintains a strong cultural persistence, despite the number and weight of outside influences.

Dr. Stopp in her 2001 Report, at page 13, writes that the history of the Inuit in south Labrador bespeaks cultural strength and resilience. All of the evidence demonstrates that this is correct.

The Inuit worldview is pervasive, for example, in Inuit descendants in south/central Labrador in relation to medicine. Their belief is that everyone is responsible for their own well-being. Health management is maintained through fulfillment of relationship obligations to community and the geophysical environment, including other life forms, such as animals. There are many traditional methods rooted in pre-contact Inuit medicine. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 19)

One of the concepts that is common among community members is that it is food from the land, rather than from a store or a package, that will make you healthy. 1984 Food Consumption reports from Nain, Makkovik, Rigolet, Black Tickle and St. Lewis are all similar. As well,

comprehensive healing systems exist in all these communities based on their Inuit heritage with many Aboriginal medicines still in use and preferred. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 20)

## **Inuktitut**

The very first 'word lists' recorded for the language of Inuktitut on the North American continent were lists taken from Inuit in the French period in the Straits of Belle Isle in 1717 and 1730<sup>66</sup>. Both of these early eighteenth century lists were from Inuktitut to French. More recently, another word list has been found which is in all probability the first English to Inuktitut word list for North America. It consists of 93 words which, for the most part, are consistent with spoken Labrador Inuktitut. There are several interesting words in this list which are not used today and have probably been reduced from the orthography for a number of reasons<sup>67</sup>.

It was interesting that the counting system found in Southern Labrador in 1771 did not make it, for the most part, to the Moravian interpretations of the language in the ensuing years. The counting system iterated in Richardson is a bit of an anomaly from an earlier time, "*The relevance here is another clear link between the Inuit in southern Labrador before changes in the counting system as impacted by the influence of Moravians. It would be very interesting indeed to search for other examples of this older counting system, perhaps surviving in non-Moravian Inuit communities such as Rigolet, Back Bay or Sandwich Bay et cetera.*"<sup>68</sup>

One of the measures that has often been held out as an indicator of Inuit cultural continuity has been the use of Inuktitut. Dr. Hanrahan examined the use of language in the Inuit descendant populations in Labrador. She found that English was the working language among Inuit descendants but that Inuktitut was historically important and that pieces of it survive. This is the same in the NunatuKavut communities as in Postville and Rigolet. Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador clearly remember Inuktitut speakers in their communities. Pieces of the language survive, mostly in the areas of descriptors of the geophysical environment. There is an Inuktitut Bible in William's Harbour. Many members learned Inuktitut words and phrases growing up. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 22) Interestingly, they did not necessarily know that these were Inuktitut words until pointed out to them.

The unfortunate reality is that Inuktitut is endangered throughout Labrador. In 1996, there were only 435 Inuit who spoke it, out of approximately 10,000 people of Inuit ancestry. Many who can speak it can not read or write the language. Most of the Inuktitut speakers are in a handful of communities. For example, in Nain, 100 of 703 people claimed Inuktitut as their home language. In Makkovik, only 10% made the same claim. In Postville, none spoke Inuktitut. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 22)

Pieces of the language survive in Inuit descendants all over Labrador, virtually all of them being nouns in relation to food procurement and preparation. English has been the language of commerce in Labrador for hundreds of year. More recently, it has also been the language of

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<sup>66</sup> The Inuit Language in Southern Labrador from 1694 to 1785, Dorais, page 7

<sup>67</sup> Linguistic Analysis of the Richardson Word List, Piggot – Doc # 205

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., page

modern telecommunication and of affluent Canadian society. The retention of these Inuktitut words speak to the continuing Inuit relationship with the land. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 22 - 23).

As outlined in communications with elder Eva Luther from Spotted Islands and others, the following words are examples of Inuit phrases which remain in common use even given that the predominant language was English;

*Sillipuk - cloth coat*

*Autuk - winter coat with large hood and back flap*

*Houck - turn dogs*

*Kwuack - frozen caribou meat*

*Kometic - dog sled*

*Ulu - common round shaped knife - 'woman's knife'*

*Nick - koo - dried seal meat*

*Atter - turn dogs*

*Kwan-yook - type of leafy seaweed*

*Hee-kee - said when something cold was touched*

*Aht - exclamation to show wonder*

*Nitsek – seal*

*Kollikinears – cakes cooked in seal fat*

*Kulluks – sweet doughballs*

*Coo-Mocks - Lice*

*Killiuktuk – curved tool for curing animal skins<sup>69</sup>*

Inuktitut can not be used as a good indicator of Inuit ancestry, a phenomena that is hardly unique to Labrador. The Moravians helped to preserve Inuktitut, although at the same time playing a role in the destruction of Inuit spiritual beliefs and practices. Moravians taught school and held church services in Inuktitut. Practically every resident of the Moravian communities, regardless of ancestry, was literate in both Inuktitut and English. If there had been Moravian missions in the south, there would have been greater language retention in that area as well. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 23 - 25)

Language loss does not equate to cultural loss. Societies are fluid and adaptable. Inuit heritage has survived in many ways all along the coast. Dr. Hanrahan found the extent of Inuit cultural continuity to be remarkable and impressive. She concluded that there was no legitimate anthropological or ethnological basis to distinguish between the membership of the Labrador Inuit Association and that of the Inuit communities of south and central Labrador. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 25- 27)

Historians searching for evidence about women's history have encountered the phenomenon of women's invisibility; women have been systematically omitted from accounts of the past. This has distorted the way we view the past; indeed it warps history by making it seem as though only

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<sup>69</sup> See also Hanrahan, A Solid Past...., 2001

men have participated in events thought worthy of preservation and by misrepresenting what actually happened.<sup>70</sup>

This research has sought to re-discover the importance of these invisible women. Inuit women were not passive members of their society but participated actively in the many facets of social interaction and change.<sup>71</sup> Some women were *Angekoks*, manifesting power over hunting curing sickness and controlling weather.<sup>72</sup> In the early historical period, Inuit women worked in a complimentary fashion with their men; both had intersecting, and somewhat overlapping, roles to play in achieving a common goal. The complimentary nature of gender work relations can be seen in the refusal of Inuit men to embark on journeys and hunting trips without their wives.<sup>73</sup>

In early historic Arctic societies, women were often more active pursuers of new opportunities in trade or employment.<sup>74</sup> Women often actively pursued role change. They controlled certain core aspects of life, both within and outside of the home. Heating the dwelling, maintaining the home, cooking and child care were essentials. The ability to dress, cut and sew animal skins into effective, and beautiful, garments was both a necessity and a source of pride.<sup>75</sup> Women brought water, wood and game back to camp. They supplemented the diet in summer and early fall by gathering bird eggs and berries and fishing. Women picked up to 20 varieties of berries in Labrador.<sup>76</sup>

Women were involved in a wide range of activities both around the home (wherever that might be at any given time) and on the land. Generational transmission of those skills was necessary and implicit in every aspect of the day. The nuclear family was the basic social unit, which could include more than one wife. The household was the next largest social unit, which varied depending on the time of year and dwelling structure. The average sod house, which could be occupied only when frozen, contained 20 people. Snow houses contained 5-6 people and skin tents would hold 7-8 people.<sup>77</sup> Winter households often consisted of families with kinship ties. Having more than one woman in the household allowed for shared work and a division of labour.<sup>78</sup>

Women also played an important role as cultural intermediaries.<sup>79</sup> Although this is best documented with the Moravians, this characteristic was common throughout Labrador. Inuit women were key in incorporating European goods, in engaging in trade, in seeking wage economy opportunities, in seeking out European mates and in incorporating Christian spiritual practices.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Kleinberg, as quoted in "Inuit Women as Catalysts of Change", Melanie Ann Cabak, page 1 – Doc # 199

<sup>71</sup> Inuit Women as Catalysts of Change, Melanie Ann Cabak, page 2

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, page 44

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, page 37

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, page 25

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, page 34

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, page 40

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, page 42

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, pages 42-43

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, page 184

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, page 184

Dr. Redekopp confirmed in his 1996 report to DIAND that Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador society retained both material and non-material cultural elements of Inuit society, especially in the areas of harvest methods and tools. He also refers to Zimmerley's findings of the retention of Inuit cultural taboos (such as that against eating caribou and seal at the same time) and the Inuit practice of carrying children on one's back. As noted previously, Lydia Campbell, for example, related Christianized versions of Inuit myths relating to the origins of people and thunder.

## CHAPTER SIX

# SOUTH/CENTRAL LABRADOR IN MODERN TIMES

### Impacts of Political Separation and Government Interference Since World War II

From the very earliest times, and continuing today, outside government has sought to push Inuit out of southern Labrador so it could access our resources without regard to our Inuit rights. This was true in the 1600 and 1700's and remains true today. If government can not push us off our land, they try to ignore us and deny our existence.

Abundant cod in the south helped create 'Moravian Inuit' in the north. Following 1763, the British determined that a new cod fishery could be developed on the coast of Labrador. They concluded that cod were most plentiful between the Lower North Shore of Quebec east to around Sandwich Bay. In his paper reporting on the state of the British fishery in 1767, Governor Palliser called southern Labrador that New Fishing Coast and advocated development of a seasonal ship fishery there, as operated in Newfoundland.

Lieutenant Roger Curtis, whose knowledge of Labrador came from mapping and sailing it, was clear on where the new British cod fishery should be developed. It is not probable, Curtis wrote, that the cod-fishery, will turn to any very great account, farther to the north than the Latitude 54°, that is, around Porcupine Strand. The abundance of cod in this area is supported by Henry Youle Hind's report, one hundred years later.

Labrador Inuit threatened this development of Palliser's New Fishing Coast.' Inuit raids (real or imagined) on French and later British posts created significant concerns for administrators such as Palliser and was a major reason why the British government welcomed the Inuktitut-speaking Moravians to Labrador. Yet British permission to allow Moravian stations had conditions, with an important one being where the Moravian missionaries would be allowed to settle.

The British government very clearly wanted any mission to Labrador Inuit not to interfere with their planned cod fishery. The Order in Council granting permission to the Moravians expresses the hope that Gov. Palliser would conclude a 'treaty' with Labrador Inuit and also recommends a blockhouse "*to protect British Trade and Fishery*". The British government continued to consider Inuit a problem between 1769 -1774 and British permission for the third Moravian station (Hopedale) in 1774 contains specific conditions on the topic. In 1774, the Lords of Trade wrote King George III permitting the Moravian grant with Acaire taken not to interrupt the fisheries.

"Problems with Inuit" appear to have continued for several decades, a conclusion suggested by Governor C. Hamilton's letter of 1821, with reference to the Moravians request for a fourth station (Hebron), north of Okak. Hamilton writes: Spots chosen by said Society for its settlements may be such as in no respect to interrupt or annoy the fisheries carried on upon the

said Eastern Coast of Labrador. Moreover, Hamilton repeats this condition, “And the said Society of ‘Unitas Fratrum’ are hereby enjoined to take special care that spots it shall choose for its settlements be such as in no respect to interrupt or annoy the fisheries carried on up the said coast of Labrador”.

The British government’s resolution to the incompatibility of the ‘Fishing’ and ‘Esquimaux’ coasts was to only grant permission for stations in northern Labrador, safely away from the cod fishery. With the Moravians (and hopefully the Inuit) in the north, it was hoped that the fishery could develop further south.

Large concentrations of mobile Inuit in southern Labrador were thought to threaten the development of a cod fishery. If not for cod, there may well have been Moravian stations at Fox Harbour, St. Francis Harbour, Spotted Islands, Sandwich Bay, and other places between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison where Inuit lived.

When Hopedale Mission was extended to Cape Harrison in 1894, the population consisted of 175 “Eskimo” and 177 “Settlers” (with no definition supplied as to how the categories were comprised).<sup>1</sup> When Makkovik Station was established in 1896, it was strictly a mission to settlers, although some Inuit did attend from time to time to hear service.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the high percentage of “settler” populations in these communities, all became “administratively Inuit” under government policy (while those farther south who were actually Inuit were ignored).

In 1928, Ricketts observed that at Spotted Islands, some of the natives had distinct Eskimo features and spoke in an old-fashioned English dialect. If we fast forward again, this time to 1965, Auger and Clermont (who were then involved in measuring Inuit skull size and shape, for comparison with other Inuit in Ungava Bay) describe the “mixed Inuit-white” population at Spotted Islands, a fishing village then numbering 174 people. According to Dyke, by 1965, Domino was a summer fishing station. After the close of the 1965 fishing season, the people of Spotted Island were resettled as part of the Canada-Newfoundland Resettlement program. Seven families ended up 70 miles to the northwest, at Cartwright, where Schneider reports that their independent life based on the land and sea was replaced by powerlessness and alienation.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1900's, changes in economies and politics occurred as a result of government action. The construction of the air base in Goose Bay, the flooding of traplines at Churchill Falls and the growing European population are all examples. Starting in the 1960's, further changes occurred as a result of resettlement programs. The area between Spotted Island and Charlottetown was transformed by the removal of populations to Cartwright. Certain communities which had been seasonal became areas of longer-term usage. Dr. Hanrahan defines the process as being modernization without development. The result was devastating to many such communities, and those who had been the residents.

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<sup>1</sup> Hans Rollmann, *The Scattered Settlers in the South of our Parish*, page 1

<sup>2</sup> Hans Rollmann, *The Settlers Around Makkovik*

<sup>3</sup> John Kennedy

Disease was also an issue, including influenza, whooping cough, dysentery and typhoid.<sup>4</sup> By 1868, for example, the northern Moravianized Inuit population decreased from 1,171 to 1,087. In 1900, tuberculosis and syphilis were encountered. However, since they maintained a very traditional diet, scurvy and rickets were almost unknown.

During 1918 – 1919, Spanish influenza swept through the area. Most of Hebron died, as did all the men in Okak and many Inuit in Cartwright.<sup>5</sup> This led to a re-population of some of those communities, bringing in Inuit from elsewhere. In contrast, the outbreak of influenza in Makkovik in 1900 caused no fatalities.<sup>6</sup> Other than the above examples, there is no evidence of a widespread destruction of Labrador Inuit populations as a result of disease.

For most Inuit of Labrador, other than the occasional European man in the community, there was little change in their traditional existence until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. In 1934, the first posting of the Newfoundland Rangers was made in Labrador. In 1942, the Hudson's Bay Company transferred its business interests to Newfoundland. Labrador was not accorded the vote until 1949. (McDonnell, p. 12) It was not until the construction of the American Air Force Base in Goose Bay in 1941 that a significant influx of outsiders arrived. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 7)

In due course, the Moravian mission communities came under the control of the government. However, the assumption that every person ordinarily resident in those communities was "Inuit" continued. Until recently, the Newfoundland government has viewed Labrador south of the Moravian communities as terra nullius. (Kennedy, 2, p. 31) In 1954, the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs was created and it provided funding for designated communities. These designations have changed from time to time, affecting Northwest River, Rigolet, Black Tickle and Mud Lake. (Kennedy, 2, p. 31)

Institutions like government, western medicine and church were late in establishing much of a presence in south and central Labrador. It was only in the 1960's that government and the churches decided to cooperate in the assimilationist goal of ending seasonal transhumance as part of the ill-conceived resettlement program. (Hanrahan, Dancing, p. 2)

In the south, Inuit descendants were excluded from participation in the Labrador Inuit Association and from government recognition and many programs and benefits. They continued to live in their territory, in traditional ways, relying on themselves and each other.

There is much overlap in the membership of the Labrador Inuit Association and that of NunatuKavut. Some Inuit Association members do not live in the north. Central Labrador has members of both organizations. Membership has not been static. It has shifted as the Labrador Inuit Association has redefined its membership criteria, expelling certain individuals whom it had previously identified as "Inuit".

In the curious world of Aboriginal identifiers in Labrador, some communities which did not used to be considered "Inuit" now are recognized as such by government, while others which did

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<sup>4</sup> Maura Hanrahan – Tracing Social Change, page 323

<sup>5</sup> Maura Hanrahan

<sup>6</sup> Hans Rollmann, Chronological Summary, page 31

previously have recognition now do not. Some individuals who used to be considered “Inuit” by government now are not. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 1) Neither the communities nor the individuals changed. Only government or Aboriginal organization policy has changed to suit its shifting interests.

Artificial political structures and government preferences can not define a people. Inuit utilized all of Labrador. The approach to recognition of Aboriginal people in Labrador has been influenced by government policy from the time of the establishment of the Moravian missions. However, this did not determine for the Inuit who they were. Inuit lived in extended family groupings throughout Labrador. The Inuit were aware that Europeans, and subsequently Euro-Canadians, maintained distinctions for their own purposes between northern Labrador and south and central Labrador, however, families visited and intermarried all along the coast, creating a vast web of inter-connected relatedness between all Inuit descendant-populations in Labrador.

As full members of the LIA, settlers (sometimes called Kablunângajuit or partly white in LIA documentation) are now full citizens within Nunatsiavut, and prominent both in the regional Nunatsiavut Assembly and local Inuit Community Governments. At least officially, settlers residing within Nunatsiavut have ‘become’ Inuit.<sup>7</sup>

Nunatsiavut has extended beneficiary status to a subset of the community members represented by NunatuKavut. Some of our members have chosen to change membership to Nunatsiavut to access programs and services to which they would not otherwise have been eligible. This has given Nunatsiavut ‘numbers’ on their beneficiary list but those people have remained members of their NunatuKavut community. Many of them, some of whom were founding and original members of our organization, are just waiting for acceptance of NunatuKavut for the delivery of equivalent programs, rights and services to return to our membership, where they belong.

This attack on the NunatuKavut membership would never have happened if DIAND/Department of Justice had not applied different tests to our claim than they applied to the LIA and other similar claims in Canada and had not wrongfully rejected us years ago. This is but another example of an attempt by government to disrupt the south/central communities of Inuit and “drive us north”, with the hope that this would leave our territory to be exploited by Newfoundlanders and corporate outsiders. These unjust and cruel attempts have left our community members subject to prosecution, harassment and discrimination, as a result of political and economic motivations.

### **Impact of “Passing” to Avoid Discrimination**

While in Nain during the summer of 1955, Helge Kleivan learned about a number of old letters between an Englishman who had settled in Labrador in the 1830s, and his family back in England. The man had married an Inuk woman, the only available women at that time. Like others of his time, this man’s marriage occurred when perceptions of racial and class differences were perhaps stronger than today. In letter after letter the mans English family asked, “Whom he had married?” His letters home repeatedly evaded the question. The man was aware, Kleivan concludes, of the social degradation he had undergone in their eyes. This does not mean that the

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<sup>7</sup> Kennedy, Visitor’s Accounts, page 1 – Doc # 202

man's relationship with his wife suffered, only that his feelings of shame and stigma were strongest when he imagined how his English relatives would consider his wife.

The situation along the south/central Labrador coast was somewhat different than that in northern Labrador. Inuit descendants in communities like Black Tickle, Fox Harbour or Cartwright built their identity and sense of community in contrast to whites lacking aboriginal roots, either non-aboriginal neighbours living in their villages or the many fishers who visited each summer. However, because of dominant perceptions of race that they were exposed to, their self-perception emphasized to outsiders the European rather than Inuit sides of their genealogies. Put differently, until recently, they felt a sense of stigma about the Inuit side of their ancestry.

Prior to 1985, many of today's south and central Labrador Inuit descendants downplayed their aboriginal ancestry. The stigma of looking native or Skimo (to use one local, offensive term of the time) led local people of noticeable aboriginal phenotype to remain silent about their ancestry. Aboriginal ancestry was simply not a topic people liked to discuss.

A second reason, rooted in the indelible association between Moravians and Inuit, was that most outsiders simply were not expecting to encounter persons of aboriginal descent south of Lake Melville and, as a result, did not "see them". During the late 1970s and early 1980s, bureaucrats, academics and the media were pre-programmed to consider the ethnic make-up the southern Labrador coast as an extension of Newfoundland.

As John Kennedy notes, when he began work in southern Labrador in 1979, after work in northern Labrador in 1971-72, he was genuinely surprised upon meeting the first person in Lodge Bay who most definitely had Inuit ancestors. *"When I asked people about this person, answers were terse: "She's from Cartwright." I spent the autumns of 1982 at Port Hope Simpson and 1983 in Cartwright. Again, answers about native ancestry were either curt or evaded altogether."*

Stigma associated with Inuit heritage prevented Inuit descendants between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison from involvement in either the Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador or the Labrador Inuit Association. According to John Kennedy, had stigma not held those from Cartwright, Fox Harbour, Spotted Islands and other similar places from involvement in these organizations, the boundaries of Nunatsiavut might have been much larger than they are now.

Euro-Canadian society in Labrador was highly prejudiced against "Eskimo" people. It was very difficult to gain employment if you were an Eskimo. There was no benefit to being identified by Euro-Canadian society as an Eskimo. This became especially so in the mid-1900's with the opening of the air force base in Goose Bay and the growth of a wage economy in many parts of Labrador. Community members left their own extended family communities and travelled to larger settlements in pursuit of work.

The people in these larger settlements in charge of deciding who would get the jobs were outsiders, non-Aboriginal people. It therefore became necessary for Inuit descendants to mimic the characteristics of non-Aboriginal society to gain employment or advancement. People

known to be Aboriginal were not going to get quality jobs or promotions. So they called themselves 'Labradorians', a nomenclature intended to show their distinctness from outsiders around them and that reconfirmed their relationship to each other, with their heritage and with the land.

The Inuit have been caught in a stereotype trap set by outsiders. External factors have wrought cultural devastation on a wide scale, including a forced break-up of group solidarity, a loss of control over information, the persistent criticism of their Aboriginal heritage, the erosion of their Aboriginal culture through assimilation pressures and the development, sometimes forced, of dependent relationships. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 8 - 9)

Cultures, including that of the Inuit, are constantly fluid and changing. They are responses to and products of links between global structures and local actions. Not all Aboriginal societies or communities are alike. Changes from outside structures have profound impacts, not all of which are uniform. Aboriginal people can not live as if the modern world never happened. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 11 - 13)

Dr. John Kennedy observes that ambiguous ethnic labels confused the study of Labrador Inuit cultural history. Although historic visitors to Labrador used only a few ethnic labels to refer to historic Inuit, including those of mixed ancestry and those involved in trade, each visitor used his/her own criteria, seldom explaining why they labeled persons or communities as liveyers, planters or settlers.

As reported by Kennedy, the three most common ethnic labels used to refer to historic Inuit with mixed ancestry or ties to trading posts were 'liveyeres' (variously spelled), 'planters,' and less commonly, settlers or white settlers. There is no agreement among visitors using these labels about the characteristics of people assigned by visitors to one category or the other. For example, Graham observes that livieres have intermarried to a considerable extent with the Indians and Eskimos while another, Hesketh, lumps liveyeres with both European-born Moravian Missionaries and white settlers, and ignores mixed (European/aboriginal) peoples altogether. Hesketh's four divisions of Labrador's population contains no people of mixed ancestry.

The same imprecision surrounds use of the old term planter. Consider for example Professor Cilley of the Bowdoin Expedition, who describes the Esquimaux or planters as the white and half-breed settlers are called, or Frederick Waugh who opined that "*the white settlers, or planters, live in much the same manner as the Eskimo, fishing and seal-hunting for part of the year, and trapping or furring in the winter*", or Randle Holme, who, upon meeting John Montague at North West River, described him as a planter who had emigrated from Orkney thirteen years before. In short, the range of physical and cultural diversity possible for people being labeled by these sociologically sloppy labels<sup>8</sup> is infinite, rendering the labels such as liveyere and planter virtually useless. According to Kennedy, this historic sociological mishmash has greatly reduced the visibility of Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador.

Another label used was that of "half-breed". Campbell's mention of half-breeds at St. Francis Harbour is one example. Similarly, several members from the 1891 Bowdoin Expedition

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<sup>8</sup> Kennedy, Visitor's Accounts, page 92, - Doc # 202

describe the half breed Eskimos at Fox Harbour. Visitors to Labrador, such as Lieber, interact with the Esquimaux of Domino and nearby Spotted Islands, explicitly identifying the people and place described. With Lieber, we have a description of a community of Inuktitut-speaking Inuit.

Unfortunately, most of the relatively few historic visitors who actually described people between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison used the ambiguous labels discussed above. When combined with the problem of stigma (and the unlikelihood that a visitor could tell with accuracy the exact ancestry of any particular native person), ambiguous and contradictory ethnic labels have created a legacy of confusion that has stalled recognition of today's Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador.<sup>9</sup> Dr. Roger MacDonnell calls these Inuit descendants the "Non-Moravian Inuit of Labrador".

The terms used by the Moravians are no more helpful. Moravians had taken very early to calling everyone, Inuit or otherwise, who lived in the south of Labrador as "southlanders". Starting around 1834, Moravians began to call the Europeans of the south "Settlers".

The historic category "Esquimau" did not have any overriding concern for genealogy or prior cultural affiliation, including as it did both endogamous Inuit and mixed Inuit/white descendants and being based primarily on adherence to Moravian doctrine. Anyone who did not adhere to Moravian doctrine was expelled and called a "southlander". Both northern and southern groups had people of mixed descent and no distinctions were made based on that criteria.

Traditional cultural identifiers began to fade from use in the 1800's. After the establishment of the Moravian missions, descriptors come to be more associated with whether one was an adherent of the Moravian mission than what might have constituted a traditional cultural identifier.

There continued, however, to be a strong sense of connection between the identifiers used to describe Inuit descendants and the land. Labradorians proudly celebrated their connection to being "of" Labrador. They demonstrated their commitment to and connection with Labrador. They were the people that lived there all year, and always had. They were not "come from away's" nor did they go home when the fishing season was over or when winter came. These identifiers proclaim their connection to the bountiful lands of Labrador and, taken in connection with Inuit ancestry and culture, are a continuing assertion of their aboriginality.

Everyone who made the Moravian settlements their permanent home, regardless of ancestry, was considered to fall within the same category for church and governmental purposes. This has continued into the modern day and has been preserved conceptually in the Labrador Inuit Association Land Claim Agreement. Similarly, those who lived an Inuit life outside the Moravian communities, whether Inuit, part-Inuit or married to an Inuit, was treated in the same way by church and state.

The use of the term "Eskimo" may not have meant that the person being described was "Inuit". The use of the term "Settler" may mean that the person being described was Inuit. Accepting an outsider/visitor's description of someone as a "half-breed" assumes that person had some

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<sup>9</sup> Kennedy, Visitor's Accounts, page 91 et seq

evidence to use to make that determination and had the knowledge and experience to make such an evaluation.

What emerges from the review of the identifiers used is that the correct question is how the person identified him or her self and how the local Aboriginal community identified that person. What Euro-Canadians chose to call a person is of no great relevance.

The Inuit of south and central Labrador knew that they were of and from that land. They just didn't live in the Moravian towns. They continued to live a more traditional mode of life in their ancestral lands. They identified themselves as being different from non-Aboriginal people, different from the seasonal presence of Newfoundlanders, different from new-comers to the land. They lived in small extended family groupings throughout Labrador. They travelled and visited with and traded with Moravian Inuit and other non-Moravian Inuit. Over time in the 1800's, these communities absorbed a small number of European males. Those men did not change the fundamental nature of the Inuit communities nor deprive them of their culture.

The members of Inuit communities, some of whom would have had mixed ancestry, knew who each other were and knew who lived in neighbouring communities. They travelled, visited, exchanged stories and engaged in trade. They lived in inter-connected collectivities.

Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador were also aware of political differences between themselves and the Inuit descendant population of northern Labrador. However, these differences are adaptations to the respective political environments that each population faced and were no different than the distinctions that had always existed in Inuit society between, for example, Ogbuctocks and Noninucks or between Putlava'miut and Netcetu'miut. Each population is an equally legitimate and valid modern day manifestation of "Inuitness".

In the mid-1900's, a shift in relative economic importance within Labrador occurred. From the time of the Moravians, access to economic opportunity had sometimes been the highest in the Moravian communities. With the arrival of Euro-Canadian jobs in south and central Labrador, the economic balance shifted within Labrador to the south and central areas. The growth of a wage economy in south and central Labrador caused a population shift away from extended family communities and into centralized settlements. Misguided government resettlement programs had devastating effects on traditional communities.

In many areas of Labrador, it became necessary due to racial prejudice and for employment and other Euro-social purposes for Aboriginal people to downplay their Inuit ancestry. Outsiders, whether government or business, preferred to hire people who looked and acted most like them. In such circumstances, avoidance and denial are common coping strategies of peoples all over the world. Labrador was no different. However, this does not reflect an accurate picture of how the Inuit descendants saw themselves.

The consequence of these changes was to create an atmosphere where, for a few generations, some Inuit-descendants in south and central Labrador submerged, for certain purposes, the outward expression and manifestation of their Inuit ancestry. This did not constitute, at any time, a denial of their Inuit heritage, but was merely an avoidance of an outward manifestation of that

Aboriginality to non-Aboriginal people in positions of authority or economic or social influence. As between each other, such precautions were unnecessary and the social and familial network as between Aboriginal people in south and central Labrador continued as it always had.

This continuity is evident through both material culture and non-material cultural manifestations. Only in the last decade has any attempt at primary analysis been done of cultural continuity in the Inuit descendants of south and central Labrador.

Dr. Kennedy in his 2001 paper prepared for DIAND confirms that there is no difference between the Inuit descendants of the north and those of the south. Birth, wedding and death records show Inuit names as the witnesses and sponsors for mixed-union marriages and for the baptisms and burials of mixed-union descendants. The ancestry of the membership in the Labrador Inuit Association and that of NunatuKavut is similar and interrelated.

Dr. Kennedy compared the Inuit descendant populations of the Labrador Inuit Association and that of NunatuKavut and confirms that the Inuit beneficiaries under the LIA Land Claim Agreement are no different than the members of NunatuKavut. Dr. Kennedy concludes that the residents of Black Tickle have no more or less Inuit ancestry than those of Postville, Makkovik, Cartwright or Fox Harbour. Dr. Hanrahan concludes essentially the same in observing that there is not much difference between Rigolet and Port Hope Simpson, or between Cartwright and Postville. Cartwright, for example, is entirely populated with Inuit descendants. (Hanrahan, Solid, p. 1 - 2)

The Inuit descendant population in Labrador is essentially one people, divided administratively. The artificiality of this can easily be seen in the case of Black Tickle which was, for a period of time, a designated native community and then subsequently, by administrative decision, ceased to be so designated. One difference, of course, is that the NunatuKavut membership test is more restrictive than that under the LIA Land Claim Agreement.

### **Procurement and uses of Sea and Land Resources in the Ancestral Lands.**

Within the confines of this submission it is almost impossible to track all the land uses back through time. The historic information is not available, since the few observers who were writing things down since the 1500's, paid no attention to what the Inuit of South/Central Labrador were harvesting and eating. The records just don't exist.

However, it is possible to extrapolate faunal remains from the few archaeological digs which we do have and link their foodways with people through time. Since the budget was not available during the present study period to review the entire land base it was decided to concentrate on the area just north of Cape Charles and use St. Lewis Bay, Alexis Bay and St Michael's Bay as a case study area. This section attempts to describe the historic harvesting of resources from the broader area since contact, and link the harvesting with people shown in genealogies to be ancestors of present day NunatuKavut residents.

Most of the history of North America is recorded in the written record from European observers. However, native history is written in the uses of land and the organic and inorganic products of

that land. The native use of what we today call 'resources' is a history of the procurement and working of stone, wood, fish, plants, birds and land and sea mammals. The best way to tell that story and history is through the biographical depictions of activities from oral histories and personal biographies and through direct present day observations. For native people their activities and stories are best told by mapping their land use activities on present day maps. The maps and the biographies which produced them are their story. The people of South/Central Labrador are no different than aboriginal peoples elsewhere in the world in this regard.

Several attempts over the past four decades have been made to summarize and map the land uses in South/Central Labrador. In 1979 and 1980 the newly formed Labrador Institute of Northern Studies of Memorial University funded by Petro Canada, undertook to map land uses and the seasonal migrations of Labrador residents. The results of that work were published in 1980<sup>10</sup>) and the southern component of that study was conducted by fourteen local field workers and the results were compiled by Lawrence Jackson in a publication entitled 'Bounty of a Barren Coast' (Jackson, 1982).

In 1989 the Labrador Metis Association undertook to map historical trap lines and land uses in their territory. During the period of 2001 to 2003 the Department of Fisheries and Oceans in partnership with other governmental department and the Labrador Metis Nation gathered Traditional Knowledge of marine resources in the area from St Peter's Bay (Lat 52<sup>0</sup> 04') to Smokey (Lat 54<sup>0</sup> 28'). Traditional Knowledge was gathered by way of informant interviews and the information resulted in the Community-Based Coastal Resources Inventory. In 2005, the Labrador Metis Nation (today's NunatuKavut) hired field workers to document and map land uses of its membership under a Memorandum of Understanding and a Forestry Agreement with the province of Newfoundland. It is from these four sources and ongoing interviews with elders which we will draw the fish, bird, plant and mammal uses. The resulting maps and their historiography will inform this submission to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. The sum total of those resource uses, both historical and present are given in the fold out map at Appendix 1 of this document.

### **Historical Land and Sea Use**

From recorded history in archival sources we know that Inuit occupied South/Central Labrador from the latter half of the sixteenth century and that their transhumance and migratory lifestyles were designed around resource procurement in both the cold and warm seasons (Stopp, 2002). *"In 1694, Louis Jolliet observed Inuit sealing and hunting at Mecatina; he described an abandoned Inuit sod house at Cape Charles surrounded by chunks of seal fat and the bones of foxes, hares, bears, caribou, seagulls, and ravens; and in the Spotted Islands area, his crew was repeatedly offered seal meat and seal oil. In 1702, Sieur Augustin de Courtemance observed sod house at Baie des HaHa with the remains of seal, caribou, and whale;..".* From the accounts of the Moravians in 1765 at the time of the treaty event Inuit were adamant and upon several occasions insisted that they needed to travel to the island of Newfoundland to procure wood for their darts and arrows (probably pine) and that when asked on one occasion whether they would come to the ship Inuit replied that they were too busy catching cod fish for their families (Lysaght, 1971).

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<sup>10</sup> Williamson, 1980

Stopp goes on to say that: *"Inuit presence in the south can be understood from an environmental perspective if we consider the resource-rich ecosystems south of Hamilton Inlet. The coastline between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Hamilton Inlet harbours a number of migratory species of sea mammals such as whales and harp seals, birds, and anadromous fish, and supports a variety of land mammals and freshwater species. The Strait of Belle Isle itself is a natural funnel for pack ice and migrating sea mammals. The southernmost Strait of Belle Isle and the Gulf of St. Lawrence would have offered relative subsistence security throughout the year with some advantages over more northerly regions. Encampments would have had access to sea mammal populations that overwinter in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; caribou may have been more readily accessible than in northern regions, where several days journeying into the interior were needed to find them (Taylor, 1974, 1977:Taylor and Taylor, 1977). Slightly warmer average temperatures resulted in greater species diversity and a shorter cold seasons for humans. The island archipelagos and deep bays between Chateaux Bay and Hamilton Inlet, and southwestward to L'Anse au Clair, are well suited for hunting both migratory and non-migratory seal species, as well as for salmon fishing, trout fishing, and hunting on land."*

The artifact record from the sparse archaeological work indicates both warm and cold season occupation and land uses with tent rings, sod houses, komatic runners, ulus, fox traps, etc.<sup>11</sup>. The range of cobble cache pits probably coincided with the twice yearly harp seal migration and, *"the decision to cache a resource represent a vital adaptive mechanism of hunter-gatherer life. Caching provides a store of food, hide and bone during potential times of scarcity, and also demarcates a resource region. Cobble cache pits are occasionally situated in relict cobble beaches at headlands or on outermost islands, and are associated with ice-edge or open sea hunting."*

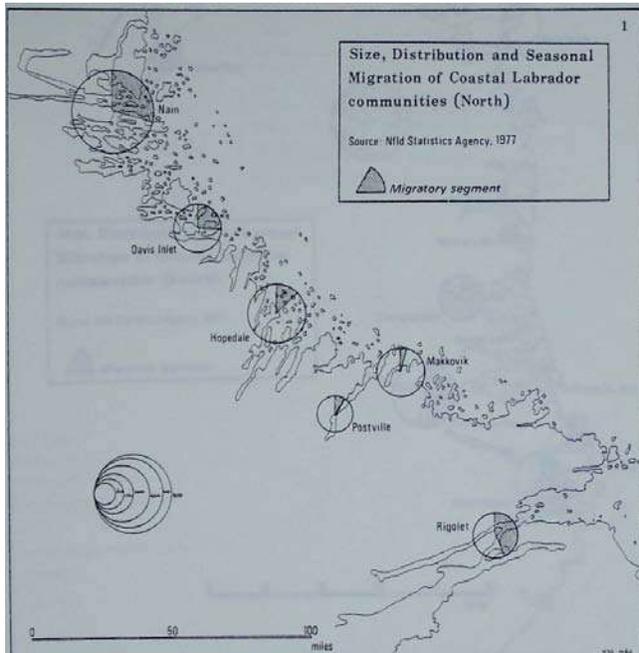
*"Each season introduced a series of settlement moves that corresponded with resource procurement. In midwinter many species become less mobile and more easily captured, such as caribou, moose, bear, muskrat and beaver in the interior; while along the coast, seals can be hunted at airholes along the sinaa, or ice edge, and char or trout can be caught through the ice in near-shore lakes. Late winter/ early spring is still good for sinaa hunting, char appear in the inner bays, and caribou continue to linger in the upland regions. In late spring and early summer seals move northwards to meet the pack ice; small groupings of caribou appear along the coast; bird migrations northwards can be intercepted; and salmon and char runs begin in the river systems. During the short northern summer, some seals remain in the bays and coastal waters, freshwater and saltwater fish are available, and berries ripen. Late summer/early autumn is the time when caribou are at their fattest and with hides in prime condition; seals and fish are still available, and large flocks of southward migrating birds can be intercepted. By late autumn/ early winter, harp seals can be caught along the coast during their southward migration to the Gulf; caribou are inland; and ptarmigan, spruce grouse and small mammals become available once again. Some small mammals such as foxes, are available year-round both inland and on the coast with their furs in prime condition during cold weather."* (Stopp, 2002).

Present day land and sea uses follow the same species mix as historical harvesting with a slightly modified pattern to accommodate the wage economy. In the 1970's Inuit descendants in

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<sup>11</sup> Stopp, 2002 – Doc # 116

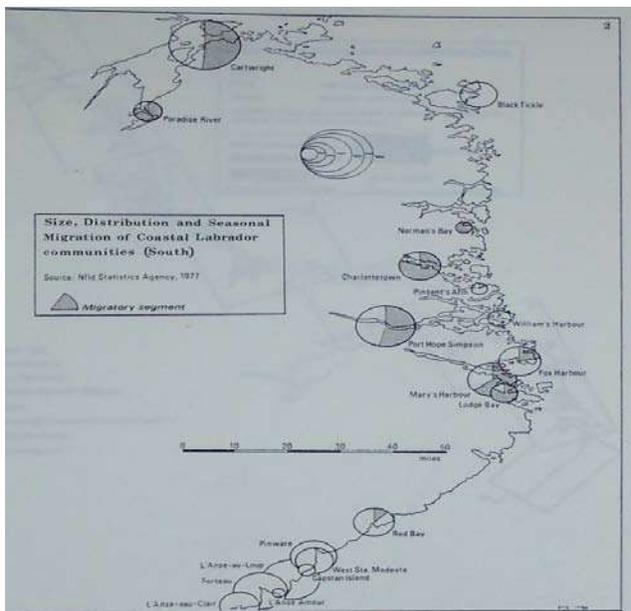
South/Central Labrador followed a highly migratory existence depending on resource availability and the degree of dependence on a wage economy<sup>12, 13</sup>. The migratory lifestyle brought forward by Tony Williamson in 1980 shows a much higher number of people in transit in southern Labrador during the various seasons than in the north after settlement in central communities after the Second world war (Kennedy, 1995 and Williamson, 1980).



**Figure # 13**

**North Coast.**

**Taken from Initial Social and Economic Evaluation of the Labrador Coast, H.A. Williamson, 1980.**



**Figure # 14**

**South Coast**

**Taken from Initial Social and Economic Evaluation of the Labrador Coast, H.A. Williamson, 1980.**

<sup>12</sup> Kennedy, 1995

<sup>13</sup> Zimmerly, 1982

A close comparison of the contents of Figure # 13 and Figure # 14 taken from the Williamson data is a case in point; more than fifty percent of the populations in Paradise River Cartwright, Norman's Bay, Charlottetown, Port Hope Simpson, Mary's Hr and Lodge Bay move to one or two different locations for resource procurement in the 1970's. By comparison, the longer settled Moravian communities in the north are much more sedentary showing none of them with more than fifty percentile of the population being migratory, in fact, it is only Rigolet in Hamilton Inlet in the south, which exhibits nearly fifty percent seasonal migration for resource procurements, with Postville, Hopedale and Makkovik far below twenty five percentile and only Nain just over twenty five percent. This data clearly shows that mobility of the Inuit descent people (for resource procurements and processing) in the 1970's, was much higher in southern Labrador than their Inuit cousins in the north.

If the traditional concept of family mobility and transhumance for harvesting is used as an indicator of cultural retention, then the Inuit who settled in the Moravian communities in the north exhibit much less of 'the chase' than in the south well into the twentieth century. Settlement into communities of any extent in Southern Labrador did not occur until after the Second World War (Kennedy, 1995) and is evident in the census taking of 1935 for Labrador (see [ngb.chebucto.org](http://ngb.chebucto.org)). The Williamson data and charts (Figure 13 and 14) show that even though Inuit descendants in the south were gathered into fewer communities at that time (1970's) they were still accessing the same resources and following the cultural traditions of their ancestors. They were on the land.

### **Species Resource Utilization**

The historical utilization of land and sea materials did not change significantly from time immemorial. From the first glimpses of recorded species utilization above until the present living from the land on the 'barren' coast of Labrador was not easy and was not for everyone. As indicated by Jackson in *Bounty of A Barren Coast* it was tough for everyone and especially for the occasional itinerant European who decided to stay.

### **Resource Procurement, the People and their Culture - A Case Study**

At the beginning of this project it became clear that linking all the families in our communities with their land uses was a very huge task, as discussed above. What was decided instead was to single out one particular area and show the land uses and link those uses to adjacent people and their ancestors as a Case Study. The area of St. Lewis to St. Michaels Bay was the choice area selected for several reasons;

- (1) We held a fair amount of data from this area, since it has been somewhat more accessible to outside researchers than other parts of the coast since WW II.
- (2) Battle Harbour was a center for trade historically, the level of record keeping was much higher in terms of church records, travellers accounts and pictures.

- (3) Most importantly, these several bays are in the vicinity of Chateaux Bay where the 1765 Treaty was negotiated and it was important to show continued Inuit occupation and the use of sea and land resources.

First, we will attempt to show the resources utilized and the range over which those resources are harvested in the area, through the map series below. The maps in the figures below are a compilation of the four sources listed above since the 1970's. The range inland had to be limited to some extent for the purposes of illustration only. The full extent of resource uses can be viewed in the map at Appendix I.

Secondly, we will attempt to show the families who used these resources through time, using genealogical family trees, what few records we have, and a pictorial representation where possible, of the families. Since there was almost no written 'recording' of species utilization in the past, we can use present day patterns, the archaeological footprint and what oral histories we have to illustrate historic use patterns.

The series of maps below show a stepped progression of uses as layers of use is added to illustrate harvest and consumption. It must be kept in mind that many activities were opportunistic in nature, for example, a person on a trapline took full advantage of any big or small game encountered. The same can be said for fish, sea mammals and birds while shore line or open water hunting or fishing, a gun, bow and arrow or harpoon was always in a boat that was primarily fishing. To separate the various activities does not show the true picture and it is the last image of all the activities at Figure 21 which best illustrates what people did perhaps even together on a single day. In the historic past for example, caribou were not uncommon on offshore islands so that big game hunting could be combined with fishing or seal procurements.

The series of maps are on the following fold out pages;

Figure # 15 - Showing travel routes from the collection of Traditional Knowledge. Main travel routes would also have a great many individual branches (not shown here) in pursuit of game and other resources.

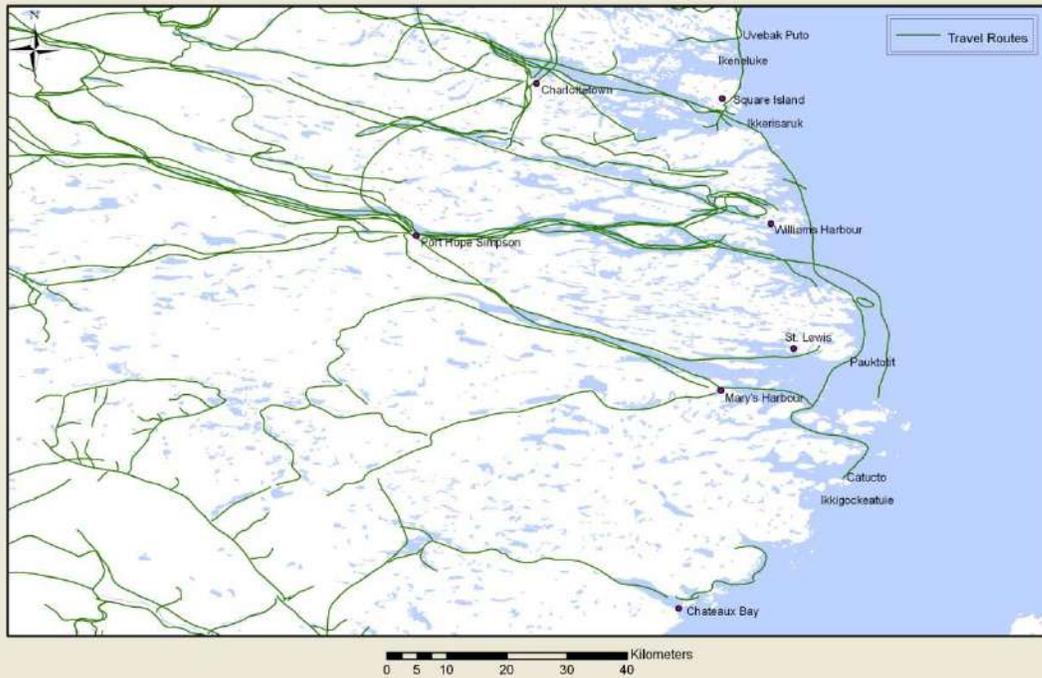


Figure #15 - Showing travel routes from the collection of Traditional Knowledge. Main travel routes would also have a great many individual branches (not shown here) in pursuit of game and other resources.

Insert Figure 16

Figure # 16 - Shows trapping zones for fur-bearing animals. The areas not trapped are primarily upland zones where feed is scarce and populations low.

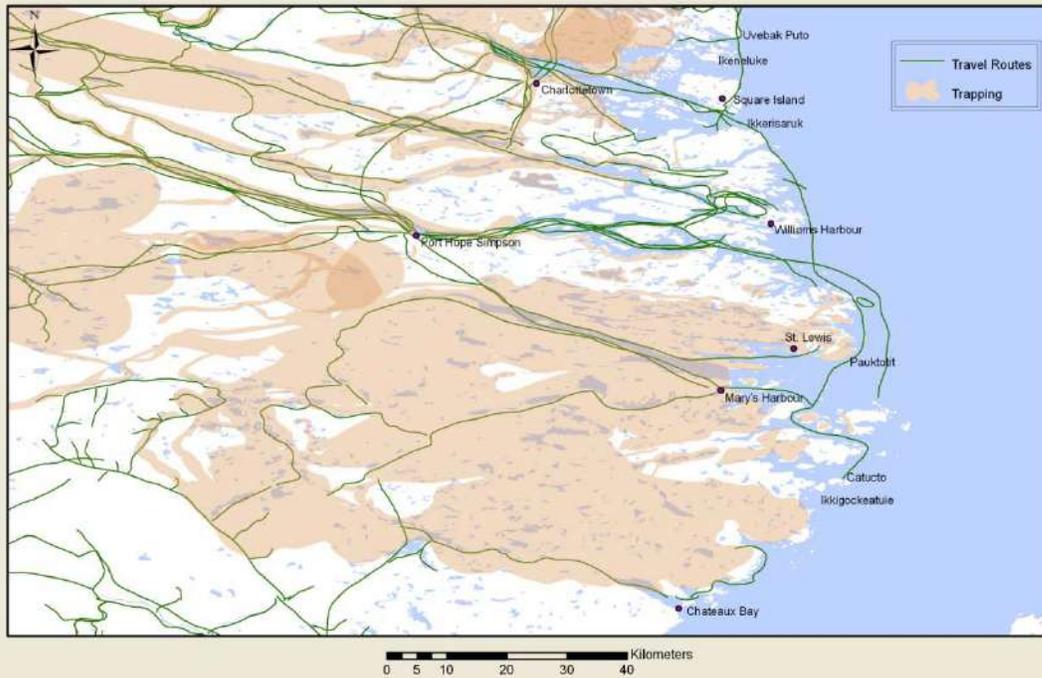
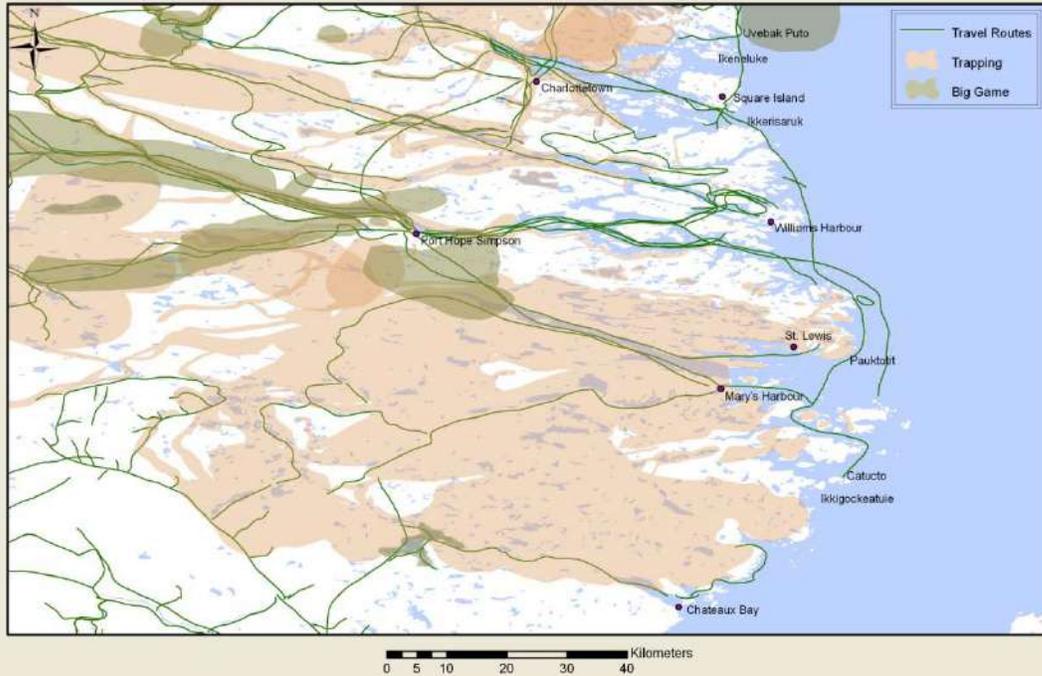


Figure #16 Shows trapping zones for fur-bearing animals. The areas not trapped are primarily upland zones where feed is scarce and populations low.

Figure # 17 - Shows primarily hunting for big game in recent years along major travel routes and in areas frequented by big game. Due to low population numbers, caribou in this areas, the primary source of big game, has been hunted very little in the latter half of the twentieth century.

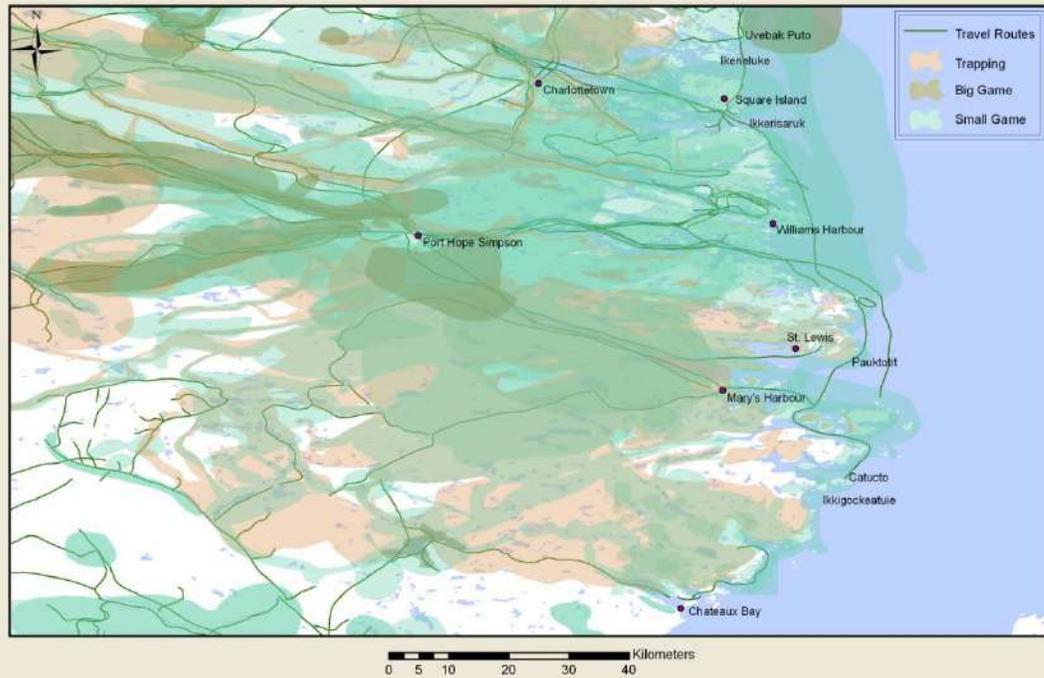


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Figure 17

Figure # 17 Shows primarily hunting for big game in recent years along major travel routes and in areas frequented by big game. Due to low population numbers, caribou in this area, the primary source of big game, has been hunted very little in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Figure # 18 - Easily illustrates opportunistic hunting in small game and birds. Since it was likely done in combination with other activities, such as fishing, trapping or berry picking, it is perhaps the most ubiquitous use of the land and the sea resources.



Insert

Figure 18

Figure #18 Easily illustrates opportunistic hunting in small game and birds. Since it was likely done in combination with other activities, such as fishing, trapping or berry picking, it is perhaps the most ubiquitous use of the land and the sea resources.

Figure # 19 - Shows the uses of fish and marine mammals throughout both the salt and freshwater areas and up to approximately 20 kilometers out to sea in areas of particular abundance.

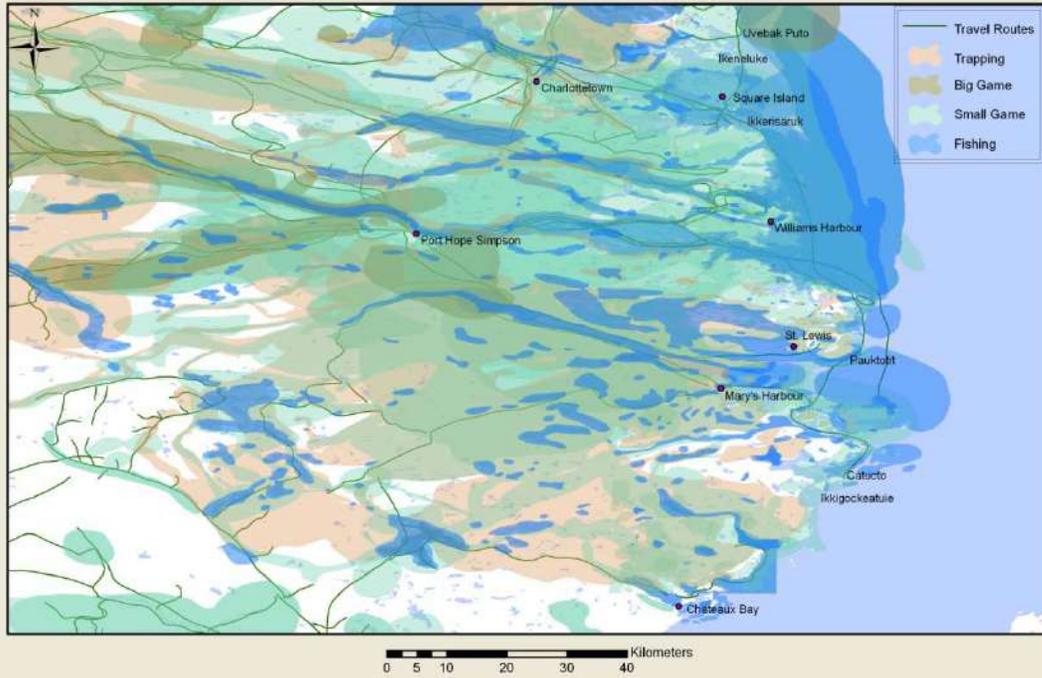
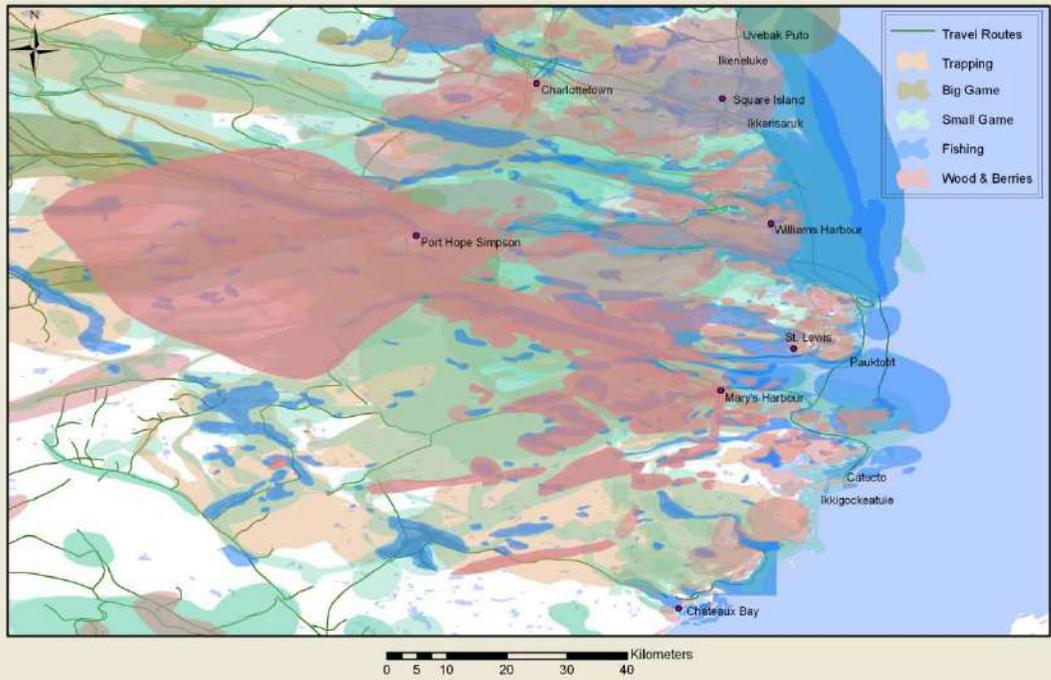


Figure 19

Insert

Figure # 19 Shows the uses of fish and marine mammals throughout both the salt and freshwater areas and up to approximately 20 kilometers out to sea in areas of particular abundance.

Figure # 20 - Illustrates the uses of wood sawlogs and berries lumped together. The large harvest area near Port Hope Simpson is a result of commercial activities over the past eighty years following the establishment of a pulpwood harvest operation there. Traditional uses are more localized.

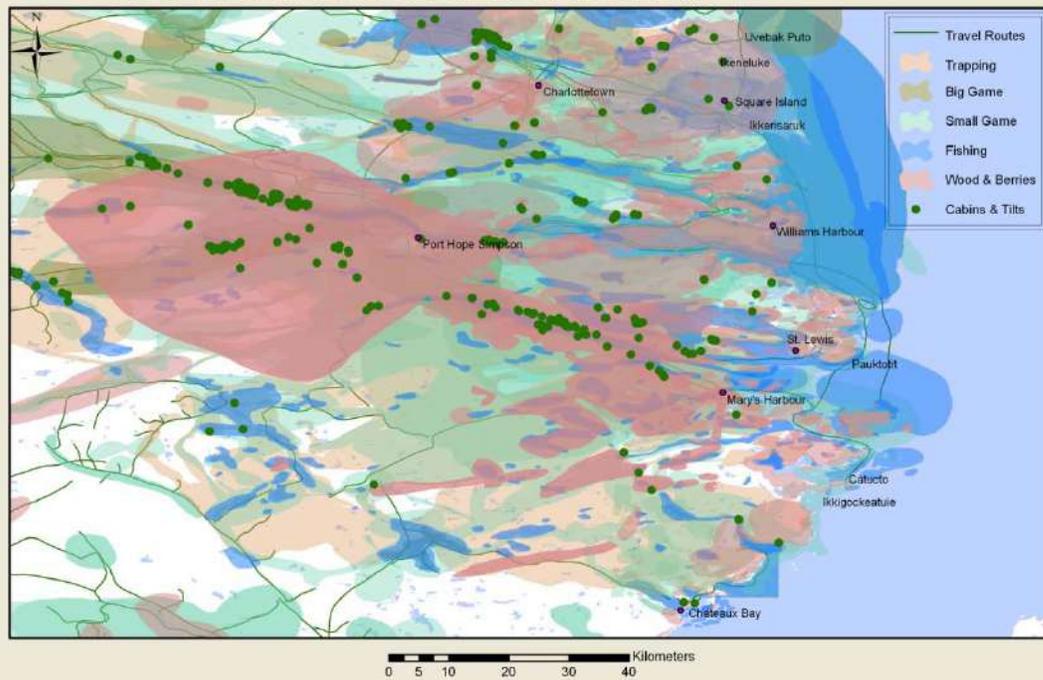


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Figure 20

Figure # 20 Illustrates the use of wood sawlogs and berries lumped together. The large harvest area near Port Hope Simpson is a result of commercial activities over the past eighty years following the establishment of a pulpwood harvest operation there. Traditional uses are more localized.

Figure # 21 - Illustrates cabins and tilts in the various areas. The establishment of a cabin or tilt was based primarily on the resource harvest for these areas such as hunting, fishing and trapping.

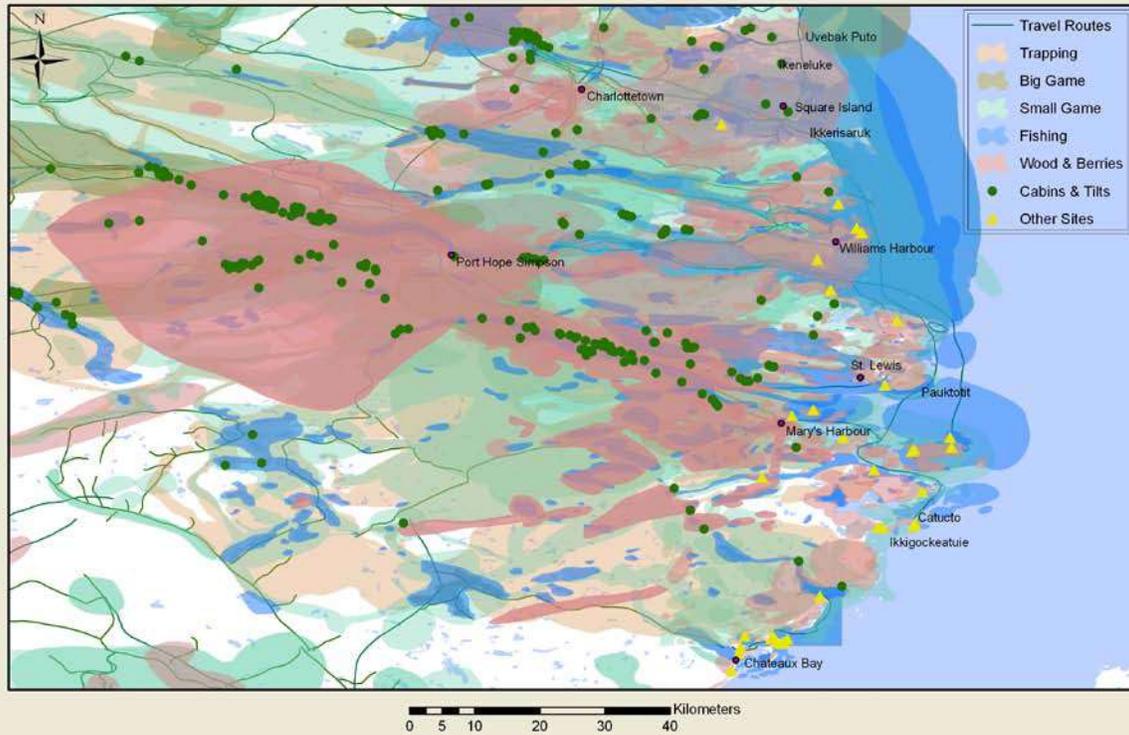


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Figure 21

Figure # 21 Illustrates cabins and tilts in the various areas. The establishment of a cabin or tilt was based primarily on the resource harvest for these areas such as hunting, fishing and trapping.

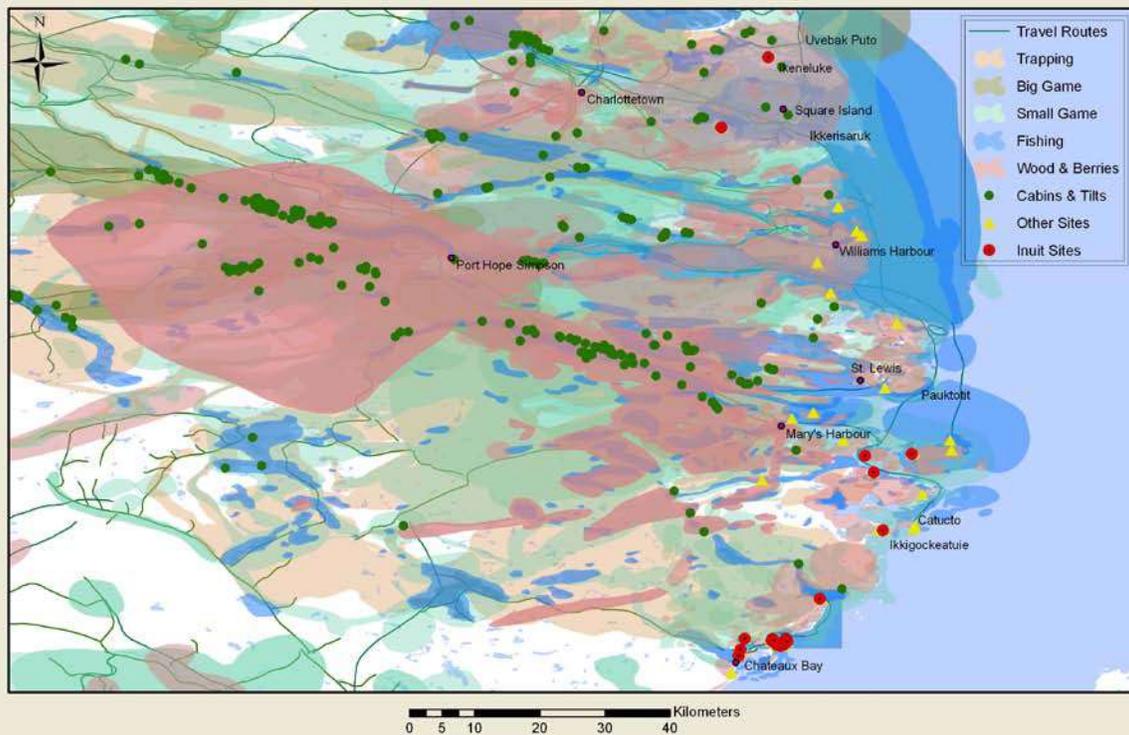
Figure # 22 - Shows archaeological sites which have sod houses of underdetermined origin and cache sites (not fully investigated).



Insert Figure 22

Figure # 22 Shows archaeological sites which have been identified to date which are of Historic Inuit determination. To date only one site at Seal Island near Chateaux Bay dating to the late eighteenth century, has been fully excavated.

Figure # 23 - Shows archaeological sites that have been identified to date which are of Historic Inuit determination. To date only one site at Seal Island, near Chateaux Bay, dating to the eighteenth century, has been fully excavated. These sites are overlain on all the cumulative land and sea uses in the study area.



Insert # 23

Figure # 23 Shows additional sites which have sod houses of undetermined origin and cache sites (not fully investigated) overlain on all the cumulative land and sea uses in the study area.

No archaeological surveys have been conducted in the inland areas. In 2007, Dr. William Fitzhugh found a winter/summer Inuit houses at the Hart Chalet site at the mouth of the Bradore River, approximately 90 kilometers southwest of the present study area<sup>14</sup>. He found three sites which had mounded walls typical of 17/18th century Inuit dwellings on which he remarked, *"The geographic location is anomalous for Inuit as it lies at the bottom of a sheltered bay in the forest and near the outlet of the Bradore River"*.

Since there has never been any archaeological survey work of the other inner bays in southern Labrador we simply do not know how far inland Historic Inuit utilized the land resources. With uplifting/falling of the coastline combined with heavy forest cover this type of inland investigation is both very time consuming and difficult. However as Dr. Fitzhugh notes, *"Location of these two winter camps establishes a new boundary for Inuit occupation far south of the nearest central Labrador coast sites in Hamilton Inlet and Cartwright"*. (Fitzhugh 2009).

The many layered colors of the resource uses from Figure 23 above shows an intimate relationship between the people of this area and the land and sea. The table below shows the results of surveys conducted in a portion of NunatuKavut territory during 2003 and 2004 to determine the traditional land uses which are typical of the entire territory;

**Table # 13    Showing the Results of Land Use Surveys in the Sandwich Bay population of Inuit-Labradorians from Cartwright to Paradise River. The survey was blind as to gender of informants.**

<b>Total Number of informants surveyed was 88</b>
<b>55% do or have trapped furbearers in their lifetime</b>
<b>75% of these traplines are in historical trapping areas</b>
<b>92% of respondents hunt small game</b>
<b>49% of respondents hunt large game</b>
<b>93% pick berries</b>
<b>92% cut their own firewood</b>
<b>51% cut sawlogs</b>
<b>36% cut wood for other purposes (snowshoes, kometics, boats, etc.)</b>
<b>27% harvest other forest related items (medicines, bark, etc.)</b>
<b>83% use the land for motorized recreation (most is harvest oriented)</b>
<b>38% use the land for other forms of recreation</b>
<b>77% travel to areas important to them for the view or reflection (spiritual places)</b>
<b>50% have specific areas which they want protected from industrialized activities</b>

The above table is very clear in showing a high association between the people and the land on which they live. For the most part, the table shows subsistence living with some activities for profit but there are no households which do not have some harvesting activities on the land inherited from their ancestors.

<sup>14</sup> Fitzhugh, Doc # 191 and # 207

It is only very recently that any in-depth archaeological work has been done on the Atlantic coast of Labrador, south of Cape Pocupine. The most recent dig site is at Indian Harbour on Huntingdon Island in Sandwich Bay (Netsektok). The dig by Dr. Lisa Rankin and her crew in the summer of 2009 revealed a double occupancy Inuit house from the latter part of the sixteenth century (Pers. Comm Dr. Lisa Rankin).



**Photo # 29**

**Stone lamp *in situ* at the Inuit dig site on Huntingdon island in 2009. This is one of four such lamps possibly indicating four nuclear families resident in the house.**

In order to review the diets and harvest practices of Historic Inuit and Inuit/Labradorians we have only three substantial archaeological digs on which to rely south of Cape Porcupine. These can give us some insights into food harvesting and foodways. From the one archaeological dig in the area at Seal Island in southern Labrador (Auger, 1991) , the dig at an Inuit site at Snack Cove (Brewster, 2005) and the cross cultural house dig at North River (Beaudoin, 2008), it is possible to construct a fairly accurate picture of the resources consumed in historic times (at least, the late seventeenth to the latter eighteenth century). The table below is a cumulative record from all three archaeological digs;

**Table # 14 Table showing the various faunal remains at three dig sites in South Central Labrador. An attempt was made to list species in decreasing order of importance in the sites.**

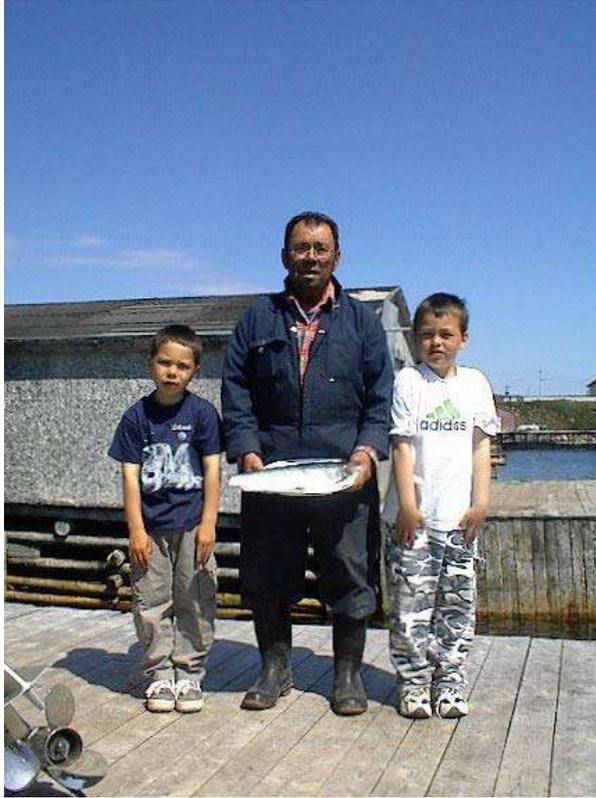
<b>Mammals</b>	<b>Birds</b>
Harp Seal	Eider Duck
Harbour Seal	Scoter Duck
Ringed Seal	White winged Scoter
Grey Seal	Oldsquaw
Bearded Seal	Black backed Gull
Porpoise/Dolphin	Murre/Razorbill
Caribou	Guillemot
Moose	Raven

Bear	Willow/Rock Ptarmigan
Dog/Wolf	Great Horned Owl
Arctic Hare	
Mustelids	<b>Fish</b>
Whale	
Fox	Atlantic Cod
Wolverine	Salmon
Otter	Sculpin
Muskrat	
Rodent and Lemming	<b>Bivalves</b>
Beaver	Mytilus edulis
Porcupine	

The five species of seal were by far the dominant species group for consumption. The apparent lack of some species of fish and berries in the middens is the result of the ephemeral nature of their remains and the lack of persistence of any hard parts over time. The table above coincides with the species list harvested for food, implements and clothing up to the present time. The major items of consumption from the archaeological record is essentially the same as the species harvested into the twenty first century (excluding a few minor and protected species) and illustrated by the previous maps at Figures 15 through 21 above.



**Photo # 30** Typical historical photograph from the last century of a family and their resource harvesting. In this case it is the Pardy family of Huntingdon Island (Circa 1893). Image from the Curwen Collection at the Provincial Archives, the Rooms, St. John's, NL.



**Photo # 31**

**A more modern expression of the harvest. Picture shows Norman Russell of Williams Harbour (mid 1990's) with nephews and a salmon.**

**Photo from LMN files.**

### **What families of people harvested these species of the study area in the historic period?**

The first hint in the historical record we have for subsistence harvesting processes come from observations such as those made by Dr. Simeon Evans in an expedition from Williams College in 1860. Although this incident takes place in the Straights area (a little south of our study area) it illustrates a particular harvesting technique by the wife of John Goddard who is titled as an "Esquimaux Squaw" <sup>15</sup> and cited previously.

During the summer of 1882 the community of Fox Harbor (today's St. Lewis) was visited by two individuals who left an indelible record to be considered. The first was Winfred Alden Stearns who describes Fox Harbor and it's inhabitants: *"Here (Fox Hr), at length, we had struck a real semi-arctic habitation, inhabited by Indians, Esquimaux, and several half breed families."* On visiting these families Stearns and his men collected a number of tools used in the harvest which is relevant here, *"Our men returned to the vessel loaded with spears, bows and arrows, komatik whips, sealskin boots and mittens and several finely spotted seal skins."* <sup>16</sup>.

That very same year Fox Harbor saw another visitor and it is unclear whether DH Talbot was accompanying the Stearns expedition, or not. In any event, Talbot is responsible for some very fine photographs of the inhabitants of Fox Hr and alludes to their subsistence harvesting in his

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<sup>15</sup> See Kennedy, 2010, pgs. 12 & 13 – Doc # 202

<sup>16</sup> Stearns, 1884, pg 19

scripts accompanying the photographs, recently obtained from the Library at the University of Iowa:



**Photo # 32** Picture depicting the Thomas Thoms (Shunock) family (circa 1882).  
Script associated with this picture can be quoted, "*Eskimo family and summer residence, Fox harbor. In winter they move to the interior and there live in skin tents*". Photo compliments of the University of Iowa.

The genealogies for the individuals pictured above (Thoms/Shunock family) can be linked both back and forward in time to give us a better insight into both their ethnicity and their life styles. From recent research at Fox Hr and information from elders, the two older individuals depicted are Thomas Thoms (Shunock) and his wife Ann with their children. The last descendant of the Thoms family name recently passed away, Aunt Charlotte Curl (nee Thoms), however, many descendants from the female side of the Thoms family are present day claimants of NunatuKavut.

Also James Richard Thoms was raised as a Holley with many descendants today with the Holley name. James Richard Holley (Thoms) married Sarah Ann Kippenuck. The picture below shows Sarah with her children, many with descendants who are members of NunatuKavut.



**Photo # 32b**

**L to R,  
Jane Holley,  
John Holley,  
Sarah (Kippenuck) Holley,  
George Holley  
(baby),  
Gertrude Holley  
James Holley.**

**Circa 1932.**

A line of descent in the Thoms/Shunock family is illustrated on the following fold out page;

The Thoms (Shunock) family lived primarily in the area of St. Francis Hr and Fox Hr<sup>17</sup>. The rather whimsical anecdote below describes the life style habits of a mixed couple from our Case Study area, that of Michael Toomer (Loomer) and his wife Mary (actually Betsy Thoms/Shunock).

*"We set sail in an "Irishman's hurricane"- plenty of rain and no wind. As my friend and I were talking of birds, the blacksmith said that the prettiest bird he ever saw in Mary Harbour stood fishing from the rocks. " She was Micky Loomer's daughter, sorrh. He was an Englishman, sorrh, the prettiest man iver, you would see, sorrh. He married an Eskimo squaw,very poor-looking sorrh. She had but the one eye, sorrh. They had no children, so they adopted this girl. She was the child of a man named Tubbs, sorrh. And a very foinelooking girl as iver I see, sorrh. But when she became a woman, sorrh, she was very ornary looking. Yes, Micky Loomer and his squaw lived in an igloo by the falls for thirty years, sorrh. This was only in the summer. They were twenty miles back in the woods in the winters. It was trout and salmon fishing he was in the summer, sorrh, and trapping in the winter." "What did he do with all his money?" "Rum, sorrh, Bottle 'Arbor rum, sorrh. He could have a barrel of money, sorrh, but it all went to rum, sorrh. Oh, yes, he is dead, but he lived to be nearly eighty, sorrh." <sup>18</sup>*

<sup>17</sup> Revisiting the Labrador Inuit-Metis Genealogies, Patricia Way, 2010, Appendix # 4 – Doc # 210

<sup>18</sup> C. W. Townsend, A Labrador Spring, 1910.



This tale from Townsend's Labrador Spring not only tells of the imbibing habits of the European spouse but also the year round resource harvesting cycles, in keeping with Inuit life styles, no doubt influenced by the '*very poor looking Eskimo Squaw*'. Perhaps any actual money earned did go into the Battle Harbor rum.

Talbot (1882) also refers to a transhumance lifestyle in another picture taken at that time:



**Photo # 33** Photo showing two people (Mary and Thomas Paulo) with their grandchildren. The comment from Talbot, as a caption to this photograph, again indicates transhumance based around resource procurements, "*Eskimo family and summer residence*".

The man in the picture above is believed to be Thomas Paulo (elder) referred to by Bishop Field in 1848 as an Indian (Eskimo) pilot for the visiting church ship (see Patty Way report, 2010). The older lady is Mary Paulo, sister of Thomas, and the two children are Mary Paulo (later married George Thoms) and Annie Paulo. Another descendant of Thomas Paulo was William Henry Paulo who married Charlotte Webber;



**Photo # 34** William and Charlotte Paulo (nee Webber). The male child pictured above is another Thomas Paulo (junior) and a further picture of him as an older man is available (see attached line of descent from Ohwettoway Paulo).

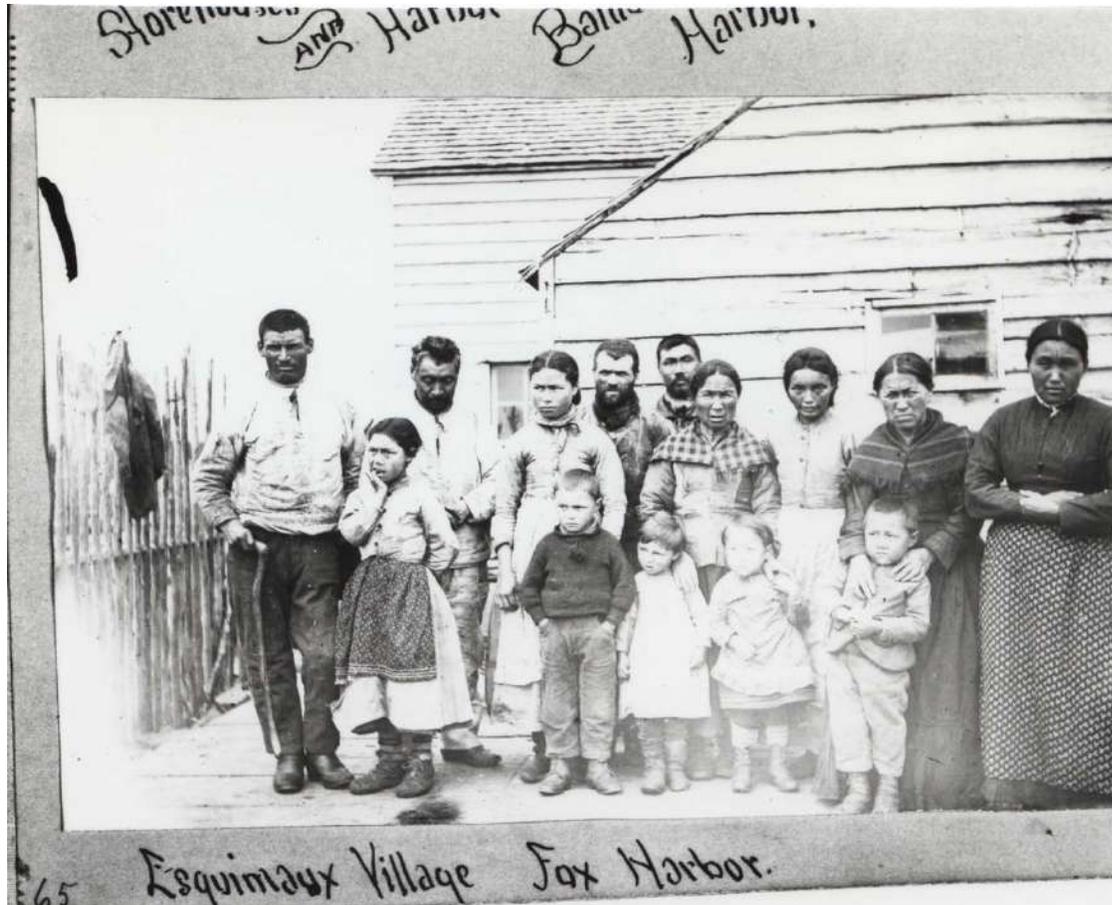
The complete line of Paulos can be followed to the present day with a picture of Aunt Rita (Paulo) Stephens who is seen here with our investigator, Eva Luther. The relevant portion of the family tree is shown on the following page.



**Photo # 36** Aunt Rita Stevens (Paulo) and our researcher Eva Luther.



By 1891, with the visit of the Bowdoin Expedition to Labrador, several of the members visited 'the Eskimos' at Fox Harbor from their ship moored in Battle Harbor. From that encounter came a composite picture of the residents of Fox Hr at the end of the nineteenth century:



**Photo # 37 - Esquimo Village - L to R. Adults - George Brown, George Wakeham, Katie Langer (Paulo)( Brown), Joseph or Billie Langer, William Paulo, Mary Paulo (Wakeham), Annie Paulo, Betsy Paulo, Charlotte (Webber) Paulo. Children - L- R, Mary Paulo, James Brown, unknown child, Elizabeth Paulo and Thomas Paulo.**

From the early years of record keeping in Southern Labrador the Paulo name is first recorded as 'Peuallo' by William Richardson aboard the Grenville survey ship in 1771. From that date onward the name is well recorded in the history and the name Owetteway Paulo is a resident of the area from the very earliest Slade records (1798 - 1810). The Paulo name is also well recorded by the Moravians as being a person (or people) who were moving up and down the coast of Labrador in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (see Hans Rollmann, 2010<sup>19</sup> and Inuit Record list, Table # 6a ). By the 1850's the Paulos have settled in the area of St Francis Hr and Fox Hr. Some may have been missed in the early census due to their round of resource procurements (Patty Way , 2010).

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<sup>19</sup> Doc # 205

The original Paulo ancestor, Owhetteway Paulo, is a well recorded figure in the Slade records in the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth century. His purchases over a ten year period indicate in the beginning, that he is probably functioning as a single man and in the later records that he is probably married, since a number of purchases include women's items. He is also ver likely the 'Pawna'<sup>20</sup> mentioned by Commander Elliott who in 1810 complains of Moravian trade practices.

These pictures give us a definte link with the land and the Inuit trait of transhumance for subsistence living. Unfortunately, no direct observations were made in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth period concerning the round of yearly movements and harvest activities such as those described by the Moravian, W. Turner, for the period in Northern Labrador and reproduced in the excellent work by Dr. G. Taylor in his, "Labrador Eskimo Settlements of the Early Contact Period". However, the oral traditions of families and some photographs can help to obtain an insight into the traditional harvest.



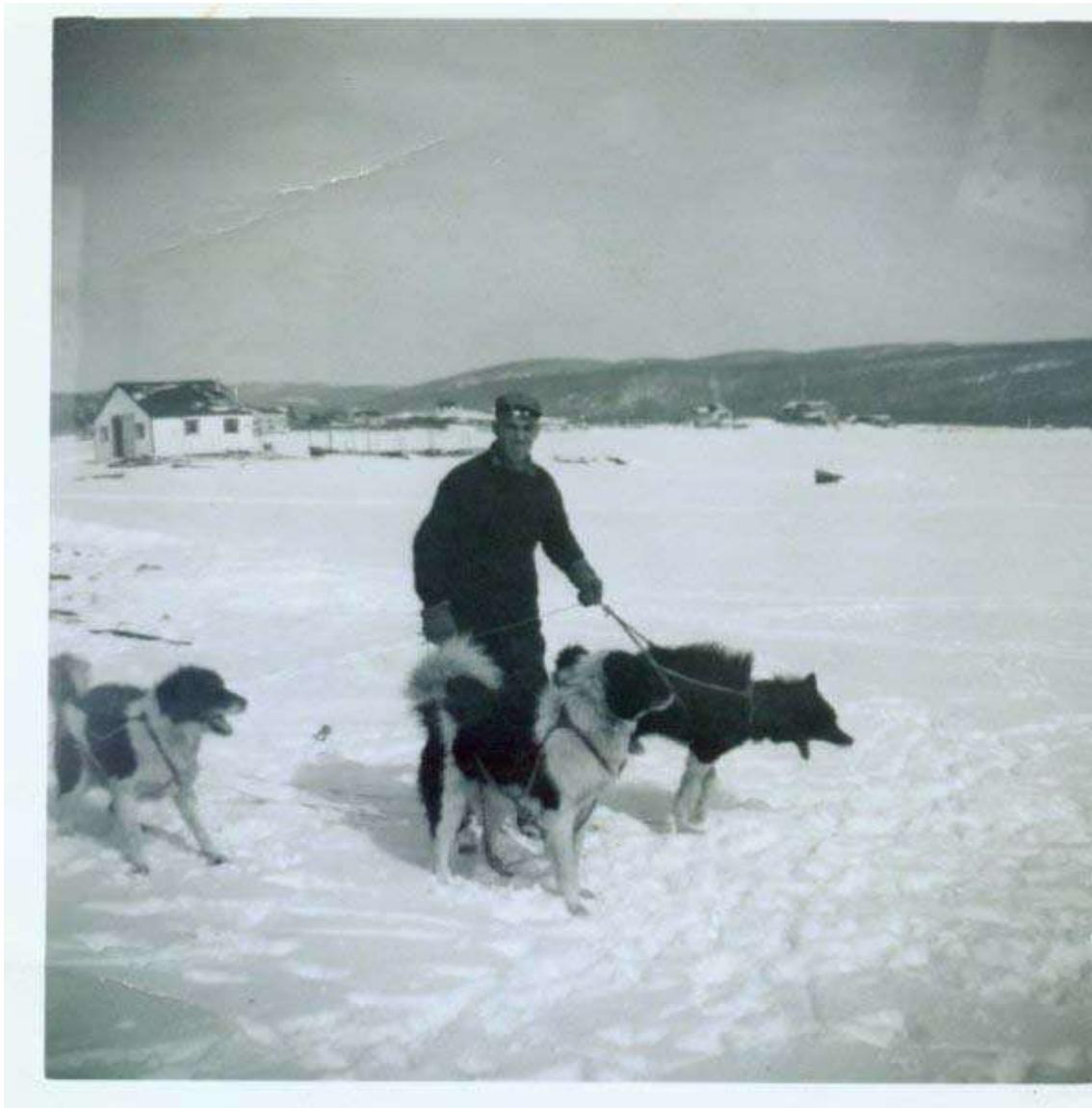
**Photo # 38 - Martha (Davis) Campbell cleaning a black bear skin in St Michael's Bay.**

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<sup>20</sup> Patty Way, Pers. Comm.

The full extent of historic resource procurement can be viewed from the illustration at Figure 25a on the following page of this text entitled, “The Historic Areas of Land Uses by Inuit Labradorians”. A larger version of this map is contained at the end of this document in Appendix IV.

In order to harvest resources and to travel the primary source of transportation up to the advent of mechanized transport (mid 1960's) the primary power source for travel was the dog team.



**Photo # 39    Henry Rumbolt and dogs.**



Communities worked together to make a living from this land and sea.

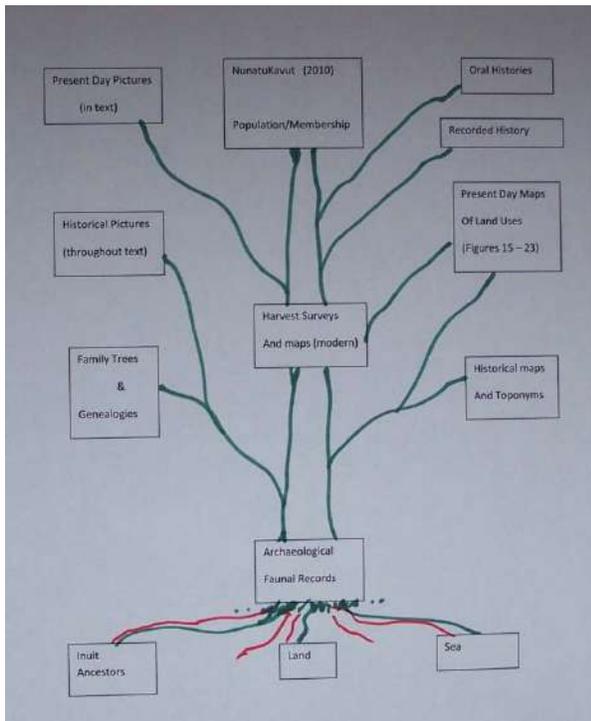


**Photo # 40** Circa 1916. Showing the communal effort in launching of a boat. *Photo compliments of Bowdoin College Arctic Museum.*



**Photo # 41** Circa 1916. Showing the proud production of a lady's sewing of a quilt showing a very traditional activity. *Photo compliments of Bowdoin College Arctic Museum*

This brief Case Study was an attempt, in the absence of eye witness observations, to link the people of particular family groupings to the resources which they were harvesting in our study area. The links between the families can be viewed in the geneologies of the Paulo, Thoms, Langer and Holly families given at Appendix III. Figures 15 through 21 indicate their descendants traditional and present day rounds of resource harvesting. Figures 22 and 23 show the archaeological record of their connections to the ancestral lands during their historical rounds of resource utilizations.



**Figure # 26**

**An attempt to show graphically the linkages between NuuatuKavut membership and the records of their past from the various eclectic sources.**

The one binding factor in aboriginal cultures is the acquisition, preparation and consumption of food. Most of the tools constructed and many of the spiritual beliefs, world views and traditions are centred around the ‘chase’. That is why the trunk of the knowledge/cultural tree above is based around our knowledge of foods and its singular importance. The very high levels of food ‘from the land’ consumed by Inuit/Labradorians to the present day is paramount to their health, lifeways and world views. For people who have moved to ‘growth centers’ in the past fifty years and away from the land, when interviewed, all they talk about is their time spent on the land and sea and the importance of these special places to them.

With more study it may even be possible to directly link John Thoms (Shunock), for example, with a particular seal bone which was consumed at the Inuit archaeological site dug by Reg Auger in the 1990’s close to where John Shunock was buried. It, however, seems a little absurd.

From present day source surveys, the archaeological record, oral traditions and recorded histories it is clear that the Paulo, Thoms/Shunock, Curl, Holley, and the many other families who lived in the Case Study region, relied on the seals, caribou, fish, berries and other resources of their land, in an annual round of resource procurements. This type of in-depth study can be done for any of

the dozen or more general resource harvest areas within Nunatukavut. However, time and budgets did not permit a complete review of the links of all the families to their ancestral lands.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### EXCLUSIVITY OF OTHER GROUPS

#### Evidence of Exclusivity

##### The Law

In *Delgamuukw*<sup>21</sup>, the Supreme Court of Canada noted that at the time of sovereignty occupation must have been “exclusive”. This flows from the definition of Aboriginal title, which is the right to exclusive use and occupation of land. The court went on to discuss how exclusivity can be proven, from both the common law and Aboriginal perspectives:

*[...] proof of exclusivity must rely on both the perspective of the common law and the aboriginal perspective, placing equal weight on each. At common law, a premium is placed on the factual reality of occupation, as encountered by the Europeans. However, as the common law concept of possession must be sensitive to the realities of aboriginal society, so must the concept of exclusivity. Exclusivity is a common law principle derived from the notion of fee simple ownership and should be imported into the concept of aboriginal title with caution. As such, the test required to establish exclusive occupation must take into account the context of the aboriginal society at the time of sovereignty. For example, it is important to note that exclusive occupation can be demonstrated even if other aboriginal groups were present, or frequented the claimed lands. Under those circumstances, exclusivity would be demonstrated by “the intention and capacity to retain exclusive control” (McNeil, *Common Law Aboriginal Title*, supra, at p. 204). Thus, an act of trespass, if isolated, would not undermine a general finding of exclusivity, if aboriginal groups intended to and attempted to enforce their exclusive occupation. Moreover, as Professor McNeil suggests, the presence of other aboriginal groups might actually reinforce a finding of exclusivity. For example, “[w]here others were allowed access upon request, the very fact that permission was asked for and given would be further evidence of the group’s exclusive control” (at p. 204).<sup>22</sup>*

The court noted that, from the common law perspective:

*Physical occupation may be established in a variety of ways, ranging from the construction of dwellings through cultivation and enclosure of fields to regular use of definite tracts of land for hunting, fishing or otherwise exploiting its resources: see McNeil, *Common Law Aboriginal Title*, at pp. 201-2. In considering whether occupation sufficient to ground title is established, “one must take into account the group’s size,*

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<sup>21</sup> *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010 (at para 155)

<sup>22</sup> *Delgamuukw*, supra, note 1, at para 156

*manner of life, material resources, and technological abilities, and the character of the lands claimed”*: Brian Slattery, “*Understanding Aboriginal Rights*”, at p. 758.<sup>23</sup>

The court went on to emphasize the importance of placing weight on the Aboriginal perspective, including Aboriginal laws, and their interaction with other Aboriginal groups.<sup>24</sup> The court went on to find that where two Aboriginal nations occupied the same piece of land, it would be possible to find joint title or “shared exclusivity”.<sup>25</sup>

In *Marshall and Bernard*,<sup>26</sup> the court developed the law of Aboriginal title further, stating:

*Aboriginal societies were not strangers to the notions of exclusive physical possession equivalent to common law notions of title: Delgamuukw, at para. 156. They often exercised such control over their village sites and larger areas of land which they exploited for agriculture, hunting, fishing or gathering. [...]*<sup>27</sup>

Finally, the court stated:

*The first of these sub-issues is the concept of exclusion. The right to control the land and, if necessary, to exclude others from using it is basic to the notion of title at common law. In European-based systems, this right is assumed by dint of law. Determining whether it was present in a pre-sovereignty aboriginal society, however, can pose difficulties. Often, no right to exclude arises by convention or law. So one must look to evidence. But evidence may be hard to find. The area may have been sparsely populated, with the result that clashes and the need to exclude strangers seldom if ever occurred. Or the people may have been peaceful and have chosen to exercise their control by sharing rather than exclusion. It is therefore critical to view the question of exclusion from the aboriginal perspective. To insist on evidence of overt acts of exclusion in such circumstances may, depending on the circumstances, be unfair. The problem is compounded by the difficulty of producing evidence of what happened hundreds of years ago where no tradition of written history exists.*

*It follows that evidence of acts of exclusion is not required to establish aboriginal title. All that is required is demonstration of effective control of the land by the group, from which a reasonable inference can be drawn that it could have excluded others had it chosen to do so. The fact that history, insofar as it can be ascertained, discloses no adverse claimants may support this inference. This is what is meant by the requirement of aboriginal title that the lands have been occupied in an exclusive manner.*<sup>28</sup>

In summary, exclusive use and occupation must be established as at the time of sovereignty. Weight must be given to both the common law perspective and Aboriginal perspective. Physical

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<sup>23</sup> *Delgamuukw*, supra, note 1, at para 159

<sup>24</sup> *Delgamuukw*, supra, note 1, at para 156-157

<sup>25</sup> *Delgamuukw*, supra, note 1, at para 158

<sup>26</sup> *R. v. Marshall; R. v. Bernard*, [2005] 2 S.C.R. 220

<sup>27</sup> *Marshall and Bernard*, supra, note 6, at para 62

<sup>28</sup> *Marshall and Bernard*, supra, note 6, at paras 64-65

occupation may be established in a variety of ways, including the construction of dwellings and the regular use of definite tracts of land for hunting, fishing and exploiting its resources. The court can also look to the intention and capacity to exclude, as evidenced by actions and relationships with other groups.

### **Forms of Evidence**

There are many different types of evidence to support Inuit exclusive use and occupation in their claim area. This includes European records, Inuit and European place names, archaeological evidence, and the evidence of the Inuit themselves.

European records provide evidence of the location of Inuit use and occupation, including village sites, and hunting and fishing resource areas. The European records also provide secondary evidence of Inuit intention to exclude others, in their recording of conflict and avoidance with both the Innu and Europeans. Significantly, although early European records are replete with references to encounters with Inuit from the earliest times, there is a stark scarcity of documented early encounters with Innu.

The toponymy (place names) of Southern Labrador also speaks to the Inuit presence. In Southern Labrador, Inuit use and occupation is recognized both in the form of Inuit place names recorded by Europeans, and European names (such as Baie des Esquimaux) which attest to an Inuit presence.<sup>29</sup> There is no such toponymic record for Innu in that area.

The archaeological record also speaks to long-term and wide-spread patterns of Inuit use and occupation, in terms of evidence of village sites, hunting sites, and other forms of resource area use and occupation. There is no such archaeological record for intensive Innu presence in the area.

The evidence of the Inuit themselves speaks to areas of use and occupation, as well as protocols in dealing with others, and a general resistance to outsiders encroaching on their lands.

Each of these types of evidence has its own challenges and limitations. The historical record with respect to Labrador is generally poor. Labrador was sparsely populated by Europeans at the time period in question, and as such the written record is often limited. Neilsen notes that although there was an increase in observance of Inuit and Innu in Southern Labrador after 1763, this was likely due to an increase in the European records available, and not the actual number of people.<sup>30</sup> As such, the limited European records prior to that date likely reflect the small number of Europeans in the area, rather than a limited Inuit presence.

### **Proof of Exclusivity**

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<sup>29</sup> Lisa Rankin, Gordon Handcock, Peter Ramsden, Hans Rollmann, and Douglas Wharram, *Toponymic and Cartographic Research Conducted for the Labrador Métis Nation*, unpublished final report presented to the Labrador Métis Nation, September 2004, at p. 4 – Doc # 150

<sup>30</sup> Scott W. Neilsen, *A Critical Review of the Relationship between Innu and Inuit in Southern Labrador, ca. 1500 to 1900 CE*, unpublished final report presented to the Labrador Métis Nation, November 6, 2009, at p. 29 – Doc # 217

The relevant time for proof of exclusivity is the time of sovereignty. As indicated earlier, for Labrador, the date of “British sovereignty” would be around the Treaty of Paris in 1763. In any event, there is no material change in the facts of Inuit occupation in the 1750s or 1760s. Further, given the limitations of the historical record, evidence from the surrounding years is of some assistance as well in supporting the evidence of Inuit exclusive use and occupation at the time of sovereignty.

As the courts have indicated, to determine exclusive occupation one must look at both evidence of regular use and occupation, and evidence of an intention and capacity to exclude.

### **Use and Occupation**

From the common law perspective, Aboriginal title is rooted in use and occupation of the land. This can be established through evidence of occupation, such as dwellings, or through evidence of regular use of definite tracts of land for hunting, fishing or exploiting resources. As the Supreme Court of Canada indicated in *Delgamuukw*,<sup>31</sup> in considering such evidence, one must take into account the group’s size, manner of life, material resources, and technological abilities, and the character of the lands claimed.

Given the size of the Inuit population and number of communities, their hunter-gatherer manner of life, an abundant but geographically dispersed resource base that depended on migratory animals such as fish, whales, seals, fox and caribou, technologies that were well adapted to the environment, and the vast and challenging landmass of Labrador, the nature of Inuit use and occupation was one of seasonal transhumance on the coastal areas and islands, as well as on the rivers and the inland hunting and trapping grounds of Labrador.

There is no question that the Inuit made regular use of definite tracts of land, of which they had a detailed knowledge. As Stopp notes:

*[...] The hunter-gatherer way of life in Labrador [...] revolved around a knowledge of the availability of resources at specific times and in specific places, and traveling to those places at the appropriate times.*

*[...]*

*The movement from resource to resource is essentially a revisiting of known areas across a familiar, and sometimes extensive, territory, with temporary residence organized around seasonal availability of resources at locations determined by prior knowledge of the environment [...]*

*The idea that winter habitation somehow represents a stronger land use association than does the spring or summer camp is untenable. “Permanence” applies a colonialist criterion of belonging to a place. [...]*<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *Delgamuukw*, supra, note 1, at para 159

<sup>32</sup> Marianne P. Stopp, *Reconsidering Inuit Presence in southern Labrador*, 26/2 *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 71 (2002), at p. 95-96 – Doc # 116

Consistent with this, the evidence shows that at the time of sovereignty, the Inuit of Southern Labrador regularly used and occupied south and central Labrador, as well as the many inland waterways and river systems, and inland areas for caribou hunting and for trapping.

### European accounts

From earliest contact, European explorers made observations and gave place names that indicated the Inuit presence throughout Southern Labrador, and as far as the North Shore of the St. Lawrence. Stopp notes that archival, archaeological, cartographic and toponymic data indicate Inuit presence on the Quebec North Shore as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> Early European place names, including Baie des Esquimaux, indicate Inuit presence on the Quebec North Shore.<sup>34</sup>

Inuit presence was also evident in the Strait of Belle Isle throughout the historical period. Stopp states that “growing evidence indicates that Inuit were trading in the Strait of Belle Isle by the late sixteenth century”.<sup>35</sup> Fitzhugh notes that “Historical accounts are specific about an Inuit presence in southern Labrador and the Straits in the 17<sup>th</sup> C.” and notes that the Inuit were wintering and not just appearing seasonally.<sup>36</sup>

Speck indicates that due to conflict with the French and their Innu allies, the Inuit gradually retreated from the Quebec North Shore and the Strait of Belle Isle: they remained in the western end of the Straits until at least 1760, and despite further conflict, survived in Battle Harbour as a “mixed blood band”.<sup>37</sup> However, their presence remained strong between Chateau Bay and Hamilton Inlet, and there is evidence that they continued to travel farther south, including reports of Inuit fishing in Belle Isle in 1762.<sup>38</sup>

French trader and explorer Sieur Louis Fornel operated a sealing post at Chateau Bay. In 1743, he sailed north to explore the relatively unknown coast North of Cape Charles (then the northernmost French post in Southern Labrador), and as Rankin et al note (emphasis added):

*Fornel’s journal and map use the term Esquimaux to identify what was then effectively an Inuit cultural area. He labels it Les Coste des Esquimaux. This was a coastal zone from Alexis Bay northward to Hamilton Inlet, La Baye des Esquimaux. As Stopp notes, this coast was now “distinguished from the coastline south of Cape Charles ... populated by French and Jerseyian fishing stations” (2002: 88). Les Coste des Esquimaux was well populated, exploited for its marine resources, and effectively controlled by Inuit. Within the area Fornel encountered at least four groupings of Inuit settlement (encampments or*

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<sup>33</sup> Reconsidering Inuit Presence, supra, note 12, , at p. 72, 76

<sup>34</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, supra, note 9, p. 53

<sup>35</sup> Marianne P. Stopp, ed., *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008), at p. 10

<sup>36</sup> William M. Fitzhugh, *Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The ‘Invisible’ Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec*, a draft book chapter presented to the Labrador Métis Nation, April 15, 2007, at p. 3

<sup>37</sup> Frank G. Speck, “Inland Eskimo Bands of Labrador”, *Essays in Anthropology* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press Inc., 1936), at p. 321

<sup>38</sup> A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 62

*gathering areas): the Isles des Esquimaux or Mille Isles (around the Spotted Island – Table Bay area); B’Aye d’Hape (probably Norman Bay), Baye D’Amarago (probably Hawke Baye) and Baye des Meniques (St. Michael’s Bay).*<sup>39</sup>

The Inuit presence on the Southern coast is also supported by the number of Inuit toponyms (place-names) recorded by Europeans in south/central Labrador. Lieutenant Curtis and Moravian missionaries noted Inuit toponyms in south/central Labrador.<sup>40</sup> Rankin et al conclude that “The record of Inuit toponyms on early maps of Labrador shows, once again, that by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, at the latest, the Inuit presence in Southern and Central Labrador was pervasive.”<sup>41</sup>

Captain George Cartwright, who explored and traded on the Labrador coast from 1770 to 1786, particularly in the area between Cape Charles and Hamilton Inlet, had repeated contact with the Inuit. In 1770, he speaks of a colleague who encountered the “southern tribes” of Inuit at Chateau Bay.<sup>42</sup> In July 1771, Cartwright visited, traded and socialized with a gathering of 300 Inuit at Cape Island (off Cape Charles).<sup>43</sup>

Rankin et al note that:

*Cartwright’s Journal provides evidence to support the contention that Inuit families occupied Hamilton Inlet and the island group embracing the Seal Islands and the Island of Ponds area (known to Fornel as Mille Isles, or Isle des Esquimaux, and to the Inuit themselves as Kikertet) during his time in Labrador.*<sup>44</sup>

By contrast, Stopp notes that in Cartwright’s sixteen years between Cape Charles and Sandwich Bay, he encountered very few Innu, despite the fact that that Innu were “adept traders”.<sup>45</sup> Stopp also identified no Innu archaeological material found in her survey of the South Labrador coast.

In terms of the inland presence, as early as 1936, Frank G. Speck concluded that:

*[...] there has always been some activity among the Eskimo of Labrador in the line of caribou hunting in the interior plateau, and even of continual residence back of the coasts of the St. Lawrence and inland from Hamilton Inlet and Lake Melville. [...] There is evidence, however, not to be cast aside lightly, to point out that a more extensive dependence on caribou formerly characterized these bands than is usually the case among coastal people.*<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, supra, note 9, at p. 9

<sup>40</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, supra, note 9, at p. 103

<sup>41</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, supra, note 9, at p. 104

<sup>42</sup> Charles Wendell Townsend ed., *Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., (St. John’s: DRC Publishing, 2003), at p. 13

<sup>43</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, supra, note 9, at p. 13

<sup>44</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research, supra, note 9, at p. 14

<sup>45</sup> Marianne P. Stopp and D. Rutherford, *Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey*, a report for Historic Resources Division, Department of Tourism, Cultural and Recreation, St. John’s, Newfoundland, presented December 1991, at p. 16 – Doc # 136

<sup>46</sup> Inland Eskimo Bands of Labrador, supra, note 17, at p. 317

## Intention and Capacity to Exclude

Exclusive use and occupation can also be established through evidence of an intention and capacity to exclude other groups from the territory in question. This does not require evidence of overt acts of exclusion. It is simply necessary to show effective control which indicates a capacity to exclude. This can be demonstrated through actions and relationships with other groups, as well as through evidence of Aboriginal laws, customs, and protocols. This is by no means a closed list.

There is ample evidence that the Inuit of Southern Labrador maintained a territory that was separate and distinct from that of the Innu. Generally speaking, at the time of British sovereignty the Inuit regularly used and occupied south and central Labrador, as well as the many inland waterways and river systems, together with inland areas the caribou hunt and to trap various mammals.

In contrast, the Innu were predominantly an inland people who came to the coast only occasionally to fish or to trade. The Inuit and Innu consciously avoided each other and each other's respective territories. On the rare occasions when one group would enter the territory of the other, they would do so knowing that they were trespassers and would leave the area as quickly as possible.

As Neilsen notes, there are no sources regarding this conflict that come directly from an Innu or Inuit point of view.<sup>47</sup> However, Neilsen notes that European records indicate that the two groups maintained separate territories. He states "Lieutenant Curtis noted that the Inuit always lived on the coast and avoided the interior for fear of the Innu, while Governor Palliser wrote that the Innu stayed far from the coast."<sup>48</sup> Neilsen also states that:

*"Observers from the very earliest period of European contact in Labrador seem to agree that the Inuit generally lived and hunted on the coast while the Innu lived and hunted in the interior and made seasonal trips to the coast to trade and fish. [...] It also seems generally agreed that the Inuit and Innu had a considerable fear of each other, and as a result tried to stay out of each other's way."<sup>49</sup>*

Neilsen summarizes this by saying that [...] the Innu and Inuit have historically kept themselves separated from one another.<sup>50</sup>

The Labrador Boundary Documents indicate that:

*"Probably no more definite habitat limits ever existed between native races than those recognized by the Indian and the Eskimo of the Labrador Peninsula prior to the advent of the white man. Turner writes of the Eskimo "The region inhabited by the Innu [sic] is*

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<sup>47</sup> A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 25

<sup>48</sup> A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 37

<sup>49</sup> A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 38

<sup>50</sup> A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 39

*strictly littoral.” Hawkes states that “the Eskimo rarely inhabit a border country in heavy numbers, but prefer a screen of hunting territory between themselves and their inveterate enemies, the Indians ... [...] Occasional clashes between the two races were incidental to the maintenance of the inviolability of their respective domains.”<sup>51</sup>*

They further indicate that:

*“Between the Esquimaux and the Indians, who dwell in the interior of the peninsula, no relations exist except those of mutual animosity [...] which accounts for the fact that the Esquimaux confine themselves to the coast regions, while the Indians remain within the ... interior”*

*“Lieutenants Roger Curtis ... says ‘a good way in the country live a people distinguished by the appellation of Mountaineers, between whom and the Esquimaux there subsists an unconquerable aversion’ [...]”<sup>52</sup>*

Stopp and Rutherford write that:

*Cartwright’s observations help illustrate the dichotomous worlds of the Inuit and Innu, demonstrating that the former peoples were very present and prolific along the outer coast, while the Innu were elusive visitors to the inner coastal zone, identified only by their abandoned, lone tents, than by their actual presence. Once Cartwright establishes himself in Sandwich Bay, from 1775-1786, his encounters with Innu become more frequent, probably due to the Eagle and Paradise rivers acting as arterials for the Innu between the Labrador interior and the coast.*

*The differing adaptations of the two native groups [the Inuit and the Innu] inhibited their interacting with one another, and each develops socio-cultural mechanisms for maintaining this separation.<sup>53</sup>*

Stopp and Rutherford go on to indicate that as late as 1903, William Brooks Cabot had difficulty finding Inuit guides to lead him into the interior routes where Innu could be found because “the Indians regard their presence in the country with disfavour”.<sup>54</sup>

This hostility was evident through into the modern period. For example, Brother Elsner reported that his Inuit guide Christian did not wish to go with him to visit Innu at North West River because he feared them.<sup>55</sup> The Innu who Elsner visited had only “started three years ago seal hunting and were thus present in greater numbers in this otherwise uninhabited bay”.

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<sup>51</sup> Labrador Boundary Documents, Vol. VI, para 2203, as quoted in A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 62

<sup>52</sup> Labrador Boundary Documents, Vol VIII, Part XVII, para 2533, as quoted in A Critical Review, supra, note 10 at p. 68

<sup>53</sup> Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey, supra, note 25, at p. 23

<sup>54</sup> Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey, supra, note 25, at p. 23

<sup>55</sup> Br. Elsner’s Report of a Journey from Hopedale to North-west river, Esquimaux Bay, in April, 1857, page 8

Elner also reported that the Innu settlement consisted of 15 persons, who only come to that location “two or three times during the summer for a short period, for the purpose of trading.”<sup>56</sup> William Brooks Cabot in 1912 observed that the Innu made only brief forays to the coast to meet trade vessels and purchase goods, and then depart suddenly, leaving no trail to follow.<sup>57</sup>

As late as 1936, Speck observed the following:

*The boundary divisions of the inland-hunting Eskimos and the Indians permanently inhabiting the interior require some discussion, since a question of conflict arises from consideration of occupancy claims by both groups. The Eskimo ascend and hunt the drainage valleys of those rivers which rise on the eastern slopes of the height of land running in a generally north-and-south direction situated from twenty to fifty miles back from the coast. [...] The Eskimo when inland range over this area and not west of the dividing ridge. For beyond lie the territories of the Naskapi [Innu] bands, who for their part do not hunt or live east of the same ridge.*

*The Indians do not even cross eastward or linger there except during their annual or seasonal excursions from their haunts for the purposes of trade with the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company or the independent traders located on the various bays of the coast. [Previously] the Eskimo avoided the Indians when the latter came out to trade, and retired to the islands offshore, never visiting the Indian bivouacs. [...] Intermarriages are, however, not recorded as yet except in one instance which did not endure for long.*<sup>58</sup>

The general pattern of avoidance was occasionally punctuated by direct conflict. Gosling refers to major battles between Inuit and Innu.<sup>59</sup> The Labrador Boundary Documents further refer to warfare between the Innu and Inuit.<sup>60</sup>

All of this tell us us that until and past the time of sovereignty, the Inuit had exclusive use and occupation of the coast of Labrador, as well as some of the river systems leading from the coast. The Innu kept largely to the interior, making only periodic visits to the coastal regions. The Inuit and the Innu kept largely to their respective territories, and had established mechanisms for maintaining this cultural and territorial divide. Only as traders such as Cartwright established more permanent trading establishments on the coast after British sovereignty, were the Innu attracted to trade on the coast on a more regular basis, consisting largely of short visits before they went back home.

Similarly, from the time of European contact up to the time of sovereignty, the Inuit intention and capacity to exclude is demonstrated through their actions and relationships with Europeans.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid, page 9

<sup>57</sup> *Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey*, supra, note 25, at p. 32

<sup>58</sup> *Inland Eskimo Bands of Labrador*, supra, note 17, at p. 320-321

<sup>59</sup> W.G. Gosling, *Labrador: Its Discovery, Exploration and Development*, (Elibron Classics, 2006), at para 166. as quoted in *A Critical Review*, supra, note 10, p. 55

<sup>60</sup> *Labrador Boundary Docs*, Vol VII, as quoted in *A Critical Review*, supra, note 01, at p. 67

As discussed above, during the mid-18th century, the area between Chateau Bay and Hamilton Inlet was “Le Coste des Esquimaux” a southern Inuit cultural use and occupation area that was separate and distinct from the French and Jerseyian fishing stations to the South, and different Inuit groups to the North.

That the Inuit worked hard to defend their territory can not be denied. Fitzhugh describes Inuit raiding and burning of European establishments after 1600<sup>61</sup> and, according to Martijn, in "October of 1610, the inhabitants of St. Malo informed the French Court that the preceding year several ship masters and crew members had been ambushed and killed by the Savages [Inuit] while at work. They requested permission to privately arm two vessels which were to accompany the fishing fleet [to Northern Newfoundland] in order to provide protection against any future aggressions." (Martijn, 2009, quoting Rame' 1867; 34). For the most part, the Inuit seemed to be incorrigible in the defense of their territory. In 1632 Champlain describes the cross cultural relations as they existed in the area at that time, "The savages of the north coast (north of 52 degrees or Chateaux Bay) are very malicious, and attack the fishermen, who in self defense arm small vessels to protect the boats which put to sea to fish for cod. It has been impossible to make peace with them." (Martijn, 2009, quoting Biggar 1922 -36;5;168-69) .

Neilsen notes that the raids on European stations were more than just attempts to acquire European goods; they were an attempt to protect whaling, which was an integral part of their way of life, from both European and Innu. He states “They were efforts to disrupt the European industries and Innu involvement with them, in order to perpetuate their own cultural autonomy, and access the cultural resources that were such an integral part of it.”<sup>62</sup>

Indeed, the Inuit remained hostile to European activities in Southern Labrador, and relationships remained tense throughout the French period. The Inuit burnt Pierre Constantin’s post in Red Bay in 1718,<sup>63</sup> and attacked Marsal’s post at Cape Charles in 1742.<sup>64</sup> The Inuit repeatedly took steps to exclude Europeans from southern Labrador. Famously, the first Moravian missionaries at Cape Nisbet were killed by the Inuit in 1752 and almost two centuries earlier, in 1586, the famous Arctic explorer John Davis had several men killed and injured by Inuit in the area of Sandwich Bay (Gosling, 1910) which demonstrates two hundred years of territorial protection on the Labrador coast from the very early contact period to the British assertion of sovereignty.

Although the change to British control and the Treaty of 1765 brought about a shift in the European approach to relations with the Inuit, relationships remained tense at the time of Cartwright’s arrival in the 1770’s. As noted by Martijn (2009) , "*When pressured in 1767 to accept British rule over them, Inuit spokesmen replied that they did not recognize the authority of either the King of England or the King of France, that the Labrador coast belonged to them, and that they intended to chase away the British garrison at Chateaux Bay*". Cartwright noted that there had been “several robberies or murders” prior to his arrival,<sup>65</sup> and that he was

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<sup>61</sup> *Exploring Cultural Boundaries*, supra, note 16, at p. 12

<sup>62</sup> A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 32

<sup>63</sup> James A. Tuck and Robert Grenier, *Red Bay, Labrador: World Whaling Capital A.D. 1550- 1600*, (St. John’s: Atlantic Archaeology Ltd., 1989),, at p. 64

<sup>64</sup> Kennedy, J.C., *People of the Bays and Headlands*, at para 22, as quoted in as quoted in A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 74

<sup>65</sup> *Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal*, supra, note 22, at p. 13-14

furnished with small arms for defense against the Inuit.<sup>66</sup> Stopp notes that at the time of Cartwright's arrival "Inuit-European relations had been fractious for nearly a century."<sup>67</sup>

Cartwright may have been at the right place at the right time in forming a more peaceful relationship with the Inuit population. He described the Inuit as "the best tempered people I ever met, and most docile [...] although, till within these few years, they were never known to have any intercourse with Europeans, without committing theft or murder, and generally both."<sup>68</sup> In other words, until past the time of British sovereignty, despite being a generally peaceable people, the Inuit went to great lengths to seek to exclude Europeans from south and central Labrador, and indeed were largely successful in doing so.

In summary, at the time of British sovereignty, the Inuit showed the intention and capacity to exclude other groups from their areas of exclusive use and occupation in south and central Labrador.

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<sup>66</sup> *Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal*, supra, note 22, at p. 28

<sup>67</sup> *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*, supra, note 15, at p. 73

<sup>68</sup> *Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal.*, supra, note 22, at p. 352

# **CHAPTER EIGHT**

## **RE-CLAIMING NUNATUKAVUT**

### **SUMMARY**

The members of NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. are the descendant communities of the Inuit of central and southern Labrador, and as such, hold Aboriginal title to their traditional territory of NunatuKavut, as well as being the beneficiaries of the Treaty of 1765. The members of Nunatukavut Community Council Inc. maintain their ancestral and cultural connection to the historic Inuit community of southern and central Labrador.

The Inuit of central and southern Labrador were a distinctive cultural group having exclusive use and occupation of central and southern Labrador at the time of the assertion of British Sovereignty in 1763. Up to and including the time of sovereignty, they maintained their exclusive occupation, as evidenced by the physical reality of their occupation, their relationship to their territory and their demonstrated intention and capacity to exclude others from their territory.

The members of NunatuKavut Community Council Inc., as descendants of the Inuit of Southern Labrador, continue as a collectivity to occupy and use the lands and waters of NunatuKavut, and have maintained a substantial connection with that land from the time of sovereignty up to the present day.

The Treaty of 1765 recognized their continued Title in and occupation of central and southern Labrador, and reaffirmed their status as an organized society with the rights to self-government and to harvest wildlife and natural resources, as well as a commercial right of trade.

Neither their Aboriginal Title nor their Treaty rights have been extinguished to the present day.

We will address in turn: the identity of the members of the NunatuKavut communities as aboriginal people, their aboriginal title, and the Treaty of 1765.

### **THE NUNATUKAVUT COMMUNITIES AS ABORIGINAL PEOPLE**

#### **Summary of the Law**

Section 35 of the Constitution Act 1982 reads in part as follows:

35. (1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.

(2) In this Act, "Aboriginal Peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.

As such, in order to prove Aboriginal title and treaty rights, the NunatuKavut communities must show that we fit within the definition of Aboriginal peoples whose rights are protected by s. 35.

### **Connection with a Pre-Sovereignty Group**

As the Supreme Court of Canada stated in *Bernard and Marshall* (para 67):

[...] The requirement of continuity in its most basic sense simply means that claimants must establish they are right holders. Modern-day claimants must establish a connection with the pre-sovereignty group upon whose practices they rely to assert title or claim to a more restricted aboriginal right.

Since much of the case law deals with status Indians, it is rare that the courts have to explicitly consider the issue of connection between Aboriginal claimants and a pre-sovereignty group. However, this issue does sometimes arise in the case of Metis or non-status Indians. While the situation of the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. is not the same as that of constitutional Metis or non-status Indians, the case law is instructive.

In *Powley*, the Supreme Court of Canada set down a test to be applied to claims of constitutional Metis Rights, three elements of which are potentially relevant here:

- 1) Identification of the Historic Rights-Bearing Community
- 2) Identification of the Contemporary Rights-Bearing Community
- 3) Verification of the Claimant's Membership in the Relevant Contemporary Community

On the first point, the court stated (at para 23):

*In addition to demographic evidence, proof of shared customs, traditions, and a collective identity is required to demonstrate the existence of a Métis community that can support a claim to site-specific aboriginal rights. We recognize that different groups of Métis have often lacked political structures and have experienced shifts in their members' self-identification. However, the existence of an identifiable Métis community must be demonstrated with some degree of continuity and stability in order to support a site-specific aboriginal rights claim.*

On the second point, the court noted that while the Sault Ste. Marie community in question had been an 'invisible entity' from the 1850's to the 1970's, this did not mean that it had ceased to exist or disappeared entirely (at para 24).

On the third point, the court went on to identify (at para 30) three broad factors to consider as indicia of whether an individual membership in such a community: self-identification, ancestral connection, and community acceptance. The court went on to state:

*31 First, the claimant must self-identify as a member of a Métis community. [...]*

32 *Second, the claimant must present evidence of an ancestral connection to a historic Métis community. [...] we would require some proof that the claimant's ancestors belonged to the historic Métis community by birth, adoption, or other means. [...]*

33 *Third, the claimant must demonstrate that he or she is accepted by the modern community whose continuity with the historic community provides the legal foundation for the right being claimed. Membership in a Métis political organization may be relevant to the question of community acceptance, but it is not sufficient in the absence of a contextual understanding of the membership requirements of the organization and its role in the Métis community. The core of community acceptance is past and ongoing participation in a shared culture, in the customs and traditions that constitute a Métis community's identity and distinguish it from other groups. This is what the community membership criterion is all about. Other indicia of community acceptance might include evidence of participation in community activities and testimony from other members about the claimant's connection to the community and its culture. The range of acceptable forms of evidence does not attenuate the need for an objective demonstration of a solid bond of past and present mutual identification and recognition of common belonging between the claimant and other members of the rights-bearing community.*

While this is not the case of an individual claimant, some of the above commentary is relevant to the members of NunatuKavut. The three criteria of membership from *Powley* have been adopted and applied by the New Brunswick courts in *R. v. Acker*<sup>544</sup><sup>545</sup> and *R. v. Lavigne*<sup>546</sup> to determine aboriginal status for non-status Indians. This approach was endorsed by the New Brunswick Court of Appeal in *R. v. Hopper*<sup>547</sup> in the case of another man who claimed Aboriginal status by virtue of descent from a treaty signatory. The court applied the three elements of the overall test for constitutional Metis Rights cited above, providing the following quote from the trial judge on the first point:

*The Defendant failed to meet the burden of proof required of him of establishing that his ancestors belonged to a distinctive community of aboriginals or Metis, who over the years, have continuously lived as distinctive people with their distinctive customs, traditions or way of life.*

These cases, while not precisely on point, provide some guidance on how the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. proves the necessary connection to the pre-sovereignty Inuit of Labrador.

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<sup>544</sup> *R. v. Powley*, [2003] 2 S.C.R. 207

<sup>545</sup> (2004), 281 N.B.R. (2d) 275

<sup>546</sup> (2007), 319 N.B.R. (2d) 261

<sup>547</sup> (2008) 331 N.B.R. (2d) 177

## **Summary of the Evidence: The members of NunatuKavut as Aboriginal People**

While the members of NunatuKavut have at times been described as Metis or Inuit-Metis, they do not base their claim on constitutional Metis rights. They base their claim on Inuit Aboriginal Title and their rights under the Treaty of 1765, which have never been extinguished.

The evidence supports the claim that the members of NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. are a modern aboriginal manifestation of the pre-sovereignty Inuit of central and southern Labrador. This evidence includes “demographic evidence, proof of shared customs, traditions, and a collective identity” as well as evidence of land use continuity.

Some of this evidence was before the Court of Appeal of Newfoundland and Labrador in the *Labrador Metis Nation*<sup>548</sup> case, in which the court had the following to say about the ethnic identity and Aboriginality of the members of the LMN:

*[...] The respondents have established this by the affidavit evidence of Carter Russell, Todd Russell and Trent Parr, showing they are of mixed Inuit and European ancestry whose Inuit bloodlines have originated from those Inuit ancestors that resided in south and central Labrador prior to European contact. **The unrefuted evidence before the applications judge was sufficient to demonstrate a credible claim that the members of the 24 LMN communities know they have genetic, cultural and land use continuity with their Inuit forebears, have a regional consciousness of a regional community, and occupy and use, for traditional hunter/gatherer purposes, lands and waters threatened with adverse effects by construction of the TLH.***

*[37] Whether the present day LMN communities are the result of an ethnogenesis of a new culture of aboriginal peoples, that arose between the period of contact with Europeans and the date of the effective imposition of European control, is not yet established, although it is possible that such an ethnogenesis occurred. If so, the members of the LMN communities could be, in law, constitutional Métis.*

*[38] However, it is also possible that the LMN communities are simply the present-day manifestation of the historic Inuit communities of south and central Labrador that were present in the area prior to contact with the Europeans. Or they may be the manifestation of a culture which developed only after effective European control in Labrador had occurred, in which case, on the basis of Powley, the culture could be viewed as involving non-aboriginal customs and practices, unprotected by s. 35(1). **The fact that the actual bloodlines of the present-day aboriginal persons may have a mix of European and Inuit ancestry does not detract from the argument that the LMN communities may have “Inuit” aboriginal rights. The present-day manifestation of this authentic Inuit culture may simply have been impacted by centuries of Euro-Canadian encounter and influence. (bold added)***

Leave to appeal the Court of Appeal decision was sought from the Supreme Court of Canada but was denied. As a result, the legally binding authority on this point remains the decision of the

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<sup>548</sup> Labrador Metis Nation and Carter Russell v. Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007 NLCA 75 (CanLII)

Newfoundland and Labrador Court of Appeal. The Department of Indian Affairs is not free to ignore binding legal authority.

NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. represents the descendants of the Inuit of South/Central Labrador, and their communities. There are three categories of membership:

- Full members – resident: must be a person of Inuit descent who is a member of the historic Inuit community of South/Central Labrador and who is accepted by the modern Inuit community as represented by NunatuKavut. They must also be a resident of Central Labrador Area, Western Labrador Area, Eagle River Area, Labrador White Bear Area, or Battle Harbour and Straits Area. They also cannot be a full member in any other Aboriginal organization.
- Full members non-resident: similar to resident members, but need only be a Canadian resident, maintaining current contact with members in one of the designated areas, and have one grandparent who was aboriginal and a resident of the designated areas. They generally do not have harvesting, voting or other representational rights.
- Alliance members: an Aboriginal person who doesn't qualify for full membership. They must be a Labradorian from one of our historic areas, and have one grandparent who was aboriginal and a resident of those areas. They generally do not have harvesting, voting or other representational rights.

The constitution of NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. requires that only persons of Inuit descent can be full members. They must be (a) resident in the land claim area, (b) a member of one of our communities and (c) demonstrate community acceptance. They also can not be a member of any other Aboriginal organization.

### **The Inuit of southern Labrador as a historic rights-bearing community**

The evidence confirms the existence of permanent Inuit communities in central and southern Labrador. This was evidenced from the first European observers, such as Jolliett (1694) and Fornel (1743), through to modern observers in the 1900's.

From the discussions which took place at the Treaty Conference of 1765, it is evident that the Inuit in south and central Labrador saw themselves as a single collectivity, with shared interests, language and goals. They also saw their communities as tied together, distinct from a collectivity of Inuit who inhabited northern Labrador and northwards into Greenland. They clearly identified central and southern Labrador as their homeland.

This and other evidence presented in this report confirms that the Inuit were a distinct aboriginal society who used and occupied southern and central Labrador, and constituted an historic rights-bearing community.

### **The Connection between the Inuit of South/Central Labrador and the members of Nunatukavut Community Council Inc.**

There can be little dispute that the Inuit were a historic rights-bearing community. The Nunatukavut communities have, to use the language from *Hopper*, “continuously lived as

distinctive people with their distinctive customs, traditions or way of life”. As stated in *Powley*, the existence of a rights-bearing community can be demonstrated by “demographic evidence, proof of shared customs, traditions, and a collective identity”. Other such evidence might include genealogy, etc.

The Court of Appeal of Newfoundland and Labrador in *Labrador Metis Nation* made a finding of clear evidence of Inuit genetic, cultural and land use continuity. The evidence supports a long-standing self-identification as “Aboriginal” and “from Labrador”. With recent and on-going research, the communities have come to a better understanding of their Inuit heritage. It is irrelevant whether government or competing political organizations “externally identify” them as Inuit. The test is that of self-identification within the collectivity. That test has been clearly met in this research report.

### Ethnic Continuity of Members: The Ancestral Connection

An ancestral connection to an aboriginal community can arise “by birth, adoption, or other means”, which would include by absorption.

Tracing the ethnic continuity of Inuit descendants in South/Central Labrador is complicated by a number of factors, including: (1) observer inabilities to determine ethnicity, (2) an immense and complicated geography, (3) inaccessibility for outsiders, (4) the seasonal relocations of the communities, (5) the influx of itinerant Newfoundland fishing families in the summer which often confused overall population numbers, (6) the migratory pattern of English families, especially in the south where they only lived for a few years and then moved on, (7) the propensity for the loss of Inuk female names and resulting difficulties in tracing blood lines, (8) the adoption of English names by male Inuit because of stigmatism and social pressures, and (9) observer bias.

In spite of these challenges, the evidence shows that any claim that inter-marriage with Europeans led to the “extinction” of the Inuit in Southern Labrador is clearly incorrect. In fact, given the relatively small number of Europeans living year-round in Labrador in the late 1700’s and throughout much of the 1800’s, and the lack of European women, European men and occasional non-Inuit Aboriginals who took Inuit wives and stayed in Labrador stayed within Inuit communities, adopted Inuit ways, and were effectively adopted or absorbed into Inuit descendant communities. Certainly there is no evidence that (or possible logic to) support any suggestion that the one European man, for example, in an Inuit community of 15-20 people made that community “European”!

Where these relationships resulted in children, the children generally married within their cultural group, either to other children of mixed descent, or ‘back up’ the Inuit blood line to a person of pure Inuk ancestry. The choice of marriage partners for males in particular was either a person of mixed or pure Inuit ancestry. These communities of Inuit (full and mixed-blooded) remained distinct from outsiders, including merchants and seasonal fishermen, retaining Inuit culture and land use patterns (as will be discussed under cultural and land use continuity).

Once in a while, a female of mixed ancestry married a male who was visiting from the Newfoundland fishery. This was rare and might result in the woman moving away. Other than those occasional incidents, the communities of Inuit remained separate and distinct, and after the initial inter-marriages with Europeans, it was rare for someone to marry outside the community. This determined endogamy demonstrates an intention to marry within the Inuit Labradorian cultural community. That cultural community remained Inuit and did not result in an ethnogenesis to a new culture.

Although the Inuit became surrounded for parts of each year by a large non-indigenous summer fishery, very few of those migratory fishermen might remain in Labrador between October and June. Everyone else who stayed for the winter was an employee at a particular European business or was a member of an Inuit community.

The demographic evidence supports this. The best records are, as is often the case, from clergy including Anglican ministers and Methodist missionaries. Rather than an “extinction” of Inuit, the first Methodist missionary to visit Labrador, Thomas Hickson in 1824, noted the population at Esqimaux Bay as being “real Eskimo” adults 100, “real Eskimo” children 60 and “half-Eskimos” 60. There were also 90 European settlers and 16 Canadians.

The following year, Reverend Richard Knight travelled to Labrador and estimated that there were 192 Inuit and half Inuit at Esqimaux Bay, 50 to 60 in Sandwich Bay region, Aiviktome, and 80 to 100 Inuit south to Square Islands, between Uvebak Puto and Ikkarisarsuk. In 1825, this leaves an estimated (probably under-estimated) population of between 322 and 352 Inuit (full and mixed-ancestry) in that part of their traditional territory.

In 1873, Friedrich Wilhelm Rinderknecht journeyed to southern Labrador to identify a site for a new Moravian mission. He reported Inuit populations at various scattered locations, who moved seasonally. This pattern remained until at least after World War II, when the impact of further outsider displacement was encountered. (See, for example, the census of 1935 of the Labrador Coast between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison showing almost exclusively families with aboriginal backgrounds.)

Names are another useful method of tracing ancestry. Although European names have long since replaced Inuk names for most members of NunatuKavut, there are nonetheless distinctive names which indicate aboriginal ancestry.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, Inuit men and women were recorded using only their single Inuk names. Inuit names were not static and could change during the lifetime of the individual. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, both Inuit women and men were adopting 'Christian' first names or nick names, yet retained their Inuk name as well. During the course of the nineteenth century, many aboriginal men in South Central Labrador had acquired European names. These European-sounding names were either changed from an aboriginal name, were given by clergy at birth or baptism, or the person was adopted by a family with an existing English name.

It was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that Labrador Inuit were required to adopt surnames by the Newfoundland Government. At the beginning of that century, all of the people described as Inuit, Esquimaux or Esquimaux Indians have names which are typical Inuktitut. As you approach the twentieth century, even though people are still described as aboriginal, they mostly have English names.

In our study area (Cap Tikerak, North side of Groswater Bay to Caractucchuac, Belle Isle), the 1945 census shows that at least 90% of the surnames are those found in the membership of today's NunatuKavut or, who in the North, are members of Nunatsiavut. This demographic does not prove any dominance in European ancestry, merely the adoption of European surnames. From our genealogies, there are approximately 35 European men who married into an Inuit population of some 600-700 Inuit.

As Patty Way observed in her March 31, 2010 report, *“In tracking families, it became very clear that, while there were rare anomalies, for the most part families tended very much to cling to each other, proximity-wise. This no doubt reflected the Inuit living pattern which would find several “connected” families form a group of 16-20 which would hunt, live and travel together. ... Sometimes a family member would live apart with a spouse until the spouse’s death, at which time they would again return to the home/family base. ...”*

Today's increases in population are due to better health care, better living conditions and, as in the rest of North America, the 'baby booms' following the world wars.

### Inuit Cultural Continuity: The Cultural Connection

An examination of Inuit cultural continuity requires some consideration of the nature of Inuit culture, the state of “Inuit culture” in 1763, what ‘markers’ exist in Inuit culture that can be tracked over time, a description of the Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador from the date of British sovereignty to the modern time (including impacts of political separation and government interference), the impact of “passing” to avoid discrimination and the role of trade in Inuit culture at the time of sovereignty.

#### The nature of Inuit culture

We have established that there are different populations of Inuit, both across the world, and within Labrador itself. Not all Inuit are alike and “Inuitness” does not describe a homogeneous group of relatively identical people. There are, and have always been, a spectrum of people who are Inuit, although identifying themselves, from time to time, as being from different places in their vast traditional territories. As such, it is important to make generalizations about Inuit culture only with great caution, and to remain sensitive to differences of time and place.

#### Inuit Culture in 1763

Like all cultures, Inuit culture is in a constant state of evolution. We have established that by the time of European “contact” in the mid-1500's in Labrador, the Thule had already adapted to the

specific territory and resources of Labrador and had a lengthy history of trade with Norse and various fishermen. The use of metals and trade with non-Inuit were already part of Thule culture.

By the time of British sovereignty, Inuit had begun to make greater use of European items, some of it acquired in face-to-face trade. The Inuit economy had re-oriented towards a greater focus on open-water whaling, trade with Europeans, and inter-community trade between Inuit up and down the length of the Labrador coast. Large communal houses had been developed and trade, including using European-style ocean vessels, was common. The quest for European technologies, and the concomitant participation in mercantile activities, is at the very core of traditional Inuit culture and values. Although mixed-ancestry Inuit had been known for hundreds of years, greater intermarriage arose after 1763, with a small number of European men incorporated into Inuit communities in the area.

In spite of these changes, the underlying nature of Labrador Inuit society and culture did not change between AD 1500 and AD 1763 any more than any culture might be expected to change over the course of a few centuries of massive external intrusion. Few areas in North America were at the time of greater interest than Labrador, both for its ocean resources and as the start of a potential Northwest Passageway through the Arctic.

In spite of the intensification of some economic activity oriented towards trade, and particularly trade in whale products, Inuit subsistence remained overwhelmingly dependent upon seal hunting. In spite of some adjustment in settlement locations (due, at least in part, to environmental considerations) and changes in the size of households, communities continued to be small and to locate in essentially the same areas, and people continued to live in variations of traditional styles of houses. Despite the emergence of new social roles, social relations continued to be mediated primarily through kinship networks.

#### “Markers” of Inuit culture

Although no culture can be sliced into discrete pieces, key recognizable “markers” of Inuit non-material culture include:

- inventiveness and resourcefulness
- engagement in, and dedication to, the ‘chase’
- adaptability
- food ways
- seasonal transhumance
- commensality and competence
- non-authoritarian
- intentional creation of surpluses for the purpose of trade with non-kin
- possible literacy in either Inuktitut or English
- belief in spirits and visions
- permissive child-rearing practices
- being “moderate and peaceable”
- shared housing by more than one family
- adoption of some European-style clothing, but retention of seal-skin boots
- children were “most anxious and most quick to learn”

- use of Inuit technology in the form of komatiks, dogs, snowshoes, etc.
- fishing and marine-going vessels of various sorts were common
- houses very clean
- communal water-based meals
- no discrimination against the offspring of mixed marriages
- trapping for furs, and trade in them, common
- continued generational transmission of how to do things in the “Inuit way”
- scrupulously honest
- careful of the aged
- affectionate to their children
- devotedly attached to each other
- good humour
- hospitable to guests
- wide geographical knowledge
- intellectually powerful

We have seen through clear evidence that the Inuit (full and mixed-blooded) who continued to live in south/central Labrador at and after 1763 continue to show these same traits of inventiveness and adaptability. They continue to live a seasonal transhumant lifestyle (at least until prevented by re-settlement, game laws, the cod moratorium and other external displacement actions of government). They maintained Inuit food ways, as is clear from Dr. Hanrahan’s research and the archaeology of the Williams home. They also continued the practice of the intentional creation of surpluses of local resources for the purpose of trade.

Clergy visiting our communities in the 1800’s were disconcerted by polygamy and Inuit spiritualism and questioned the wisdom of our permissive child-rearing practices. However, they were impressed, as outsiders, by our honesty, our devotion to each other and our literacy. Clear evidence is found in those traveler journals of each of the Inuit cultural traits listed above. This is supported by the archaeology as well. In summary, the above list of Inuit cultural traits identified by the expert authorities are clearly and unmistakably found in the Inuit Labradorian communities of south and central Labrador up to the modern time.

Other aspects of Inuit culture which we have evidenced include Inuit communal law, traditional ecological knowledge, relationship with the territory, generational transmission, the use of Inuktitut, and the role of Inuit women.

### Inuit communal law

Inuit cultural practice created its own communal “custom” common law which was evident in many practices. Inuit Labradorian communal law remained, un-impacted by external legal systems until recent times. Elder Ken Mesher describes this in his February 17, 2010 letter. There were customary laws governing many aspects of life, including salmon berths and trap lines.

The land and its resources were held communally. Unless in use by the family for its particular purpose, other community members (but not outsiders) could use it for other purposes and at

other times of the year. This was a modified form of private property, while retaining its communal nature, which Newfoundlanders, for example, did not have.

Commensality (communal sharing) was another strong principle of Inuit law. Such communal sharing was identified by Dr. Hanrahan's research, and is further evidenced in the described duty to guests and visitors. These are examples of the continuity of Inuit culture and evidence of the operation of a common law legal system among members of an identifiable community.

### Inuit Traditional Ecological Knowledge

Dr. Hanrahan found clear examples of Indigenous Knowledge ("IK") traceable exclusively to Inuit culture among the NunatuKavut communities. IK is the cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief about the relationship of living beings with one another and their environment, transferred from one generation to another by cultural transmission. This includes local knowledge of animals, plants and landscape. Dr. Hanrahan found that elder IK of this sort was vast.

Another type of IK relates to world view, the meaning of people's environmental observations. Dr. Hanrahan identified a strong conservation and anti-wastage ethic in the community membership. These practices, identical to those in other communities of northern Labrador, are all derived from longstanding Inuit customs. These cultural patterns remain, rooted in their Inuit heritage.

### Relationship with the Territory

There remains a normative Inuit conceptualization of the land as the caretaker or provider, and we, in turn, show it respect. Community members have a constant and intimate relationship with the land that supports them as individuals, their families and their communities, both socially and economically. Knowledge transfer continues to affirm the role of the elders and to strengthen inter-generational ties.

### Generational Transmission

Inuit cultural ways are valued and passed from one generation to another. One example is the belief that food from the land, rather than from a store or a package, will keep you healthy. This supports the entrenched dedication to "the chase" which we have evidenced. Food Consumption reports from Nain, Makkovik, Rigolet, Black Tickle and St. Lewis are all similar.

Another example is the comprehensive healing systems which exist in all these communities based on their Inuit heritage, with many Aboriginal medicines still in use and preferred.

Dr. Redekopp (DIAND's expert) confirms that Inuit Labradorians in south and central Labrador society retained both material and non-material cultural elements of Inuit society, especially in the areas of harvest methods and tools. He also refers to Zimmerley's findings of the retention of Inuit cultural taboos (such as that against eating caribou and seal at the same time) and the Inuit practice of carrying children on one's back.

As noted previously, Lydia Campbell, for example, continued these food taboos and also related Christianized versions of Inuit myths relating to the origins of people and thunder. The mixed-ancestry Inuit women piloting their vessel offshore continued the Inuit practice of carrying children in that manner and spoke Inuktitut with each other. Our evidence also confirms that mixed-ancestry Inuit women continued the permissive child rearing practices of their Inuit culture.

### Inuktitut

Dr. Hanrahan examined the use of language in the Inuit descendant populations in Labrador. She found that English was the working language among Inuit descendants but that Inuktitut was historically important and that pieces of the language survive, mostly in the areas of descriptors of the geophysical environment. Many members learned Inuktitut words and phrases growing up, although they took them so for granted that they did not necessarily know that these were Inuktitut words until pointed out to them.

Unfortunately, Inuktitut is endangered throughout Labrador. Pieces of the language survive in Inuit descendants all over Labrador, virtually all of them being nouns in relation to food procurement and preparation. English has been the language of commerce in Labrador for hundreds of year. More recently, it has also been the language of modern telecommunication and of affluent Canadian society. This is the case throughout Labrador. Continuing use of Inuktitut can not therefore be used as a good indicator of Inuit ancestry. However, language reduction does not equate to cultural loss.

### Gender and Identity

It may well be that from earliest contact, occasional European males had relationships with Inuit women, giving rise to mixed-ancestry children. Those children would have been raised as Inuit children in Inuit communities. These encounters certainly increased after the Treaty of 1765, particularly in areas where there were more Europeans along the south coast and in central Labrador. Each of those Inuit women was before marriage, and continued to be after marriage, a member of an Inuit community. Their children were raised as members of Inuit communities.

The addition of the occasional European male did not change the nature of Inuit culture. For the European male, the economic necessities of learning Inuit skills and techniques were vital to survive the Labrador winter. He would learn these from his wife and her male relatives. Having an Inuit wife was vital. Without her and her extended kin relations, he never would have survived the year. The only way for him to survive, and to keep his wife, was to be absorbed into Inuit aboriginal lifeways and means for survival.

This explains the finding by Patty Way (March 31, 2010 report) that Inuit widows were “very much in demand as spouses for men wanting to settle on the Labrador Coast”. These women had skills well developed, had some hunting, trapping and fishing gear left over from their first husband and had established success in child-bearing and raising. This value gave them power in their society.

This power and influence is evident in the archaeology of the Charles and Mary Williams house in North River. The occupants of that house, Charles included, lived a subsistence Inuit life style, after the lifeways of his wife, rather than a typical European life style in Labrador. Inuit wives (including those with European husbands) were influential in directing not only the domestic affairs of the household but the general economy of the household.

Instead of being the passive recipients of European men's advances in marriage, Inuit women not only chose their marriage partner (as Cartwright found out to his chagrin) but seriously influenced the direction of the household economy. They also played an important role as cultural intermediaries. These roles, and the very need for collaboration with Inuit women for survival, meant that they had the ability, in many ways, to control or complement a European husband's activities and placed these women in a powerful position in the interplay of European and Inuit cultures in South/Central Labrador during the nineteenth century.

These women, and their relatives throughout south/central Labrador, shaped the destiny of their communities. Despite Newfoundland and other outsider intrusion, that destiny continues in the communities of NunatuKavut.

#### The Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador from the date of British sovereignty to today

There are numerous examples of the continuity of Inuit culture in the Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador. These are set out in detail in this report. Almost every person who came to Labrador reported the continuation of Inuit communities, made up of Inuit, occasional European men, a few Aboriginal people from other nations and a variety of full and mixed-blooded children, all living together in the same way and in the same communities. The few European men and non-Inuit Aboriginals were absorbed into and lived in Inuit communities and raised children that lived with Inuit people as kin. The children were treated the same, regardless of parentage.

There may well have been economic differences between our communities resulting from the nature of the resources available in the area. Those living near prime sealing areas would catch more seals. Those living farther inland might trap more. However, they visited and inter-married between those communities with no distinction. It was **not** the case that there were separate cultures of “planters”, “trappers” and “fishers”. There was a single Inuit Labradorian culture, with kinship relations, with some difference in emphasis based on ability, trade opportunities and local resources.

This was true in Cartwright's time (1770-1786) and in the early 1800's (See the Journals of Rev. Hickson (1824), Rev. Knight (1825) and Rev. Ellidge (1826-27), for example). It continued to be evident during Bishop Field's visit in 1848, Rev. Hutchison's of 1860 and Rev. Sturtevant's visit in 1885. The same conclusion is reached from each of the Moravian journals in 1857, 1868, 1870, 1871-72, 1873, 1890, 1897 and 1899.

From the very earliest times, and continuing today, outside government has sought to push Inuit out of southern Labrador so it could access our resources without regard to our Inuit rights. This was true in the 1600's and 1700's and remains true today.

When government could not push us off or induce us to leave our land, they have tried to ignore us and deny our existence. As can be demonstrated by clear evidence, this strategy has never worked. We never left our homeland, we are still here today and we will remain here for our children and their children forever.

Attempts by government to destroy our communities have quite simply failed. Whether it be the insertion of Moravian trade missions in the north of our territory, the construction of forts, the flooding of our trap lines, the destruction of our fisheries, the forced re-settlement of our communities or the creation of Nunatsiavut, the determination of government to destroy and assimilate us has been no match for our determination, resilience and adaptability in response.

#### Impact of "passing" to avoid discrimination.

Prior to 1985, many of today's south and central Labrador Inuit descendants downplayed their aboriginal ancestry. The stigma of looking native or "Skimo" led them to remain silent with outsiders about their ancestry. For discrimination reasons, Inuit ancestry was simply not a topic people liked to discuss with non-community members.

Government has chosen to only support Inuit communities (containing both Inuit and non-Inuit members) in northern Labrador. This left Inuit Labradorians, living traditional lives in their homeland, to manage on their own, as Inuit had always done. Membership in the Labrador Inuit Association (now Nunatsiavut), which has been determined on geographic grounds, rather than ancestry or ethnicity, was not available.

There continued, however, to be a strong sense of connection between the identifiers used to describe Inuit descendants in south/central Labrador and their land. Inuit descendants proudly celebrated their connection to being "of" Labrador. They have always demonstrated their commitment to and connection with southern and central Labrador and their different-ness from either new-comers or Newfoundlanders. They were also aware of political differences between themselves and the Inuit descendant population of northern Labrador. However, these differences are adaptations to the respective political environments that each population faced and were no different than the distinctions that had always existed in Inuit society between, for example, Ogbuctocks and Noninucks or between Putlava'miut and Netcetu'miut. Each population is an equally legitimate and valid modern day manifestation of "Inuitness".

For a few generations, some Inuit-descendants in south and central Labrador submerged, for certain purposes, the outward expression and manifestation of their Inuit ancestry. This did not constitute, at any time, a denial of their Inuit heritage, but was merely an avoidance of an outward manifestation of that Aboriginality to non-Aboriginal people in positions of authority or economic or social influence. As between each other, such precautions were unnecessary and the social and familial networks as between Aboriginal people in south and central Labrador continued as it always had.

It remains a sad historical note that in the mid-1800's, there was prejudice against Eskimos. However, there was even more "Victorian age" prejudice against half-breeds. In the mid-1800's most of the Inuit half-breeds were in south and central Labrador, intermixed in communities with full-blooded Inuit.

Although the language of the day is difficult to modern ears, "half-breeds", persons of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry, were looked upon as lesser by outsiders and were marginalized. This led, as noted above, to a degree of "passing" in dealings with outsiders, and a sense of distinction from those Inuit descendants further north that did not initially have as many European neighbours.

In the last decades, attitudes have, fortunately, changed. The prevalence of mixed-ancestry Inuit is higher throughout Labrador. As a result of that, and changing public consciousness, the acceptance of mixed ancestry Aboriginal people has also improved.

Through considerable community research and exchange, the NunatuKavut communities have come to a better understanding of their heritage and their constitutional place in Labrador. They are not prepared to be considered "lesser" any more and will no longer tolerate being marginalized. They are re-claiming their rightful place as equals with other Inuit descendant communities in Canada.

### The role of Trade in Inuit society

The creation of periodic surpluses of local natural resources for the purpose of trade was an integral aspect of Inuit culture at the date of contact, and has remained so ever since. Engaging in trade with Europeans was a natural evolution of an existing intra-Inuit cultural practice. This right of trade was further protected and given constitutional standing in the Treaty of 1765. Similar Peace and Friendship Treaties in the Maritimes have recently led to economic development, fisheries access and Treaty negotiations. We expect that will now occur for us in Labrador as well.

It can be proven that trade was part of the distinctive Inuit culture at the time of contact. The evidence is that the accumulation of surpluses for trade was an established part of Inuit culture pre-sovereignty, and that it is an incident of aboriginal title. Trade with Europeans was simply a continuation of an existing Inuit cultural trait. Further, the Treaty of 1765 recognizes an Inuit right to trade commercially.

### Ethnogenesis in Labrador

The Labrador Metis Nation (predecessor to NunatuKavut Community Council) participated as an intervenor in *Powley*. We argued to the Supreme Court of Canada that an ethnogenesis was not required for people who described themselves as "Metis" to have constitutional rights. That position was not accepted by the Court.

This led to a period of reconsideration for the communities. The word “metis” had come to be used by Labradorians post-1982 as a way to assert our Inuit ancestry, while recognizing that members had some non-Inuit ancestry as well.

In *Labrador Metis Nation v. Newfoundland and Labrador*, we advised the court that research was still ongoing and a final determination had not been made, post-Powley, of whether our communities were going to assert constitutional rights as Inuit or as Metis. What was clear throughout was that the claim was based on Inuit ancestry and as being one of the Aboriginal Peoples of Labrador.

Since that time, further research and community meetings have clarified the position of the rights-holders of NunatuKavut. They hold and assert Inuit Title and Treaty.

### **Conclusion: The members of NunatuKavut as Aboriginal People**

In conclusion, there is no dispute that the historic Inuit of central and southern Labrador were an organized aboriginal society and that they exercised aboriginal rights and title over a defined territory in Labrador from a time before the arrival of Europeans. The evidence shows that the members of NunatuKavut are the descendants of this historic Inuit community, and have maintained their ancestral and cultural connection to the present day. Rather than going “extinct” as a result of inter-marriage, the Inuit communities of NunatuKavut adopted and absorbed the few Europeans who married into their families.

While the Inuit Labradorian communities have adapted to changing circumstances, they have continued to maintain key aspects of the Inuit way of life and their unique identity. In spite of the interference of government and the need to “pass” in order to avoid discrimination from Euro-Canadians, in recent years, the members of NunatuKavut have publicly reclaimed their Inuit heritage, and demand recognition of their ancestral Title and Rights.

## **ABORIGINAL TITLE**

### **Nature and Test for Aboriginal Title**

#### **Summary of the Law**

The principles of the law of aboriginal title were set out in the Supreme Court of Canada decision in *Delgamuukw*<sup>549</sup>, and have been elaborated and applied in subsequent court decisions.

The court in *Delgamuukw* found that Aboriginal title arises from two sources: occupation of the land prior to sovereignty, and the relationship between the common law and pre-existing systems of Aboriginal law.<sup>550</sup>

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<sup>549</sup> *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010

<sup>550</sup> *Delgamuukw*, at para 114

The court set out two propositions which summarize the content of Aboriginal title:

1. Aboriginal title encompasses the right to exclusive use and occupation of the land [...] for a variety of purposes, which need not be aspects of those aboriginal practices, customs and traditions which are integral to distinctive aboriginal cultures [...]
2. Those protected uses must not be irreconcilable with the nature of the group's attachment to that land.<sup>551</sup>

The Supreme Court of Canada in *Sappier and Gray*,<sup>552</sup> endorsed the proposition that one of the objects of the protection of aboriginal rights generally is to provide cultural security and continuity for aboriginal societies, stating (at para 33) that:

*Flexibility is important when engaging in the Van der Peet analysis because the object is to provide cultural security and continuity for the particular aboriginal society. This object gives context to the analysis. For this reason, courts must be prepared to draw necessary inferences about the existence and integrality of a practice when direct evidence is not available.*

Given the centrality of land to Aboriginal cultures, this proposition applies equally to Aboriginal title. The test for the proof of Aboriginal Title was set out in *Delgamuukw* (at paragraph 143) as follows:

*In order to make out a claim for aboriginal title, the aboriginal group asserting title must satisfy the following criteria: (i) the land must have been occupied prior to sovereignty, (ii) if present occupation is relied on as proof of occupation pre-sovereignty, there must be a continuity between present and pre-sovereignty occupation, and (iii) at sovereignty, that occupation must have been exclusive.*

### **Summary of Evidence – Date of Sovereignty**

There appears to be no dispute that the date of British sovereignty in Labrador was at or around the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

In *Labrador Metis Nation*,<sup>553</sup> the Court of Appeal noted (at para. 12) that “The British became the only European country asserting sovereignty over Labrador after the Treaty of Paris in 1763.”

NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. asserts that the date of sovereignty was probably not until the Inuit recognized British sovereignty in the Treaty of 1765. However, the factual reality of Inuit occupation did not differ between 1763 and 1765. We further maintain that the effective date of European control in Labrador did not occur until around two centuries later.

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<sup>551</sup> *Delgamuukw*, at para 117

<sup>552</sup> *R. v. Sappier; R. v. Gray*, [2006] 2 S.C.R. 686

<sup>553</sup> *supra*

## Occupation prior to sovereignty

### Summary of the Law

Having affirmed that the time of sovereignty was the appropriate date to establish occupation, the court in *Delgamuukw* went on to discuss how to establish physical occupation, reiterating that the aboriginal perspective must be taken into account and stating (at para 148):

*The aboriginal perspective on the occupation of their lands can be gleaned, in part, but not exclusively, from their traditional laws, because those laws were elements of the practices, customs and traditions of aboriginal peoples: at para. 41. As a result, if, at the time of sovereignty, an aboriginal society had laws in relation to land, those laws would be relevant to establishing the occupation of lands which are the subject of a claim for aboriginal title. Relevant laws might include, but are not limited to, a land tenure system or laws governing land use.*

The court went on to state (at para 149) that from the perspective of the common law:

*Physical occupation may be established in a variety of ways, ranging from the construction of dwellings through cultivation and enclosure of fields to regular use of definite tracts of land for hunting, fishing or otherwise exploiting its resources:*

This is by no means a closed list. The court went on to describe how to demonstrate sufficiency of occupation:

*[...] In considering whether occupation sufficient to ground title is established, “one must take into account the group’s size, manner of life, material resources, and technological abilities, and the character of the lands claimed”:* [...]

The court also explained that the “integral to a distinctive culture” test used for Aboriginal rights is subsumed under the requirement to prove occupancy in the test for Aboriginal title, stating (at para 151):

*[...] However, in the case of title, it would seem clear that any land that was occupied pre-sovereignty, and which the parties have maintained a substantial connection with since then, is sufficiently important to be of central significance to the culture of the claimants. As a result, I do not think it is necessary to include explicitly this element as part of the test for aboriginal title.*

The Supreme Court of Canada elaborated on the principles of aboriginal Title in *Bernard and Marshall*<sup>554</sup>, stating (at para 58):

*It follows from the requirement of exclusive occupation that exploiting the land, rivers or seaside for hunting, fishing or other resources may translate into aboriginal title to the*

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<sup>554</sup> R. v. Marshall; R. v. Bernard, 2005 SCC 43, [2005] 2 S.C.R. 220

*land if the activity was sufficiently regular and exclusive to comport with title at common law.*

The court in *Bernard and Marshall* went on to consider whether nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples could make out a claim for Aboriginal title, and stated (at para 66);

*The answer is that it depends on the evidence. [...]. Whether a nomadic people enjoyed sufficient “physical possession” to give them title to the land, is a question of fact, depending on all the circumstances, in particular the nature of the land and the manner in which it is commonly used. Not every nomadic passage or use will ground title to land; thus this Court in Adams asserts that one of the reasons that aboriginal rights cannot be dependent on aboriginal title is that this would deny any aboriginal rights to nomadic peoples (para. 27). On the other hand, Delgamuukw contemplates that “physical occupation” sufficient to ground title to land may be established by “regular use of definite tracts of land for hunting, fishing or otherwise exploiting its resources” (para. 149). In each case, the question is whether a degree of physical occupation or use equivalent to common law title has been made out.*

We observe, in relation to this quote, that Inuit were seasonally transhumant, not nomadic.

One of the few trial level cases to apply the test of Aboriginal title was the B.C. Supreme Court decision in *Tsilhqot’in First Nation v. B.C.*<sup>555</sup>. In particular, the court considered the standard for physical occupation, and the meaning of the phrase “regular use of definite tracts of land”. The Crown argued that in light of *Bernard and Marshall*, Aboriginal title is limited to small, specific sites. The Crown described this in their submissions as:

*[...] the fact that the members of an aboriginal community would harvest plants, fish, or game wherever they happened to find them does not convert a large territory in which those people roamed into a ‘definite tract.’<sup>556</sup>*

The claimant characterized this as a “postage stamp” approach to Aboriginal title, and argued that a broader characterization of Aboriginal title was necessary, one that allowed for the cultural security and continuity of distinctive Aboriginal societies.

The court accepted the arguments of the plaintiff, finding that the test for Aboriginal title had been satisfied over a large portion of the claim area, including seasonal village sites, “cultivated fields” (being areas where medicines and plants were gathered), hunting grounds, fishing sites, and the network of trails and waterways which connected it all.<sup>557</sup> This approach to aboriginal title fulfills the promise of cultural security and continuity set down in *Sappier and Gray*.

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<sup>555</sup> *Tsilhqot’in Nation*, 2007 BCSC 1700

<sup>556</sup> BC Final Argument, at para. 1329.

<sup>557</sup> *Tsilhqot’in*, at paras 959-960

## Summary of the Evidence of Occupation

Until recently, the record with respect to Labrador's early history was limited. Archaeology in Labrador was in its infancy. The limited number of accounts from the small number of European visitors was often available only in archives which few had bothered to peruse. Aboriginal perspectives were either lost or marginalized.

However, more recent historical research has confirmed what our members already knew: that their Inuit ancestors were in widespread use and occupation of central and southern Labrador up to the date of sovereignty and beyond to the present day.

Fifteen years ago, very little was known about the history of the Inuit in southern Labrador. In the past fifteen years, much has been learned about the history of the Inuit in southern Labrador and much has been rediscovered. Much that was supposedly "known" about the history of Labrador fifteen years ago has actually proven to be false in light of the improving archaeological and archival record.

It is no longer possible to argue, for example, that the Inuit were not in widespread use and occupation of southern Labrador, and only visited periodically for trade. What was once a minority academic hypothesis is no longer tenable. There is now academic consensus that Inuit were in regular, constant and widespread occupation of south and central Labrador before the mid-1700s and that extensive occupation continued through 1763. The following are examples:

*The intention of the Inuit living in southern Labrador was to occupy the land during multiple seasons of the year, exploiting a typical Inuit land use pattern. The Inuit occupations of southern Labrador were of a permanent nature*<sup>558</sup>.

*Inuit were routinely encountered by Europeans in southern Labrador*<sup>559</sup>.

*The lengthy, significant and year-round Inuit presence in southern Labrador is now clearly documented through the archaeology projects conducted in the Sandwich Bay area.*<sup>560</sup>

Dr. Rankin confirms that the Inuit were in year round settlement of south and central Labrador well before the mid-1600s. They were present in extended family groupings as part of the occupation and use their usual, customary and traditional territory. They were not engaged in mere seasonal trading journeys. Among Dr. Rankin's observations:

*"Recent archaeological evidence has suggested that there was year-round Inuit settlement on the coast of southern Labrador by the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, and that the Inuit presence was not simply a matter of seasonal trading journeys"*

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<sup>558</sup> Natalie Brewster thesis, 2005, page 111

<sup>559</sup> Stopp and Rutherford, Report of the 1991 Labrador South Coastal Survey, page 21.

<sup>560</sup> See various archeology reports referred to herein.

*Emerging archaeological data supports the conclusion that the Inuit presence in southern Labrador was comparable in nature to that further north and that Hamilton Inlet was not the southern boundary of Inuit settlement.*<sup>561</sup>

This includes evidence of occupation, such as dwellings, and regular use of definite tracts of land (seasonal resource areas) for hunting, fishing and gathering resources.

The evidence also includes the perspective of the Inuit themselves, as evidenced in Inuit place names, which speak to a detailed knowledge of the lands and waters of central and southern Labrador.

### Establishing Physical Occupation

#### Construction of Dwellings

Both the emerging archaeological record and contemporaneous European accounts provide evidence of the construction of dwellings at various sites throughout southern Labrador. Early Europeans frequently encountered evidence of long-term Inuit use and occupation

The Inuit generally lived in sod houses in winter, quarmats during warmer parts of the year and tents in summer. Dr. Stopp confirms that these were a permanent presence, with tent structures often being inhabited for longer periods of time than sod houses.<sup>562</sup>

Virtually every visitor to south and central Labrador from the 1600's through the 1800's noted the presence of Inuit dwellings, or evidence that such dwellings had previously been situated there. It is obvious that the area was occupied by the Inuit, in significant numbers and in large family groupings.

Inuit often returned to the same seasonal homes or locations year after year (in some cases for generations or centuries) and developed a deep and meaningful connection and familiarity with these locations. These seasonal resource areas constituted "definite tracts of land" of which these Inuit communities had regular use.

#### Regular Use of Definite Tracts of Land for Hunting, Fishing or Exploiting Resources

There is no question that the Inuit made regular use of definite tracts of land, of which they had a detailed knowledge. As Stopp notes:

*The hunter-gatherer way of life in Labrador [...] revolved around a knowledge of the availability of resources at specific times and in specific places, and traveling to those places at the appropriate times.*

*The movement from resource to resource is essentially a revisiting of known areas across a familiar, and sometimes extensive, territory, with temporary residence organized*

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<sup>561</sup> Lisa Rankin, *An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit occupation of Labrador*, page 28

<sup>562</sup> Stopp (2002) at p. 94

*around seasonal availability of resources at locations determined by prior knowledge of the environment.*

The evidence shows that at the time of sovereignty, Inuit regularly used and occupied the seasonal resource areas located in south and central Labrador, including the many inland waterways and river systems, and inland areas for caribou hunting and for trapping.

Early European observers noted the regular use of land in southern Labrador to procure a wide range of resources. This included not only marine resources but inland, air and riverine resources as well. Further evidence on this point is discussed under “manner of life” below.

### European Maps and Place Names

Early European cartography clearly shows notorious and extensive Inuit occupation of south and central Labrador beginning in the 1500s through to the time of sovereignty.

The Report entitled “Toponymic and Cartographic Research” prepared by Drs. Hancock, Ramsden, Rankin, Rollmann and Wharram provides an excellent summary of the early maps. This work shows that the Inuit occupation was well-known and consistently experienced by early European visitors to the area.

### Sufficiency of Occupation

The court in *Delgamuukw* stated that in considering whether occupation sufficient to ground title is established, “one must take into account the group’s size, manner of life, material resources, and technological abilities, and the character of the lands claimed”.

Given the size of the Inuit population and number of communities, their hunter-gatherer manner of life, an abundant but geographically dispersed resource base that depended on migratory animals such as fish, whales, seals, fox and caribou, technologies that were well adapted to the environment, and the vast and challenging landmass of Labrador, the nature of Inuit use and occupation was one of seasonal transhumance on identifiable seasonal resource areas.

Those seasonal resource areas included the coastal areas and islands, as well as associated inland areas up river and the inland hunting and trapping grounds of Labrador. These definable tracts of land were put to regular seasonal usage, sufficient occupation to ground Aboriginal Title from both the European and the Aboriginal perspective.

### Size of the Group

There are understandable challenges in trying to estimate the Inuit population of south/central Labrador at the time of sovereignty. Given accessibility problems for researchers and the paucity of records, this area of coastline has been poorly studied and poorly understood. The coast is itself lengthy (3,515 kilometers of coastline, if it could be pulled straight) but is located in an area between only three latitude points which are a mere 320 kilometers apart. This leads to problems in assessing the presence or absence of Inuit in any particular area and in any particular time period.

The transhumant lifestyle followed yearly cycles and made it difficult for Europeans to always locate Inuit communities. The often ambivalent relationships with Europeans and the complicated physical geography means that European observers have made only very spotty observations on the Labrador population of Inuit as a community.

That being said, we have evidence of considerable numbers of Inuit in the historic time, most of whom were concentrated at identifiable resource areas. In 1764, the Moravians estimated the southern Labrador Inuit population to be about 600 (not including those north of Davis Inlet).

When 300 Inuit showed up in Chateaux Bay in 1765 for treaty talks, they estimated that at least as many more had been left behind.

Haven estimated that in the area mapped between 54 and 55 degrees, 600 to 1,000 Inuit lived.

Given the difficulties noted above in even finding Inuit on the landscape, these estimates were likely at the low end of the scale. For example, shortly after sovereignty, in 1797, Ambrose Crofton estimated the Inuit population in southern Labrador (and unaffiliated with the Moravians) to be approximately 4,000;<sup>563</sup>

Subsequent census data is equivocal at best. For example, in 1870 for the area between Hopedale and Sandwich Bay, the census records 148 “Inuit”, 290 “Inuit-Metis” and 82 shown as “white parentage doubtful”. The extrapolation of known figures tells us that the Inuit (full and mixed-blooded) in south and central Labrador would have been between 300 and 700 at all times up to Confederation. These numbers are still likely an under-reporting, since there would have been many Inuit who were not found by foreign observers.

While these numbers may seem relatively small, it is important to remember that at the same time, Britain was claiming to assert sovereignty over the same territory with virtually no resident population whatsoever. They also compare reasonably to the 1800 – 1919 ranges of populations at Hopedale (145 - 225), Nain (200 – 300), Okak (48-362) and Hebron (70 - 248).

Since most Inuit communities were comprised of 15-20 individuals, it is evident that there would have been 35 to 45 such communities in south/central Labrador. An assumption that the vast majority of Inuit resided north of Hamilton Inlet, and the Inuit in the south were just seasonal visitors is no longer tenable on the evidence. The suggestion that all of the southern Inuit “died or moved North” after sovereignty is also contrary to the evidence, which does not support widespread death in the south/central area due to illness, demonstrates stability of population and shows more Inuit population traveling south between 1771 and 1840 than moved north.

### Manner of Life

The Labrador Inuit lived within a complex hunter-gatherer society.<sup>564</sup> They employed an economic strategy of logistical mobility that encouraged a delayed return economic system, food

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<sup>563</sup> Ibid, page 22 and 56

<sup>564</sup> An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change, James M. Woollett, 2003, page 641 et seq.

storage, sedentism and a measure of economic specialization and leadership in task groups. Such specialization is a matter of degree, not distinction. Everyone fished, but some might fish more. Everyone hunted and trapped, but some might do so more. This was a factor of ability, proximity to trade and local resources. These differences did not result in different cultural groups. There was only one Inuit collectivity in south/central Labrador.

A pattern of seasonal transhumance was followed, providing each extended family (or multiple family) grouping with a resource utilization area that constituted the regular use of a definite tract of land. Natalie Brewster<sup>565</sup> tells us that Inuit exploited every possible coastal ecological niche available. They occupied their territory in a seasonal round which permitted maximum access to all seasonally available resources. As Dr. Stopp explains, “Each season introduced a series of settlement moves that corresponded with resource procurement.”

The Inuit of central and southern Labrador moved seasonally to access known resources, but generally returned to the same locations year after year to occupy the same sites and make use of the same resources. They built permanent structures (such as sod houses) which they would occupy long-term on a seasonal basis.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a nomad as “a member of a people continually moving to find fresh pasture for animals and having no permanent home”. The American Heritage Dictionary defines semi-nomadic as “One of a people whose living habits are largely nomadic but who plant some crops at a base point.” The same dictionary describes “transhumance” as “Transfer of livestock from one grazing ground to another, as from lowlands to highlands, with the changing of seasons.” The way of life of the Inuit of Southern Labrador was more consistent with a pattern of seasonal migration of transhumance than one of nomads or semi-nomads.

In any event, the Supreme Court of Canada in *Bernard and Marshall* made clear (at para 66) that even nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples can make out a claim for aboriginal Title, depending on the evidence. The evidence presented here shows a sufficient type, frequency and intensity of use to ground Aboriginal Title. The uses and occupation of lands in Southern Labrador are no different than those recognized by all authorities further north in Nunatsiavut.

The evidence presented suggests that many of the sites in central and southern Labrador were regular winter and summer settlements that were re-used on a more or less permanent basis for long periods of time, similar to some of the sites mentioned further North.

The evidence also demonstrates that the Moravians did initially prefer locating their mission in central and southern Labrador, and went as far as to procure a land grant in Hamilton Inlet due to the large Inuit population there. What caused them to locate in the North was not a greater population of Inuit, but rather personal considerations, and the political agenda of the British, who wanted to lure the Inuit away from their fishing grounds in southern Labrador and northern Newfoundland.

Activities such as hunting and fishing can also make out Title, provided they constitute regular use of definite tracts of land. The evidence shows that the Inuit did in fact make regular use of

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<sup>565</sup> Natalie Brewster Thesis, page 22

definite tracts as resource areas (combined land and marine), returning seasonally to hunt, gather and fish and make use of resources at the same locations.

Recognition of Aboriginal Title to the settlements, hunting, fishing and resource areas is essential to the cultural security and continuity of our community members as a distinctive culture, and fulfills the promise of section 35.

#### Material Resources and Technological Abilities

The material resources and technology of the Inuit were well adapted to their environment, as demonstrated by the fact that many of their technologies were quickly adopted by European men when they decided to remain in Labrador. The evidence is replete with the uses, by European men, of harpoons, komatics, house construction techniques and many other Inuit technologies and techniques for survival in Labrador.

A wide range of Inuit artifacts have been identified, including both items of a utilitarian nature and of a recreational nature (such as toys and art objects). It also shows that the Inuit were also quick to adopt new technologies and materials (such as iron and copper) as they became available through trade or acquisition.

#### Character of Lands Claimed:

Outsiders have called our land a “barren” coast, where survival was difficult. Nonetheless, the Inuit, who had a demonstrated ability to thrive in some of the harshest climates on earth, considered central and southern Labrador to be a land of relative abundance. As their emissaries stated at the Treaty Conference in 1765:

The Sea abounds with Whales, Seals, small Cod, &c &c The Land – with Deer, Foxes, White & Black Bears, Wolves & doubtless other animals. In the fresh water they find plenty of Salmon.

Stopp explains further:

*Inuit presence in the south can be understood from an environmental perspective if we consider the resource-rich ecosystems south of Hamilton Inlet. The coastline between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Hamilton Inlet harbours a number of migratory species of sea mammals such as whales and harp seals, birds, and anadromous fish, and supports a variety of land mammals and freshwater species. The Strait of Belle Isle itself is a natural funnel for pack ice and migrating sea mammals. The southernmost Strait of Belle Isle and the Gulf of St Lawrence would have offered relative subsistence security throughout the year with some advantages over more northerly regions. Encampments would have had access to sea mammal populations that overwinter in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; caribou may have been more readily accessible than in northern regions, where several days journeying into the interior were needed to find them. Slightly warmer average temperatures resulted in greater species diversity and a shorter cold season for humans. The island archipelagos and deep bays between Chateaux Bay and Hamilton Inlet, and*

*southwestward to L'Anse au Clair, are well suited for hunting both migratory and non-migratory seal species, as well as for salmon fishing, trout fishing, and hunting on land.*

In other words, the Inuit enjoyed an abundant but geographically dispersed resource base that depended on migratory animals such as fish, whales, seals, fox and caribou. This caused them to make regular and widespread use of the geographic area, using identifiable resource areas where species could be relied upon at various times of the year.

For the Inuit of central and southern Labrador, this was our traditional homeland: as indicated at the Treaty Conference, they were from Esquimaux Bay and southern Labrador. They knew of no other place they had come from. They were aware of groups to the North, but had no interaction with them. Their activities took place in and around their settlements and in their traditional territory of NunatuKavut.

### The Inuit Perspective

There is a cohesive Inuit place name system for south and central Labrador, indicating a sophisticated degree of Inuit spatial organization which supports a finding of regular use and occupation. This toponymic system was in place from the earliest European encounters<sup>566</sup> through the date of European sovereignty and at least into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These names are rooted in Inuit “land use, occupancy and territoriality”. Reflecting local geographical and environmental knowledge and a coherent territory for living and subsistence, the place names identify “physical conditions and locations, resources and possibilities for human occupancy” including those pertaining to culture and religion.

The map entitled “Historic Inuktitut Nomenclature in Central & Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland” shows a consolidation of Inuit toponyms from Cape Charles to Cape Harrison, combining certain names from the Moravian maps with toponyms from the Curtis and Gilbert charts. This map should be read in conjunction with the comprehensive report done by Drs. Handcock, Ramsden, Rankin, Rollmann and Wharram<sup>567</sup>.

The toponyms on the 1765 map are fully representative of and comparable to other Inuit place name systems. The range of area covered by Inuit toponyms, as recorded, stretches from Quirpon and Sacred Bay in Newfoundland, all the way up the coast past and into Hamilton Inlet<sup>568</sup>. The 1872 and 1873 maps<sup>569</sup> show that these usages remained extant through that time period.

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<sup>566</sup> For example, the French concession to de Courtemanche in 1702 stretched to the River “Kessessakiou” (usually identified as what is now the Churchill River), James K. Hiller, Eighteenth Century Labrador; the European Perspective, page 36. The 1749 Concession was actually entitled “Baye des Esquimaux”.

<sup>567</sup> Toponymic and Cartographic Research

<sup>568</sup> See “Historic Inuktitut Nomenclature” map, document 61

<sup>569</sup> Rollman report, documents C-17 and C-18

## **Indigenous law**

Aboriginal Title can be proven through the proof of the existence of Aboriginal laws in relation to land utilization. Our evidence shows a system of land use that was communal in nature, but had the equivalent of “family hunting territories” which we assigned to families and could be passed on to others through generational transmission or through a transaction in exchange for a portion of future catch.

Land where houses were built was not “owned” by the family. It was communal land and others had rights to be welcomed in it when occupied by the family or to use it themselves when unoccupied by the family.

This web of cultural expectations was enforced and constituted indigenous law, recognizable by the common law of Canada.

### Conclusion: Use and Occupation

In sum, the Inuit presence in central and southern Labrador was one of permanent settlement and regular use of particular tracts of land on a recurring basis for seasonal hunting, fishing and resource use. This is supported by archaeological evidence, records of European encounters with the Inuit, European maps and place names, as well as the evidence of the Inuit themselves.

The southern Inuit were in 1763 a separate (but related) group from those of the north, with their own home territory, who made use of the abundant seasonal resources of central and southern Labrador, and who engaged in trade with Europeans. This is sufficient to ground Aboriginal title.

### Exclusivity

#### **Summary of the Law**

At the time of sovereignty, occupation must have been ‘exclusive’. The court in *Delgamuukw* discuss the importance of considering both the common law perspective, and the Aboriginal perspective in determining proof of exclusivity. “The test required to establish exclusive occupation must take into account the context of the aboriginal society at the time of sovereignty.”

In *Bernard and Marshall*, the Supreme Court elaborated on the concept of exclusion, stating:

*Aboriginal societies were not strangers to the notions of exclusive physical possession equivalent to common law notions of title... They often exercised such control over their village sites and larger areas of land which they exploited for agriculture, hunting, fishing or gathering. [...]*<sup>570</sup>

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<sup>570</sup> *Marshall and Bernard*, supra, note 6, at para 62

Finally, the court stated:

*[...] The right to control the land and, if necessary, to exclude others from using it is basic to the notion of title at common law. [...] Determining whether it was present in a pre-sovereignty aboriginal society, however, can pose difficulties. Often, no right to exclude arises by convention or law. So one must look to evidence. But evidence may be hard to find. The area may have been sparsely populated, with the result that clashes and the need to exclude strangers seldom if ever occurred. Or the people may have been peaceful and have chosen to exercise their control by sharing rather than exclusion. It is therefore critical to view the question of exclusion from the aboriginal perspective. To insist on evidence of overt acts of exclusion in such circumstances may, depending on the circumstances, be unfair. The problem is compounded by the difficulty of producing evidence of what happened hundreds of years ago where no tradition of written history exists.*

*It follows that evidence of acts of exclusion is not required to establish aboriginal title. All that is required is demonstration of effective control of the land by the group, from which a reasonable inference can be drawn that it could have excluded others had it chosen to do so. The fact that history, insofar as it can be ascertained, discloses no adverse claimants may support this inference. This is what is meant by the requirement of aboriginal title that the lands have been occupied in an exclusive manner.<sup>571</sup>*

### **Summary of the Evidence of Exclusivity**

Evidence of exclusivity includes both “the factual reality of occupation, as encountered by Europeans and of “the intention and capacity to retain exclusive control” – evidenced by actions and relationships with other groups. The factual reality of occupation has been dealt with extensively above under “Proof of Occupation”.

There is ample evidence that the Inuit of central and southern Labrador maintained a territory that was separate and distinct from that of the Innu. At the time of British sovereignty, the Inuit occupied and made regular use of definite tracts of land in southern and central Labrador, as well as the many inland waterways and river systems, together with inland areas for trapping and the caribou hunt. In contrast, the Innu were predominantly an inland people who came to the coast only occasionally to fish or to trade.

The Inuit and Innu consciously avoided each other and each other’s respective territories. On the rare occasions when one group would enter the territory of the other, they would do so knowing that they were trespassers and would leave the area as quickly as possible.

All historic and expert evidence demonstrates that the Innu and the Inuit maintained separate territories. Scott Neilsen confirms this. The Labrador Boundary Documents indicate that: “Probably no more definite habitat limits ever existed between native races than those recognized by the Indian and the Eskimo of the Labrador Peninsula prior to the advent of the white man.” Frank Speck in 1936 found the same.

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<sup>571</sup> *Marshall and Bernard*, supra, note 6, at paras 64-65

All of this suggests that until and past the time of sovereignty, the Inuit had exclusive use and occupation of the coast of central and southern Labrador, as well as of river systems leading from the coast. The Innu kept largely to the interior, making only periodic visits to the coastal regions. The Inuit and the Innu kept largely to their respective territories, and had established mechanisms for maintaining this cultural and territorial divide. Only as traders such as Cartwright established more permanent trading establishments on the coast after British sovereignty, were the Innu attracted to trade on the coast on a more regular basis, consisting largely of short visits before they went back home.

Similarly, from the time of European contact up to the time of sovereignty, the Inuit intention and capacity to exclude is demonstrated through their actions and relationships with Europeans. That the Inuit worked hard to defend their territory can not be denied. Fitzhugh describes Inuit raiding and burning of European establishments after 1600<sup>572</sup>.

Neilsen notes that the raids on European stations were more than just attempts to acquire European goods; they were an attempt to protect whaling, which was an integral part of their way of life, from both European and Innu. He states “They were efforts to disrupt the European industries and Innu involvement with them, in order to perpetuate their own cultural autonomy, and access the cultural resources that were such an integral part of it.”<sup>573</sup>

Indeed, the Inuit remained hostile to European activities in Southern Labrador, and relationships remained tense throughout the French period. The Inuit burnt Pierre Constantin’s post in Red Bay in 1718,<sup>574</sup> and attacked Marsal’s post at Cape Charles in 1742,<sup>575</sup> among others. This violence only began to subside as a result of the Treaty of 1765.

In summary, at the time of British sovereignty, the Inuit showed the intention and capacity to exclude other groups from their areas of exclusive use and occupation in south and central Labrador.

### **Present day occupation and land use continuity**

#### **Summary of the Law**

The court in *Delgamuukw* also discussed how present day occupation can be used as proof of pre-sovereignty occupation, if continuity can be shown, stating (at para 152-4):

*Conclusive evidence of pre-sovereignty occupation may be difficult to come by. Instead, an aboriginal community may provide evidence of present occupation as proof of pre-*

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<sup>572</sup> *Exploring Cultural Boundaries*, supra, note 16, at p. 12

<sup>573</sup> A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 32

<sup>574</sup> James A. Tuck and Robert Grenier, *Red Bay, Labrador: World Whaling Capital A.D. 1550- 1600*, (St. John’s: Atlantic Archaeology Ltd., 1989),, at p. 64

<sup>575</sup> Kennedy, J.C., *People of the Bays and Headlands*, at para 22, as quoted in as quoted in A Critical Review, supra, note 10, at p. 74

*sovereignty occupation in support of a claim to aboriginal title. What is required, in addition, is a continuity between present and pre-sovereignty occupation [...]*

*Needless to say, there is no need to establish “an unbroken chain of continuity” (Van der Peet, at para. 65) between present and prior occupation. The occupation and use of lands may have been disrupted for a time, perhaps as a result of the unwillingness of European colonizers to recognize aboriginal title. [...]*

*I should also note that there is a strong possibility that the precise nature of occupation will have changed between the time of sovereignty and the present. I would like to make it clear that the fact that the nature of occupation has changed would not ordinarily preclude a claim for aboriginal title, as long as a substantial connection between the people and the land is maintained. [...]*

The Supreme Court elaborated further on the need to maintain a substantial connection to the land in *Bernard and Marshall*, stating (at para 67):

*To claim title, the group’s connection with the land must be shown to have been “of a central significance to their distinctive culture”: Adams, at para. 26. If the group has “maintained a substantial connection” with the land since sovereignty, this establishes the required “central significance”: Delgamuukw, per Lamer C.J., at paras. 150-51.*

### **Summary of the Evidence of Continuity**

NunatuKavut members continue to occupy their ancestral lands in communities across central and southern Labrador. Although we do not rely on present-day occupation alone as proof of occupation prior to sovereignty, our continued occupation and use of these lands is further proof that from the time of sovereignty up to the present day, our communities have maintained a substantial connection with their traditional territory, in spite of significant changes in the society and economy of Labrador, and in spite of consistent efforts to interfere with their occupation or remove them altogether.

The issue of cultural continuity has been dealt with separately under “Inuit Cultural Continuity” above, although there is some overlap in the evidence.

#### British and Moravian Attempts to Displace the Inuit

From the time of sovereignty, the British government and their agents began efforts to dislocate the Inuit of southern Labrador from their traditional territory, and move them farther north. The Moravian records provide ample evidence of this.

After the Treaty in 1765, Governor Palliser ordered the construction of Fort Pitt in Chateau Bay in 1766 in an attempt to dissuade the Inuit from using that area. This was unsuccessful. In 1767, he met again with the Inuit in Chateau Bay in Treaty conference, and attempted to dissuade them from approaching English fishing stations.

In trying to establish their new mission in Labrador, the Moravians initially (February 11, 1769) made a request for a location at Eskimo Bay (Lake Melville) due to the large Inuit population known to live in that area.<sup>576</sup> This request was originally approved by an Order in Council but subsequently re-adjusted in accordance with the personal preferences of their guides, Mikak and Tuglavina, as well as the British desire to locate the mission posts farther to the north to try to pull the Inuit out of southern Labrador.

The British government made it clear that one of the goals of the missions was to attract Inuit to northern Labrador and keep them there. The British took further steps to try and prevent the Inuit from returning to the south. In 1772, Governor Molyneux Shuldham issued a proclamation formally declaring that the Moravians were to use “every fair and gentle means in their power, to prevent the said Esquimaux Savages from going to the southward, without first obtaining their permission in writing for so doing”.<sup>577</sup> A third Moravian mission was established at Hopedale in 1782 in an attempt to “hold” the Inuit to that latitude.

However, there were several mass departures from the missions in the north to the south over the years, including a ‘veritable exodus’ in 1783<sup>578</sup>, and also in 1788 and 1791 with missionized Inuit joining their brethren in the south for free and open access to European trade goods and other mercantile opportunities.

The picture that emerges from the Hopedale church records is that of considerable Inuit mobility to and from the south as well as long-term residence in the south. This attraction to the south was at times so pronounced that the Moravian missionaries seriously entertained closing Hopedale as a missionary settlement. Despite government appeals and Moravian moral entreaties, Inuit remained in central and southern Labrador.

### Continued Occupation

While the Moravians recorded what took place in northern Labrador, the European records of what was going on in southern Labrador are limited. There were few Europeans overwintering in Labrador at that time. Of those, few were literate or would have cared to record their encounters with the Inuit. Government presence was virtually nonexistent: “Labrador remained a distant and obscure wilderness, hardly comprehensible, let alone governable”.

Further, as already discussed under “Size of the Group” above, the geography of central and southern Labrador created some unique challenges in terms of identifying occupation and use by Inuit.

Nonetheless, records do exist, and what they do indicate is that the Inuit of southern Labrador, and their descendants, remained in occupation and use of their traditional territory.

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<sup>576</sup> Cartographic and Toponymic Research, page 8

<sup>577</sup> Charles A. Martijn, *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush*, page 83

<sup>578</sup> Charles A. Martijn, *Painting the Past with a Broad Brush*, page 83

Roger Curtis' visit to the Straits of Belle Isle in 1771 and 1772 and clergy visits throughout the 1800's clearly demonstrate that the British (and then Newfoundland) displacement policy did not work. Inuit refused to be threatened or cajoled from occupation of their territory.

The records indicate that Inuit, together with a few European husbands and non-Inuit Aboriginals, and mixed-ancestry Inuit lived together in the same communities. Those of non-Inuit ancestry were absorbed into the communities and became members of them.

These communities lived a seasonally transhumant lifestyle. In the early historic period, they were described as living on seal and fish. They made use of dogs, kayaks and sleds.<sup>579</sup> In the earlier years, all spoke Inuktitut; some spoke English to different degrees. Igloos or wigwams were used as seasonal residences for part of the year; skin houses for other times.<sup>580</sup> Winter habitations usually had the classic Inuit long hall entrance with a raised sleeping floor.<sup>581</sup> Multiple families lived in the one winter house.

Inuit community use and occupation continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In these later years, further adaptation to new technologies is evident. Frank Speck reports Inuktitut speakers in Sandwich Bay in 1914, who demonstrate both marine and inland resource use.<sup>582</sup> During that time, the non-material culture of the society changed very little.

The Inuit seasonal transhumance land use patterns remain clearly apparent in the Inuit descendent communities of south and central Labrador. This is evident in the maps done by Tony Williamson of the Labrador Institute of Northern Studies in 1977 in a paper entitled "Initial Social and Economic Evaluation of the Labrador Coast". These maps of the "migratory patterns" for the communities of Lodge Bay, Mary's Harbour, Fox Harbour, Port Hope Simpson, Pinsent's Arm, Charlottetown, Norman Bay, Black Tickle, Cartwright and Paradise River are clearly indicative of the continuing seasonal transhumance land use pattern. What is not shown on the maps, since it was not part of that project, is the inland and riverine use which also continues in those communities.

This continuity was also found by Dr. John Kennedy in May 2001 in the 'Coasts under Stress' Project.<sup>583</sup> Despite external pressures from disease, the Great Depression and resettlement policies, this land use pattern continued until the cod fishery moratorium in 1992 had devastating consequences<sup>584</sup>. Dr. Kennedy's informants in Lodge Bay, Mary's Harbour, St. Lewis (Fox Harbour), Port Hope Simpson and Makkovik were completely immersed in their environment, understanding it well and exploiting its cyclical resources. They spoke knowledgeably about species such as salmon and char, rabbits, foxes, wolves, caribou, birds, capelin, cod, seals and whales, as well as other environmental factors such as tree growth rates and snow fall amounts<sup>585</sup>.

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<sup>579</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21, 25

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid*, pages 26 - 27

<sup>582</sup> Frank Speck, page 322

<sup>583</sup> John Kennedy, *Environmental Change, Fisheries Restructuring, Transportation Policies and Differentiation: Coastal Labrador 2000*, page 2

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid*, page 2

<sup>585</sup> *Ibid*, pages 5 - 7

In sum, after sovereignty, the Inuit of southern Labrador remained, using and occupying their traditional territory. While some left for the Moravian missions of the North, others returned. Evidence that they were wiped out by disease or other means is lacking. While Inuit women did intermarry with Europeans and produce offspring of mixed descent, these families remained in Inuit communities and family groupings, continuing to use and occupy the land in the ways of their Inuit ancestors. They intermarried with other Inuit, and remained on their traditional territory. These land use methods and patterns have been followed by our members right up to the present day.

### **Conclusion regarding Aboriginal Title**

We have shown that, at sovereignty, the Inuit of central and southern Labrador were a distinctive group having permanent long-term occupation and use throughout their territory. They maintained exclusive possession of that territory by forcibly excluding both the Innu and Europeans when necessary. The Inuit and their southern descendants, the members of the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc., have maintained continuous use and occupation of that territory up to the present day.

### **THE TREATY OF 1765**

The Inuit Treaty of 1765 is a valid, binding and enforceable Treaty, constitutionally protected under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982.

### **Proof of Treaty Rights**

In *Bernard and Marshall*, the Supreme Court of Canada stated (at para 7) that “The existence of a treaty and a right to claim under it are questions of fact to be determined in each case.” Aboriginal claimants must prove the existence of a treaty, the existence and scope of the claimed right, and their relationship to the aboriginal community with which the treaty was made.

### **Existence and Legal Status of a Treaty**

#### **Summary of the Law**

The case law is clear that what constitutes a section 35 “Treaty” is not restricted to formal bilaterally-signed treaty documents. Rather, the courts have adopted a flexible and nuanced interpretation of what can constitute a treaty. This principle was adopted by the Supreme Court of Canada in *R. v. Simon*.<sup>586</sup>

The courts have recognized that a treaty does not require an executed document. This principle was endorsed by the New Brunswick Court of Appeal in *R. v. Sappier and Polchies*,<sup>587</sup> in its decision that a verbal agreement constituted a treaty.

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<sup>586</sup> *R. v. Simon*, (1985), 23 C.C.C. (3d) 238.

<sup>587</sup> *R. v. Sappier and Polchies*, 273 N.B.R. (2d) 93

The test for determining whether an official had the capacity to treat with Aboriginal nations adopted by the Supreme Court of Canada in *Sioui v. Quebec*<sup>588</sup> embraces a contextual approach, the key inquiry being whether it was reasonable for the Aboriginal people to believe that the official had the authority to treat with them, not whether the official had actual authority to treat.

### **Summary of the Evidence: Existence and Legal Status of the Treaty of 1765**

There can be very little question of the existence and legal status of the Treaty of 1765 as a binding, enforceable and constitutionally protected treaty.

Throughout their conflict with the French for control of North America, and after their victory in the Seven Years War, the British had successfully used treaties as a way of engendering peace and friendship and normalizing commercial relations with Aboriginal peoples in North America. These treaties, such as the Peace and Friendship Treaties of 1760-61 with the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were not land cession treaties, but were meant to create peaceful relations and mutually beneficial trade relationships moving forward. The British chose to try a similar approach in southern Labrador, where Inuit hostility to Europeans had long impeded the development of such relationships.

Sir Hugh Palliser was appointed as the ranking sea officer and civil governor of Newfoundland (including Labrador) in 1764. He had the right to accept peace terms and he had the authority to administer the territory that fell within his jurisdiction. Article 14, Palliser's Instructions of 10<sup>th</sup> April 1764, instructed him to prohibit people from other countries from trading with the Eskimo and

“to use your best endeavours to conciliate their Affections, and to induce them to Trade with our Subjects, reporting to Us, by our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the best Account you can Obtain of the Number of the said Indians, the places they frequent, the nature and extent of the Commerce that is or may be carried on with them, and how the same may, in Your Opinion, be further extended and improved.”

There can be no doubt as to Palliser's intent to enter into Treaty with the Inuit or his capacity to do so. He prepared for the event by enlisting the aid of the Moravians, who proved themselves able in 1764. On July 1, 1764, he issued a Proclamation to the residents of the Island of Newfoundland advising that he was seeking to induce the Inuit to enter into Treaty with Britain. By letter of September, 1764, Palliser advised his superiors in London of his intention to rely upon the services of the Moravians for the purpose of seeking a Treaty with the Inuit.

With great pomp and ceremony, he and his fleet attended at the appointed time in 1765 and engaged in treaty talks with hundreds of Inuit. What followed was a lengthy Treaty conference with the Inuit. From the date of the arrival of the Niger, the British spent over a month in the effort.

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<sup>588</sup> R. v. Sioui, [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1025

The Inuit had themselves spent the time between the meeting with Jens Haven and the July 1765 arrival of the British getting ready for this event. There were more than 300 Inuit present and they were ready to negotiate.

On 21 August, one of the main treaty conference events was held. 20 kayaks, carrying Inuit representatives selected in internal assembly, traveled to the Governor's ship at Pitt's Arm. The Governor then returned with them and they formed a circle around him on the shore. Governor Palliser expressed the British benevolence toward the Inuit, promising that the British would not take anything from them except what they desired to trade, offering them the protection of the British King and delivering them the "Articles". These Articles were read out loud to the Inuit representatives, and included a number of questions, to which the Inuit answered in the affirmative. They took the Missionaries' hands, received gifts and performed various other ceremonials. They were given the English flag and told it was a sign of friendship.

It is clear throughout that the intention was to enter into a treaty relationship. Palliser's instructions were to conciliate and enter into trade relations with the Inuit. He repeatedly expressed his intention to enter into a treaty.

After the Treaty was concluded, Palliser reported on the process to Britain and announced the achievement of the Treaty publicly. Governor Palliser proudly reported his Treaty with the Inuit to the Lords of Trade by his letter in March 19, 1766. The Lords of Trade reported the Treaty to the British Privy Council on May 3rd, 1769, expressly confirming that the Moravians had been "deputed" by the British government and describing it as a "Treaty".

The fact that the treaty was not a signed written document is not a legal hurdle. A Treaty can be oral. Given the reaction of the Inuit to the governor's written letter of the previous year, it is understandable that the British chose to use an oral treaty rather than a written one. All of the proper protocols were followed, and it is apparent that both parties viewed the Treaty of 1765 as a treaty.

Governor Palliser had both the apparent and actual authority to enter into the Treaty. The Inuit Treaty was entered into with the King of Great Britain., through the office of the Governor of Newfoundland. Upon Newfoundland joining Confederation in 1949, jurisdiction over relations with Aboriginal people passed from the British Crown to Canada. As a result, Canada inherited the Treaty relationship with the Inuit from the British. The Inuit Peace and Friendship Treaty is binding on the Dominion of Canada and on the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

### **Interpretation of the Treaty: Existence and Scope of Treaty Rights**

#### **Summary of the Law**

The court in *Bernard and Marshall* stated (at para 16) that "Ancestral [...] activities are not frozen in time; the treaty protects modern activities that can be said to be their logical evolution."

To interpret a treaty requires a consideration of its meaning and scope. A treaty will be interpreted in light of the general principle set out in *Nowegijick*<sup>589</sup> that treaties should be liberally construed, as well as the principles of treaty interpretation summarized in *Badger*:

*First, it must be remembered that a treaty represents an exchange of solemn promises between the Crown and the various Indian nations. It is an agreement whose nature is sacred. [...] Second, the honour of the Crown is always at stake in its dealing with Indian people. Interpretations of treaties and statutory provisions which have an impact upon treaty or aboriginal rights must be approached in a manner which maintains the integrity of the Crown. It is always assumed that the Crown intends to fulfil its promises. No appearance of "sharp dealing" will be sanctioned. [...] Third, any ambiguities or doubtful expressions in the wording of the treaty or document must be resolved in favour of the Indians. A corollary to this principle is that any limitations which restrict the rights of Indians under treaties must be narrowly construed. [...] Fourth, the onus of proving that a treaty or aboriginal right has been extinguished lies upon the Crown. There must be "strict proof of the fact of extinguishment" and evidence of a clear and plain intention on the part of the government to extinguish treaty rights.<sup>590</sup>*

### **Summary of the Evidence: Interpretation of the Treaty of 1765: Existence and Scope of Treaty Rights**

#### Wording (in light of interpretive principles)

It is evident that one of the terms of the treaty was peace and friendship. The Inuit promised to enter into “friendship” with the British and accept the British King as their Father. These terms were widely used in early British-Aboriginal treaty-making and have been accepted as formal treaty language. In turn, the British King took them under his protection and gave them the British flag as a sign of that protection and relationship. This brought the Inuit within an assertion of British sovereignty, although no effective Euro-Canadian control would exist for hundreds of years. Each party agreed to live together as brethren and not hurt each other. The Inuit covenanted to bring to an end any stealing and killing. The British promised that the Inuit would not be treated badly because the British King loved them and would not let anyone do them harm.

The Inuit were also to have a treaty right of commercial trade with British subjects. Palliser declined the gift from the Inuit to make it clear to both the Inuit and the British traders that the trade relationship would be direct between them, not with the Governor. Each party agreed to bring things in the future to trade. The British promised that they would not take anything from the Inuit that the Inuit do not wish to trade voluntarily. Like the “truckhouse” clauses of the Mi’kmaq peace and friendship treaties, this also implicitly promised continued access by the Inuit to those resources required for self-sustenance and the generation of economic surpluses for trade.

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<sup>589</sup> *Nowegijick v. The Queen*, [1983] 1 S.C.R. 29

<sup>590</sup> *R. v. Badger*, [1996] 1 S.C.R. 771, para 41

The treaty was not one that involved the surrender of land. The British did not ask the Inuit to stay away from the area. In fact, they asked them to come, bringing their families with them. There was no discussion of British settlements to be made in Labrador.

The treaty also recognized and affirmed the Inuit right to self-government. There was no discussion of British regulation of the lives of the Inuit. The Inuit were to continue their way of life, with internal self-government.

Similarly, the treaty does not require the Inuit to give up any of their other existing rights, including the right of harvest of wildlife and other natural resources.

### Intentions, Understanding and Surrounding Circumstances

It is clear that the British intent was to achieve peaceful relations and trade relationships with the Inuit: this intention was stated throughout. Relations between the Inuit and Europeans in Labrador had been fractious for a number of years, which had impeded trade, European settlement and access to the resources of Labrador.

The British were also interested in consolidating their claim to the resources of Labrador vis a vis other European powers. Access to the fisheries of Labrador and Northern Newfoundland were considered a priority for both Britain and France, and were the subject of much discussion during the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Paris (1763).

Although the British claim to Labrador was now recognized by France, colonies had traded hands between them over the years, and the British had no way of knowing whether the French might not seek to regain Labrador in some future war. A positive relationship with the Inuit was one way to prevent this. Also, British merchants had also long wanted access to the ample fishing and sealing grounds of Labrador. Making peace with the Inuit was an important first step to being able to access these resources.

After making the Treaty of 1765, the British were able to access the ample resources of Labrador. They were able to begin the settlement of Southern Labrador alongside the Inuit, where they learned the sealing and fishing techniques that the Inuit had used for millennia.

The British were also able to trade off fishing rights in Labrador with the French and Americans in order to achieve more favourable peace settlements after the American War of Independence, the Napoleonic Wars, and the War of 1812, something which placed all of their North American colonies on a more secure footing.

The intention of the Inuit is less evident, and generally has to be inferred from some of the European accounts. The Inuit, as experienced traders, had an interest in entering into trade relations with the British as well. The Inuit had become interested in a more steady and predictable access to European trade goods and sought to stabilize that supply.

The Inuit also wanted peace. Previously, the Inuit had sought to deal with relationships with 'outsiders' through a combination of aggression and avoidance. This had been a successful

strategy for hundreds of years but was no longer working because Europeans were coming to the area more often, were sometimes staying year-round and had superior technology in warfare. The Inuit had decided that a new strategy should be attempted to interact with Europeans;

It is also evident from the discussions that the Inuit viewed southern Labrador and northern Newfoundland as their territory, and they had no interest in being restricted in using any part of it for their usual hunting, fishing and resource gathering activities.

These intentions and surrounding circumstances support the clear and plain wording of the discussions with respect to the treaty subject matter regarding peace and friendship, trade, continued use of resources, and self-government.

### **Relationship to the Treaty “Signatories”**

#### **Summary of the Law**

As the Supreme Court of Canada noted in *Marshall II*,<sup>591</sup> the individual or community in question must demonstrate their connection with the aboriginal community with whom the treaty was made.

#### **Summary of the Evidence: Relationship to the Treaty “Signatories”**

This issue has been dealt with under the arguments regarding the connection between the Inuit of southern Labrador and the modern-day NunatuKavut communities above. If the NunatuKavut communities are the descendants of the Inuit of southern and central Labrador for the purposes of Aboriginal title, then they are similarly the descendants of the Treaty “signatory group”.

There is no obligation to prove that some particular Inuit descendant today had an ancestor at the Treaty event in 1765. This has never been a requirement of Canadian law. James Matthew Simon was not obliged to prove the Grand Chief in 1752 was part of his personal family tree. Donald Marshall, Jr., was not obliged to prove that one of his family ancestors was personally present at one of the Treaty Ceremonies in 1760-61. There is no Treaty case in Canada which requires such proof.

The Treaty of 1765 was with the Inuit of south/central Labrador, a cultural group in a territory. It was intended to benefit that cultural group, regardless of whether one of them happened to be in attendance at the event. To put it another way, an Inuit in Sandwich Bay who decided not to attend the event was still covered by the Treaty. This is consistent with the way the Inuit would have understood the relationship. It is also consistent with how the British would have understood the relationship. The British wanted peace and friendship with the whole group and would never have wanted to have to ask any particular Inuit whether they were present at the event or not.

The Treaty would also have been intended to benefit and bind not just the Inuit alive at the time of the Treaty event but also their “heirs and heirs forever”. This is similarly consistent with the

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<sup>591</sup> R. v. Marshall, [1999] 3 S.C.R. 533, at para 17

interpretation taken in Treaty cases in Canada. Nothing in the Treaty Conference discussion suggested that the Treaty was time-limited. Nothing suggested that after the first generations the Inuit would be freed from their acceptance of British international sovereignty, or, to the use the language of the event, that 'the Great God that made all things had only commanded Britain to love the Inuit' for a short while. Both parties would have understood the relationship as being a permanent one.

The communities of NunatuKavut assert that they are the logical successors of the original Treaty-party of Inuit in south/central Labrador. They are the descendants of those Inuit. They have remained in occupation of those same lands. They have demonstrated societal continuity to the Treaty-party. As the Court of Appeal found:

*The unrefuted evidence before the applications judge was sufficient to demonstrate a credible claim that the members of the 24 LMN communities know they have genetic, cultural and land use continuity with their Inuit forebears, have a regional consciousness of a regional community, and occupy and use, for traditional hunter/gatherer purposes, lands and waters threatened with adverse effects by construction of the TLH.*

NunatuKavut is the only claimant to this Treaty. Whether every member of the NunatuKavut communities is a Treaty beneficiary is not currently known or perhaps knowable. Recent research, however, does show certain individual families which can make that claim. For example, the recording of a 'Pevallo' in 1771 near the Treaty site by Richardson, the recording of Owhetteway Paulo at the Battle Harbour trading station in 1798 (and afterwards) and the subsequent clear genealogy from Owhetteway Paulo to present day individuals living at Fox Harbour, only a few kilometers from the Treaty site, is strong evidence of individual Treaty beneficiaries. The example of Ikpiaric also recorded by Richardson in 1771, likely present at the Inuit Treaty event himself, and the links to Salome Simeon the ancestor of the Burdett family. Also, direct links within the Shunock/Thoms family reaching into the late eighteenth century. These are, of course, only a few such examples.

Once a Treaty table is established, beneficiary issues will be addressed in the negotiation process. That is how such Treaty negotiations are being handled in other parts of the Atlantic Provinces. The presence of some non-rights holders within the communities (if that turns out to be the case) can not be an excuse not to honor the Treaty obligations of the Crown all together.

## CHAPTER NINE

# PRESENT DAY RESIDENTS OF NUNATOKAVUT

### Members Gallery

This Chapter of the “Unveiling of NunatuKavut” introduces the reader to some members of the Community of NunatuKavut in a pictorial representation. The interviews for the older women were conducted recently by Ms. Eva Luther, in a collection of Oral Histories from elder ladies mostly in the Case Study Area. The other photos and quotes were taken from members at random over the period of this research work. These are the people who, along with the historical pictures in the foregoing text, will illustrate some of the faces, opinions and lifestyles of our members. Space did not permit the inclusion of entire interviews in this chapter. Photographs are either taken from the Oral History project or from membership files.



Name: **Winnifred Kippenhuck**  
Husband: John Kippenhuck  
Date of birth: March 21, 1934  
Place of birth: St. Michael's Bay,  
Campbell's Cove, Labrador  
Mother's Name: Lenora Penney  
(George's Cove, Labrador)  
Father's Name: Alexander  
Campbell (Descendant of Lydia Campbell)

Eva: And they always talked about spirits. Did your people talk about spirits?

[Winnie ... they believed in seeing someone before they died ...

Eva: They would always associate that with somebody dying?

[Winnie] Yeah, but you know one thing always a little eagle, you heard tell of that? If you sees a eagle, we always said one time, if you sees a big old eagle before you hear tell of someone dying, or just after that. And as sure, sure truth, as can be, up the bay now different times John have seen a eagle, I says oh my I hates to hear talk of spring of the year, heard a eagle, whenever they sees him, and after that someone is dead, the other spring.

Eva: so would your relatives visit much during the winter?

[Winnie] Well, sometimes but not that often because it was a long ways away on dog team see. The odd time, Mom's brothers would come to see her, once or twice a winter.

Eva: So did you have dogs yourself?

[Winnie] I had two or three that was called mine, like when Daddy, like you know when I liked to go for a ride for entertainment. I'd harness up my dogs and go.

Eva: would you go very far?

[Winnie] No, not very far, but I've come down here and went back.

Eva: By yourself!

[Winnie] Yes

Eva: So how would you tell your dogs which way to go?

[Winnie] Oh, they'd mostly get on a track eh? You'd call to them like uck, uck, uck, turn them to the right, keep them on the path, that way you was going you'd call edder, edder, edder.

Eva: Ok and how would you stop them?

[Winnie] Oh we'd call ah, ah - like that.



**Sam Burden and family at Georges Cove**



Name: **Daisy Clark**  
Husband: Cyril Clark  
Date of birth: Dec. 22, 1932  
Place of birth: St. Michael's Bay,  
Labrador  
Mother's Name: Louise Penney  
Father's Name: Thomas Campbell.

[Daisy] Yes, ah, nice little bit of visiting, people coming on dog teams and passing all night and staying overnight and ..

Eva: Did you have dogs when you were younger?

[Daisy] I drove dogs.

Eva: you drove dogs?

[Daisy] Yeah.

Eva: So did you have your own team or your fathers?

[Daisy] No, only Cyril's dogs and my brothers.

Eva: Yes and you drove them by yourself?

[Daisy] Yup.

Eva: And how would they know which way to go?

[Daisy] No you, they was broke in to a word eh?

Eva: so you would tell them to go right or left and they would go?

[Daisy] Yes.

Eva: Did you have special words for that?

[Daisy] Oh yes.

Eva: How would you stop them?

[Daisy] Whooooooooooooo.



**James Holwell**  
**Date Unknown**



Name: **Olive Marshall**  
Husband: Harry Marshall  
Date of birth: September 23, 1931  
Place of birth: Triangle, Labrador  
Mother's Name: Lenora Penney  
Father's Name: Alexander  
Campbell

Eva: so did you hunt and trap in there?

[Olive] I used to have snares out and kill partridges and that, you know. But then I had my baby and my husband was working at the logs until perhaps eleven o'clock in the night time, before he'd get home and I'd be home with the baby. So, after I lost my husband, I said, I'm going back to it again now. The boys built me a cabin, my two sons up in the bay, where we used to live and I went up again. Got my own snowmobile and when I got back to it, I couldn't do it. No, I couldn't do it, couldn't kill it, kill the things, and I don't know kill the things, it was a lot different altogether, I was away from it I suppose for a few years, but I haven't killed anything now for a while. I've killed seals, partridges, rabbits, and I killed one porcupine, I was frightened to death of porcupines, afraid of quills. I didn't like it.

### **The Roberts Girls**





Name: Rita Stevens  
Her husband was Walter Stevens  
from Mary's Harbour, Labrador  
Date of birth: July 12, 1924  
Place of birth: Frankie's Cove, Fox  
Harbour, Labrador  
Mother's Name: Johanna Clark  
Father's Name: Thomas Paulo

Eva; Do you know any Inuit words?

[Rita] A few that Dad used to tell me. There was a kelp, a wide kelp and a stalk grows up through it and it begins like a carrot down here and a stalk grows up through, right flat, and you peel off the wide carrot, Dad used to eat it one time and he used to take me up in the back cove and he used to get this and scrape the bottom like a carrot and the stalk goes up through and give it to me to eat. He called it kuan-yuck (kwan-yook).

My mother had a ulu, a large one for scrapping off the hairs, she had a medium one for doing off the fat, she had a small one, now she had one for shaving and one for taking off the fat, she had three - large, medium, and small. She called them all Ulus. She used to do the sealskin, she used to make boots I used to chew the skins, I used to chew the bottoms for her, and around the toe, after I got married and went over to Walt's , that's my husband, he used to make the skinboots for his father and mother and them

**Thomas Kippenuck.**

**Date Unknown**





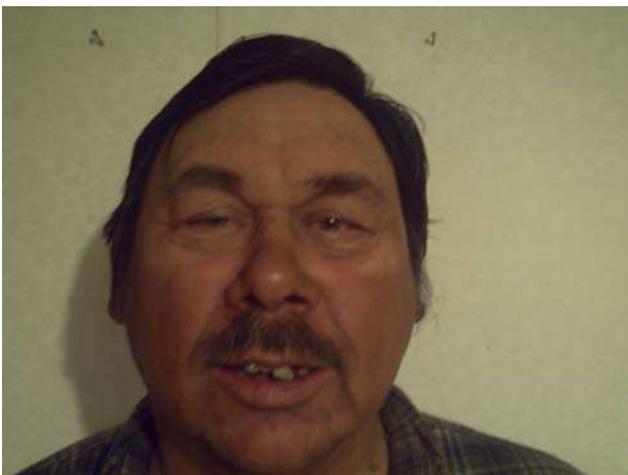
**Betty Cadwell**

What does a land claim for the LMN mean to you?

The land claim means a lot to me, I don't know really what it all means, but I know that it would be really good if we could do things like our ancestors done... What I love is to get a few salmon and a few fish or a bit of caribou or something that we were always used to getting. It means an awful lot to me since I got older especially.



**Robert and Eliza Hamel.  
Date Unknown**



What does a land claim mean to you?

...we can't let people come in and cut all our timber and we can't let people come in and do different things on our land- it's our land. We were here long before they came .

**George Roberts, Norman Bay**



Name: **Lillian Elson**  
Husband: Alexander Elson  
Date of birth: July 15, 1929  
Place of birth: Seal Islands,  
Labrador  
Mother's Name: Millie Ann  
Burdett  
Father's Name: Albert Hopkins

Eva: And seal skin they used to get the fur off that with ah -

[Lilian] Oh yes, they used to take the mummy off and take the hair off and put it in frames and dry it outdoors eh? Then they used to cut it up and then they used to soak it in water again.

Eva: So, would you use an Ulu for that?

[Lilian] Oh yes, we used to...

Eva: Can you remember chewing the seal skins? [Lilian] Yes.

Eva: yes, Mom used to make me do that all the time, but I think I could still do it again.

[Lilian] Oh yes, yeah.

Eva: And would you use sinew or would you use ah, sewing thread?

[Lilian] I used to use wozzin, that's a seal's king karn, we used to make wozzin, they used to stretch it on sticks, I knowed the name of the sticks, there was a name for that too see. And they had scrapers and they had another thing like a gun barrel with a bit of wood shoved down into it to catch hold to see to soften up the skin too. Pulloueleuk, (pull-hool-e-hook)

Eva: That was a different name pull-hool-e-hook.

[Lilian] That's an Esquimaux name. Yes, there was two things I knowed the name of two of it the pulloueleuk and I forgets the other one. But there was a name for each one see.

Eva: What did Myrtle used to call the mudgican board or something?

[Lilian] That's the board that you put the skins on. Yeah mudg-jigging board.

Eva; Did you ever hear any stories about a man who had more than one wife?

[Lilian] My that's, yes maid, lots.

Eva: That had more than one wife?

[Lilian] Yes. My that was [redacted], she had [redacted] and she used to live with another man. And she'd come home and she live with [redacted], she and her other man.

Eva: She lived with [redacted] and another man?

[Lilian] Yeah. Oh there's quiet a few, I was naming them up one night. There was quite a few of them people. Eva: yes?

[Lilian] Yes. Eva: Uncle [redacted]? Uncle [redacted]? [Lilian] Yeah. Eva: Uncle [redacted] had [redacted] was it and [redacted]?

[Lilian] He reared up [redacted] eh? He took her when she was a kid. Reared her up and end up being his woman and his woman living boy, what a sin.



What does a land claim mean to you?

A land claim ? Home! It means the whole world to me...

....especially my little home, that's still there....

...It means my whole lifetime, my whole lifetime, in every way. We were born and reared the hard way and get around the hard way.....

**Jack Holwell, Marys Harbour**



**Jane Lethbridge  
Happy Valley – Goose Bay**

What does aboriginal rights in Labrador mean to you?

....I've always considered myself an aboriginal person. You more or less had your own claim of the land where you trapped and fished....

....you didn't have to go around telling everybody you owned this and you owned that...we just did, it was ours....it was peaceful it wasn't hateful or anything...

...there was no quarrelling over it.



**Children at the Battle Hr Hospital. Circa 1915. Photo compliments of the Peary McMillan Arctic Museum, Brunswick, Maine.**



Why did you identify as aboriginal person?

I always felt to be an aboriginal person. I always carried on the traditional ways of our people, our aboriginal people, and I will continue to this through the years because we should never lose sight of who we are as aboriginal people....we can't live entirely back to the day of the old but we can never forget our traditional ways and pass it on to our people, our younger generation.

**Ken Mesher, Happy Valley – Goose Bay**



Name: **Phoebe Pardy**  
Husband: Lesley Pardy  
Date of birth: August 2, 1929  
Place of birth: Bolster's Rock,  
Labrador  
Mother's Name: Ann Morris  
Father's Name: Douglas Clark

Eva; Did you know any midwives?

[Phoebe] Yes, Aunt Sarah Clark was a midwife, and ah..

Eva: Was she related to you?

[Phoebe] She was my aunt, yup. Aunt Sarah and Uncle Abe Clark yup. She was, brought me into the world. She was my midwife. And I think Aunt Charlotte Clark used to do a lot of it too.

Some of it. 'Twas like they knew and helped each other out you know. 'Twas like a few families scattered around everywhere and everybody helped each other out. That's basically what it was.

Eva: and everybody shared?

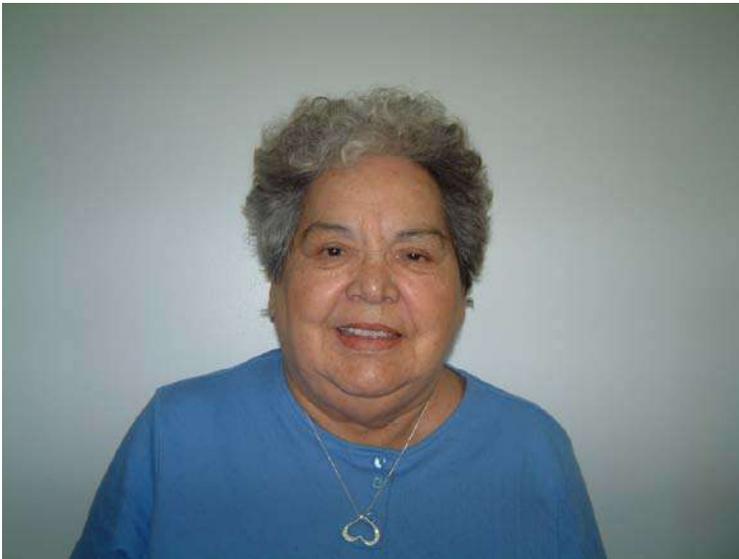
[Phoebe] Everybody shared.

Eva: So you didn't come in with the caribou and keep it all to yourself?

[Phoebe] Oh no. No. Never come in with a seal and kept it all to yourself, everybody had some.



**Edward Dyson (Domino)**



**Bertha Chaulk**  
**Family from Sandwich Bay,**  
**(Netsektoke) area**

What does Aboriginal rights in Labrador mean to you?

To me it means who I am and where I belong to. You know, I find the land important to me... We grew up here too - same rights!

Why did you identify as an aboriginal person?

Because I'm proud of my roots and I belong to Labrador and, you know, this is my home.



Name: **Violet Dyson** Husband:  
Esau Dyson  
Date of birth: May 24, 1927  
Place of birth: Spotted Islands,  
Labrador  
Mother's Name: Winnie Curl  
Father's Name: John Guy Dawe

Eva: Yeah, oh yeah dried seal meat, did you have a word for that?

[Violet] That was Nicco!

Eva: Nicco, and how would they do that, they just cut it up?

[Violet] Just hang it up, cut it off real thin and hang it on a line over the stove.

Eva: They wouldn't put anything on it like salt or pepper.

[Violet] Salt, they'd put salt on it, kept it in salt or pickle or something eh?

Eva: So any frozen meat was the same thing, it was called Kuak?

[Violet] I don't know, but I know the only way we'd have frozen meat then was if it was frozen with the frost, we never had no freezers.

Eva: So how would they eat this frozen caribou, just slice it off?

[Violet] Slice it off, I remember seeing them slicing it right thin and frozen.

Eva: and you would eat that?

[Violet] Yes

Eva: and when they brought the caribou was that shared between everybody?

[Violet] Yes, oh yes, yup

Eva: What about, I wanted you to tell the story about how grandfather took Esau down here, what were you doing in Cartwright? When you got married? Did grandfather take Esau down?

[Violet] No, he had grandfather's dogs, came down on his dogs. We came down and got married from Spotted Islands. We left Spotted Islands the first of May, we came to Sandy Hill, next day we came to Cartwright on the second of May, got married that night, the next day we started off and got to Sandy Hill, that was the third, the fourth day we got to Spotted Islands. Four days coming down, getting married, and going back.



**Doris Russell**



**Lloyd Pardy**



**Trent Parr**



**Vivian Decker**



**Caroline Elson**



**Gerald Dyson**

# CHAPTER TEN

## CONCLUSION

The area of Cartwright Labrador was called Netsektoke well into the twentieth century. Today it is an amalgam of resettled small native communities of people from many miles south and north. There are people from Batteaux, Spotted Islands, North River, Packs Harbour, and many more. Because people were forced into the 'settlement area' from their homes on the land, the older generation is, for the most part, dissatisfied with their surroundings. It is a bit of a gloomy town. It is home to the extremely talented aboriginal songwriter and musician Harry Martin. Many people have wondered why Harry wrote about his departures and returns to 'Shanty Town', and why he would use such a term for his beloved home town. Perhaps the answer can be found in the efforts of Governments to resettle people and to break their native world views and take away traditional lifestyles. The answer can be found in the belief that the people of Cartwright have been downtrodden in some ways and that their homeland has not been respected.

In a community such as Black Tickle, or to use its original Inuk area name of Kikkertet, it is very difficult to get drinking water in the winter and it is a challenge at best in summer. In winter water must be hauled a dozen or more kilometres by komatik (sled) and even then it is barely palatable. Since Black Tickle is jugged out into the Labrador Sea and almost entirely inaccessible to any media coverage, this terrible situation gets swept under the rug. It is not a sexy or newsworthy place. The story will not make the evening news, since Black Tickle is not officially considered a 'native community' and local people are tolerant enough and resourceful enough not to have more notable news events. It is, however, a community which was considered 'native' for a number of years, until competing communities could better lobby for meagre aboriginal funds from Ottawa. The personnel administering the funds from St. John's on the island of Newfoundland, which is 750 kilometres south of Kikkertet (Black Tickle), have a history of being interested only in Labrador when resource extractions are involved.

Black Tickle is home to a population of 220 people with an average per capita disposable income of \$11,500 a year in 2006 (most recent stats). This was approximately 45% of the Canadian average in 2006. These people would not move away from their home community in the resettlement times. The winters are extremely severe and there are constant visitations from polar bears who move in from the ice flows. In one particular family the male household head has a heart condition and his wife has diabetes. In attempting to treat these two very serious illnesses from a meagre income, the male purchases the pills to treat his condition for one month and then his wife buys enough pills to treat her condition the next month. Many families try to get doctors to prescribe high doses of medications, so that they can cut the pills and make them 'go further', and some people pull their own teeth because of the lack of dental health care.

Black Tickle is a forgotten community of people with brown faces and high cheekbones who live from the sea and the land. Their access to the outside world, like other isolated communities in NunatuKavut, is by seasonal coastal boat or very expensive airplane tickets in a de Havilland Otter which lands several times a week with cargo from the outside world, along with occasional health workers, government officials or Newfoundland Hydro employees who service the diesel generator for electricity. The peoples' needs in Black Tickle are no different than the needs of other aboriginal people who still live in their homeland anywhere in Canada.

At Spotted Island (Puktuksoak), just a few kilometres away from Black Tickle, elders tell stories about the Americans who came to their community to set up radar stations during the Cold War. The first Americans to arrive wanted to know if the people from there were all 'Chinese'. A decade later, several scientists visited Spotted Islands measuring the peoples' skulls and mandibles to compare them with native people in Ungava Bay. In her book "Our Life on Lear's Room Labrador", Greta Hussey, from a 'stationer' fishing family in Newfoundland, tells stories about her 'Aunts' and 'Uncles' at Spotted Island. She insists that during the Depression years and into the 1940's, her family did not call them 'Labradorians', but simply *the natives*. As a child, these were the natives she left to the vagaries of the Labrador winter, when she returned to her home in Conception Bay.

Further south, if you board the *MV Appollo* to cross the Straits of Belle Isle (Caractucchuac) from the island of Newfoundland (Callanosiklik), you will encounter the faces of children with coal black hair, brown eyes and the inquisitive minds of youngsters anywhere. They do not know yet that their ancestors travelled across this stretch of water long before the ancestors of their fellow travellers. Their ancestors were in search of pine wood for their arrow shafts and possibly Ramah Chert to exchange, and later on it would be seal skins and seal oil for European wooden boats and iron for harpoon fore shafts.

These children do not know yet that their ancestors reached a Treaty agreement with the Government of Britain in 1765, just a few miles from this ferry crossing. They do not know that if they are residents of Black Tickle, or any of the other communities in South/Central Labrador, that they have a right to carry on a traditional lifestyle and have a right to own their land and trade fairly with outside interests, such as the mining companies or hydroelectric developers. They also do not know that they are entitled to accessible, clean drinking water and adequate health care.

They are too young to know that their parents and grandparents were always looked upon by people from outside with scorn and with a stigma attached in such terms as 'Skimos' or 'Half Breeds'. They do not know that their ancestors spoke a different language and some changed their names to conform and adapt to a changing world a century or more ago.

They do not know why their grandparents and parents draw them out to the land with their extended families and other community members several times a year, when they would rather stay home and play video games on their computers.

These children do not know any of these things, but soon they will.



**Photo # 32a**

**Darryl Curl (circa 1975), a descendant of Harriet Thoms/Shunock who is his great great grandmother.**

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# Lists of Supplementary Documents

## Document List # 1.

**The following documents were bound by the Labrador Metis Nation and forwarded to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada on November 30th, 2009. Document enumeration follows LMN system for the Reading List in the Land Claims file.**

- 1.) Aspects of Labrador Metis Social Organization, Roger McDonnell, Doc #103
- 2.) Long Term Coastal Occupancy in Southern Labrador, Marianne Stopp, Doc # 104
- 3.) A Review of the Geneological Aspects of the Supplemental Research Submission of the Labrador Metis Association, August 1998, Neil Reddekopp. Doc # 115
- 4.) Reconsidering Inuit Presence in Southern Labrador, Etudies/Inuit/Studies, 2002, Marianne Stopp, 35p. Doc # 116
- 5.) Comments on the Inuit-British agreements of August 1765, William Wicken, Oct 2005, 9p. Doc # 131
- 6.) Answers to Supplementary Questions [on the Treaty Event of 1765], Jeff Webb, June 2005, 15p. Doc # 132
- 7.) Report on the Treaty between Hugh Palliser and the Inuit, 1765, March 2005, Jeff Webb, 40p. Doc # 133
- 8.) The Timing of the Thule Migration; New dates from the Western Canadian Arctic, Max Freisen and Charles Arnold, 2008, 12p. Doc # 138
- 9.) Population Figures Provided by Methodist Missionaries for Central Labrador during the 1820's, Hans Rollmann, undated [2006?], 7p. Doc # 144
- 10.) The Inuit of Southern Labrador: A View From Snack Cove, MA Thesis, Natalie Brewster, May 2005, 152p. Doc # 146
- 11.) The Labrador Letters and Journal of Rev. George Ellidge (1826/27), Peter Laing, editor, August 2007, 67p. Doc # 147
- 12.) The Labrador Journal of Rev. Richard Knight (1825), Peter Laing editor, August 2007, 127p. Doc # 148

13.) The Labrador Journal of Rev. Thomas Hickson (1824), Peter Laing editor, August 2007, 77p. Doc # 149

14.) Toponymic and Cartographic Research Conducted for the Labrador Metis Nation, Lisa Rankin, September 2008, 121p. Doc # 150

Reports Included; - A Review of Inuit Toponymy on Some 18th Century charts and maps of Southern Labrador, Gordon Handcock, Doc # 151

- A review of the 1773 Curtis map, Gordon Handcock, Doc # 152
- Commentary on Curtis Article in Royal Society Proceedings, Gordon Handcock, Doc # 153
- Review of Scholarly Articles Containing Inuit Place Names, Gordon Handcock, Doc # 154
- Review of the Term Karalit, Hans Rollmann, Doc # 155
- Review of Tribal Names *Netcetemiut* and *Putlavamuit*, Peter Ramsden, Doc # 156
- A review of the List of Tribes in Curtis 1774, Gordon Handcock, Doc # 157
- Comments on the Translations of Tribal names, Gordon Handcock, Doc # 158
- Comment on the Usage of the word Tribe, P. Ramsden, G. Handcock and L. Rankin, Doc # 159
- Comments on the Use and Decline of Inuit Toponyms, Hans Rollmann, Doc # 160
- Translations of some Inuit 'Tribal' Names and Toponyms, G. Warram (error in text - should be D. Warram- GM) Doc # 161

15.) Anglican Beginnings and Aboriginality in 19th Century Southern and Central Labrador: Evidence from the Episcopal Visits to Labrador, Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and hitherto unexamined Church Records of 1848 and 1849, Hans Rollmann, 2008, 95p. Doc # 162

17.) The 1765 map of Jens Haven; Linguistic, Toponymic, and Geographic Studies, Hans Rollman, August 2007, Doc # 164

Report includes:

- Linguistic Analysis of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven's map of 1765 and Related Documents, Douglas Warram. Doc # 165
- Assessment of Inuit Toponymy on Jen's Haven's Map of 1765, Ludger Muller-Wille Doc # 166
- A Cartographic and Toponymic Analysis of the Jens Haven Maps of Coastal Labrador, Gordon Handcock, Doc # 167
- Remarks about the Locations of the Inuit and the Map of 1765 in the German Trip Diary, Hans Rollmann. Doc # 168

18.) Moravian Missionary and Exploration Journeys South of Hopedale 1857-1900, Hans Rollmann and Allyson Davis, 2007, 100p. Doc # 171

19.) An Archaeological View of the Thule/Inuit Occupation of Labrador, Dr. Lisa Rankin, 2008/9. Doc # 172

- 20.) Guide to Labrador Church Records, Elsa Flack, Doc # 180
- 21.) Holdings Summary at the Peary-McMillan Museum (Bowdoin College) relevant to South/Central Labrador, Greg Mitchell, May, 2009 Doc #181
- 22.) Inuit Sites Found at Petit Mecatina and Brador; St Lawrence Gateways Project, William Fitzhugh, 2008, Provincial Archaeology Review. Doc # 182
- 23.) Change and Resilience: Inuit in Post-Contact Labrador, Maura Hanrahan, submitted in Sept of 2002 to LMN Doc # 185

List compiled by Greg Mitchell, LMN Research Manager, and binding and logistical work performed by Alicia Elson, Research Assistant.

## **Document List # 2.**

**The following documents were bound by NunatuKavut (formerly the Labrador Metis Nation) and forwarded to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada on May 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010. Document enumeration follows LMN system for the Reading List in the Land Claims file.**

- 24.) Further Considerations on the Social Organization of the Descendants of Non-Missionized Inuit in Sub-Arctic Labrador, Roger McDonnell. Doc # 114
- 25.) Narrative of voyage of Sieur Louis Fornel to Baye de Eskimaux, 16 May to 27 Aug, 1743, online at [www.hertiage.nf.ca](http://www.hertiage.nf.ca). Doc # 124
- 26.) The Basque Whaling Establishments in Labrador 1536-1632 - A summary, Selma Barkham, 1984, 5p. Doc # 127
- 27.) Inland Eskimo bands of Labrador, Frank Speck, 1936, 17p. Doc # 129
- 28.) An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change, PhD thesis, Jim Wollett, 2003, 645p. Doc # 130
- 29.) Comments on Affidavits by Garth Taylor, Marianne Stopp and Lisa Rankin, Charles Martjin, November 2005, 5p. Doc # 134
- 30.) 1991 Coastal Survey [archaeological sites], Marianne Stopp and D. Rutherford, 1991, 95p. Doc # 136

- 31.) The Porcupine Strand Archaeology Project - Interim Report 2004 (Permit 04.22, Lisa Rankin, 2004, 11p. Doc # 141
- 32.) Summary of Proposed Research [application to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada under the CURA program] , October 2008, Lisa Rankin [primary investigator], 8p. Doc # 142
- 33.) Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle (Collection Nordicana), Reginald Auger, 1991, 104p. Doc # 177
- 34.) Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England, Marianne Stopp, Arctic, 2008. Doc # 183
- 35.) Heritage Cultrel des Metis du Labrador Central, Ives Lebreche and John Kennedy, Recherches Amerindiennes au Quebec, Vol XXXVII, 2007 Doc # 186
- 36.) The Archaeology of Snack Cove 1 and Snack Cove 3, Natalie Brewster, In North Atlantic Archaeology, Vol # 1, 2008 Doc # 187
- 37.) Journal of William Richardson who visited Labrador in 1771, Sidney Richardson, Canadian Historical Review, 1935. Doc # 188
- 38.) Voyage of His Majesty's ship Rosamund to Newfoundland and the southern coast of Labrador, Lieut. Edward Chappell, 1818 Doc #189
- 39.) Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, circa 1550-1800 CE, Charles A. Martijn, Mercury Series in Archaeology paper # 170. 2009. Doc # 190
- 40.) Inuit Finds at Mecatina and Brador, William Fitzhugh, 2009, Arctic Studies Center Newsletter, Smithsonian Institute. Doc # 191
- 41.) Exploring Cultural Boundaries; The 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec, William Fitzhugh, On the Track of the Thule Culture from Bering Strait to East Greenland, edited by Bjarne Grønnow, pp. 129-148. Studies in Archaeology and History, 15. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark. 2009. Doc # 192
- 42.) Whales, Codfish, and Basques: Archaeology of a 17/18<sup>th</sup> Century Basque Site in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Quebec, William W. Fitzhugh<sup>1</sup>, Anja Herzog<sup>2</sup>, Sophia Perdikaris<sup>3</sup>, and Brenna McLeod<sup>4</sup>, Ibid, 2009. Doc # 193

- 43.) Santus Song, John Hewson and Beverly Diamond, Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, 22; 1 , 2007. Doc # 194
- 44.) Sweeping the Floor: An Archaeological Examination of a Multi-Ethnic Sod House in Labrador (FkBg 24), Matthew Beaudoin, 2008, thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland. Doc # 195
- 45.) Our Amazing Visitors; Catherine Cartwright's Account of Labrador Inuit in England, M. Stopp and G. Mitchell, 2010, *in press*, Doc # 196 Doc # 211
- 46.) The Palliser Friendship Treaty; The Esquimeaux-British Treaty of Southern Labrador (August 21, 1765), G. Mitchell, 2005 Newfoundland Quarterly, Volume # 98;1 Doc # 197
- 47.) Ethnological and Anthropological Explorations of the Labrador "Eskimo" before 1880, Rainer Baehre, 2009, 33 pages Doc # 198
- 48.) Inuit women as catalysts of change; An Archaeological study of 19th century Northern Labrador, Melanie A. Cabak, MA Thesis, South Carolina, 1991. Doc # 199
- 49.) Inuit Movement to and from the South in the Moravian Records from Hopedale, Hans Rollman, Ph. D , 55 pages Doc # 200
- 50.) The Acquisition and use of European goods by the Labrador Inuit, Peter Ramsden, Research report submitted to the Labrador Metis Nation, January 2010 Doc # 201
- 51.) Visitor's Accounts of Inuit Metis Between Cape Charles and Cape Harrison, Labrador, John C. Kennedy, PhD. A report conducted for the Labrador Metis Nation, January 2010 Doc # 202
- 52.) Final Report - Inuit Mobility to and from the South in Hopedale Moravian Diaries and Churchbook, Hans Rollmann, 2010, 81 pages, (including five Addenda) Doc # 203
- 53.) Review of British Admiralty Records at the national Archives - Public Record Office, Kew and National maritime Museum, Greenwich England, Edward Tompkins, 2010, 91 pages. Doc # 204
- 54.) Linguistic analysis of the Richardson Word list, Appendix B word list and e-mail correspondence with Greg Mitchell on various Inuktitut words from the Labrador historical record., Final Report to LMN, Paul Piggot, March 2010, Doc # 205

- 55.) LMN Final Report, [Genealogy] Provincial Archives, Basilica Archives, Anglican Diocese of Eastern Newfoundland Archive, United Church Conference Archives, January 30, 2010,  
Elsa Flack Doc # 206
- 56.) Provincial Archaeology Office 2009 Archaeology Review, Government of Newfoundland, [excerpts], March 2010 Doc # 207
- 57.) Original Sections of the William Richardson Journal [not included in the 1935 Richardson Historical Review paper] Doc # 208
- 58.) Revisiting the Genealogy of the Labrador Inuit-Metis, Patty Way, 2010, (with Appendices) Doc # 210
- 59.) Report Number 2008-33, Lydia Campbell (1818 - 1905), Patricia Way and Marianne Stopp, 2008, Parks Canada, Doc # 211
- 60.) The Inuit of Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland, 1774 – 1809, Dr. Edwin Bezzina, Aug 2009. Doc # 212
- 61.) Moravian Beginnings in Labrador, Rollmann, 2009. Doc # 213
- 62.) Fowler Decision Doc # 214
- 63.) Barry Decision Doc # 215
- 64.) Historical manuscripts and published sources which refer to Inuit/Metis people (various identifiers) in Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland (1765 to 1850), Rainer Baehre, 2009. Doc # 216
- 65.) Scott W. Neilsen, *A Critical Review of the Relationship between Innu and Inuit in Southern Labrador, ca. 1500 to 1900 CE*, unpublished final report presented to the Labrador Métis Nation, November 6, 2009, Doc # 217

## List of Tables

- Table # 1 Demographic Data Summary.
- Table # 2 Summary of the Survey of 1765 during the Treaty Event.
- Table # 3 First Recorded Marriages/couplings within families of South/Central Labrador.
- Table # 4 Known families with Inuit surnames residing in South/Central Labrador during the 19th Century.
- Table # 5 Pedigree Grouping of First Recorded Marriages.
- Table # 6 Identified Inuit Men with English names.
- Table # 6a Inuit Record List
- Table # 6b Baptismal and Death Records from the Hopedale Records
- Table # 7 Recorded Inuit deaths in South/Central Labrador (1782 - 1850) from Moravian Records.
- Table # 8 Showing Inuit Mobility to or past Hopedale (1775 - 1850) by Inuit traveling either North or South.
- Table # 9 Demography of Central-Southern Labrador: 1765-1945.
- Table # 10 North Coast/Moravian Demographics: 1800 – 1919.
- Table # 11 Recorded Inuit who did not appear in the Moravian Records and did not 'go North'
- Table # 12 Inuit Surnames in the cumulative records from South/Central Labrador which are not represented in the Moravian documents. Many of these surnames can be found amongst the ancestors today's NunatuKavut.
- Table # 13 Showing the Results of Land Use Surveys in the Sandwich Bay population of Inuit-Metis from Cartwright to Paradise River. The survey was blind as to gender of informants.
- Table # 14 Table showing the various faunal remains at three dig sites in South Central Labrador. An attempt was made to list species in decreasing order of importance in the sites.

## List of Figures

- Figure # 1 Showing identified Inuit sites along the Labrador coast and into the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland. NL Government web site.
- Figure # 2 Historic Inuktitut Nomenclature in Central & Southern Labrador and Northern Newfoundland
- Figure # 3 Plan of Chateaux Bay showing Treaty Conference. The prominent ships are HMS Guernsey and HMS Niger.
- Figure # 4 Map which has been labeled the Haven Map of 1765. Toponymic information contained in the map shows Inuit toponyms obtained from informants at the Treaty conference.
- Figure # 5 A close - up view from the previous lithograph ( Figure # 3) showing Inuit kayaks approaching the Governors Vessel Guernsey at Antelope Harbor in Chateaux Bay as well as an Inuit encampment during the Treaty Conference.
- Figure 5a Map of North America showing indigenous habitation areas.
- Figure 5b Bellin map of 1753. This is a partial replication of the Fornel map of 1743 and also influential in the draft of the Haven map of 1765.
- Figure # 5c Typical section of coastline in the Domino Run area.
- Figure # 6 Showing the various merchant seal post locations and the number of pelts processed for the season. Image compliments of Dr. Gordon Handcock.
- Figure # 7 A Census of the Labrador Coast from Nain to Sandwich Bay not including Moravian Settlements, taken personally by the Rev. James O'Hara, mainly in the Spring of 1870
- Figure # 8 Record from the Battle Harbour record identifying the Thoms family as being Shunock.
- Figure # 9 Relevant section of the Morris Family Tree.
- Figure # 9a Direct descendants in the Webber Family Tree.
- Figure # 9b Graph showing the recording incidents of Inuit individuals during the approximate one hundred year period of 1765 to 1865.
- Figure # 10 Graph showing numbers of people moving North and South at Hopedale between 1772 and 1840.

- Figure # 11 Maximum/Minimum Estimates for South-Central Labrador.
- Figure # 13 Taken from Initial Social and Economic Evaluation of the Labrador Coast, H.A. Williamson, 1980.
- Figure # 14 Taken from Initial Social and Economic Evaluation of the Labrador Coast, H.A. Williamson, 1980.
- Figure #15 - Showing travel routes from the collection of Traditional Knowledge. Main travel routes would also have a great many individual branches (not shown here) in pursuit of game and other resources.
- Figure #16 Shows trapping zones for fur-bearing animals. The areas not trapped are primarily upland zones where feed is scarce and populations low.
- Figure # 17 Shows primarily hunting for big game in recent years along major travel routes and in areas frequented by big game. Due to low population numbers, caribou in this area, the primary source of big game, has been hunted very little in the latter half of the twentieth century.
- Figure #18 Easily illustrates opportunistic hunting in small game and birds. Since it was likely done in combination with other activities, such as fishing, trapping or berry picking, it is perhaps the most ubiquitous use of the land and the sea resources.
- Figure # 19 Shows the uses of fish and marine mammals throughout both the salt and freshwater areas and up to approximately 20 kilometers out to sea in areas of particular abundance.
- Figure # 20 Illustrates the use of wood sawlogs and berries lumped together. The large harvest area near Port Hope Simpson is a result of commercial activities over the past eighty years following the establishment of a pulpwood harvest operation there. Traditional uses are more localized.
- Figure # 21 Illustrates cabins and tilts in the various areas. The establishment of a cabin or tilt was based primarily on the resource harvest for these areas such as hunting, fishing and trapping.
- Figure # 22 Shows archaeological sites which have been identified to date which are of Historic Inuit determination. To date only one site at Seal Island near Chateaux Bay dating to the late eighteenth century, has been fully excavated.

- Figure # 23 Shows additional sites which have sod houses of undetermined origin and cache sites (not fully investigated) overlain on all the cumulative land and sea uses in the study area.
- Figure # 25 Paulo Family Tree
- Figure # 25a The Historic Areas of Land Uses by Inuit Labradorians.
- Figure # 26 An attempt to show graphically the linkages between NnuatuKavut membership and the records of their past from the various eclectic sources.

## List of Photographs

- Photo # 1 - Picture of an Ulu from the 2009 archaeological dig at Huntingdon Island.  
Photo Compliments of Dr. Peter Ramsden.
- Photo # 2 - Drawing of Caubvik by Nathaniel Dance in 1773. Photo from Lysaght 1971.
- Photo # 3 - Conference participants pictured above are (L to R); Tammy Lambourne, Greg Mitchell, Ken Reynolds, Bob Groves, Roxanne Notley, Jim Wollett, Percy Davis, Gerald Penney, Christa Turnbull, Rainer Baehre, Matthew Beaudoin, Nina Pye, Carter Russell (partial image), Peter Whitridge, Adrian Tanner, Bruce Clarke, Geoff Hancock, Lisa Rankin and Chris Montague. Off camera are; Susan Kaplan, John Martin ,Amelia Faye, John Kennedy, Trent Parr, Stephen Mills, Marianne Stopp and Stephen Loring.  
Picture by Peter Ramsden.
- Photo # 4 - Bernard Heard
- Photo # 5 - Charles Lethbridge
- Photo # 6 - Charlotte Curl
- Photo # 7 - Ira Holley
- Photo # 8 Shows stone floor paving of the 17th Century Inuit House at Snack Cove on Huntingdon Island.
- Photo # 9 Floor of a double occupancy sixteenth century Inuit house at Huntingdon Island (FkBq-3). Findings include four stone lamps indicating several seperate families, stone side benches, a large door lintel and a large paved area at the entranceway serving as a work area and for dogs.
- Photo # 10 - Photo of Sir Hugh Palliser.
- Photo # 10a Photo from the collection of Rupert Baxter taken at Pitts Arm (Chateaux Bay) in 1891 showing an 'Esquimaux Hut'. This sod house dite is but several hundred meters of the 1765 Treaty site. Picture from the collection of the Labrador Institute, Memoraial University
- Photo # 11 Depiction of Tom Brown taken from the Elliot Curwen collections held at the Provincial Archives at the Rooms, St. John's, NL
- Photo # 12 Minnie Morris as a young woman from the collection of Pauline Elson, and the photo as an older person and midwife, from the collection of Eva Luther.

Photo # 13 The above picture of Charlotte Paulo (nee Webber) is from the Curwen collection (circa 1891). Charlotte is a granddaughter of the original William Webber.

Photo # 14 - The older gentleman in the middle is Tom Webber, brother of Charlotte Paulo (above) and his two sons, Ken and Bart. Tom and Charlotte are grandchildren of the original William Webber who was purportedly English. The ladies in the background (L-R) are Sarah Holwell and Eliza Elson. Photo from the collection of Joyce Webber Argotsinger, (circa 1916).

Photo # 15 - Photograph of the discerning label from the parting gift "Lydia Campbell Diary" to John Mason Hastings in 1891. Photo by Greg Mitchell.

Photo # 16 - Lydia and Daniel Campbell

Photo # 17 Hannah Michelin, sister of Lydia Campbell. Photo from the Curwen Collection at the Rooms Provincial Archives, ST. John's, NL.

Photo # 18 The photograph shows a loaded Kometik from the early twentieth century with another family of Williams from the Flatwaters area just north of the Charles and Mary Williams house.

Photo # 19 - Caubvik

Photo # 20 - Mikak

Photo # 21 - Iconogue

Photo # 22 - Mary Paulo

Photo # 23 - Betsy Paulo

Photo # 24 Picture shows the two ladies mentioned above and their husky dogs. From the statement given by Talbot concerning the sexual norms of one of the individuals, it seems that the relatively common Inuit practice of polygamy in Labrador (Taylor, 1984, pg 20, Taylor, 1974, Cabak, 1991) was alive and well at Fox Harbor in 1882

Photo # 24a Shows women from most of the families and family names located at Spotted Islands in the mid twentieth century. Winters, Curl, Webber, Elson, Holwell, Mesher, Hopkins, Circum and Langer

Photo # 25 Harpoon obtained at the Lydia Campbell house by members of Bowdoin College in 1891. Picture from Greg Mitchell.

- Photo # 26     Attiock with a harpoon from a depiction by Nathaniel Dance in 1773. Picture from Lysagt, 1971.
- Photo # 27 - Wilson Williams (shown here) is the great grandson of Charles Williams of North River. At the time this photograph was taken (1983) Wilson discussed with John Kennedy the 'darting' of seals at a polynya near North River (probably in the same location as his great grandfather). Photograph compliments of Dr. John C. Kennedy.
- Photo # 28     Solomon Burdett of Sand Hill.
- Photo # 29     Huntingdon Island – Stone Lamp *in situ* , 2009.
- Photo # 30     Typical historical photograph from the last century of a family and their resource harvesting. In this case it is the Pardy family of Huntingdon Island. Image from the Curwen Collection at the Provincial Archives, the Rooms, St. John's, NL.
- Photo # 31     A more modern expression of the harvest. Picture shows Norman Russell of Williams Harbour with grandchildren and a salmon. Photo from LMN files.
- Photo # 32     Picture depicting the Thomas Thoms (Shunock) family (circa 1882). Script associated with this picture can be quoted, "*Eskimo family and summer residence, Fox harbor. In winter they move to the interior and there live in skin tents*".
- Photo # 33     Photo showing two people (Mary and Thomas Paulo) with their grandchildren. The comment from Talbot, as a caption to this photograph, again indicates transhumance based around resource procurements, "*Eskimo family and summer residence*".
- Photo # 34     William and Charlotte Paulo (nee Webber). The male child pictured above is another Thomas Paulo (junior) and a further picture of him as an older man is available (see below).
- Photo # 35 - Thomas Paulo.
- Photo # 36     Aunt Rita Stevens (Paulo) and our researcher Eva Luther.
- Photo # 37 - Eskimo Village - L to R. Adults - George Brown, George Wakeham, Katie Langer (Paulo)( Brown), Joseph or Buillie Manger, Wiliam Paulo, Mary Paulo (Wakeham), Annie Paulo, Betsy Paulo, Charlotte (Webber) Paulo. Children - L- R, Mary Paulo, James Brown, unknown child, Elizabeth Paulo and Thomas Paulo.

Photo # 38 - Martha (Davis) Campbell cleaning a black bear skin in St Michael's Bay.

Photo # 39 - Henry Rumbolt with the dogs.

Photo # 40 Circa 1916. Showing the communal effort in launching of a boat. Photo compliments of Bowdoin College Arctic Museum.

Photo # 41 Circa 1916. Showing the proud production of a lady's sewing of a quilt showing a very traditional activity. Photo compliments of Bowdoin College Arctic Museum

# **Appendix I**

## **Large Toponym Map.**

## Appendix II

**Table # 11 Recorded Inuit who did not appear in the Moravian Records and did not 'go North'**

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
	2			
<b>Capitena Ioannis</b>	1694	St Lewis Bay	Unknown	Delanglez
<b>Chief Quignac</b>	1694	Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Delanglez
<b>Kamicterineac</b>	1694	St Lewis Bay	Unknown	Delanglez
<b>Acoutsina</b>	1717	Straights of Belle Isle	Captured by Courtemance	DCB 2:9 taken from Hiller,2008
<b>Amaqut (captain Amargo)</b>	1743	Hawke Bay	Unknown	Fornel narrative
<b>Hape - Eskimaux</b>	1743	Norman Bay	Unknown	Fornel narrative
<b>Sarah Shunock</b>	1757	Fox Hr	Birth extrapolated from death record	Anglican records from Kennedy extract
<b>Seguillia</b>	1765	Chateaux bay	Recorded later in the area of Nain?	Lysaght and Moravian materials
<b>Etuiock</b>	1770	Lodge Bay.	Nephew of Tooklavina	Cartwright Journals
<b>Attuiock</b>	1771	Cape Charles	Died in Great Britain in 1772	Cartwright Journals
<b>Caubvik</b>	1771	cape Charles	Speculated to have died years later in Hamilton Inlet	Cartwright Journals
<b>Nawadlok</b>	1771	Lodge Bay	Unknown	Cartwright Journals
<b>Tooklavina</b>	1771	Cape Charles	Died in Great Britain in 1772	Cartwright Journals
<b>Attoojack</b>	1771	Cape Charles	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Camishima</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Capic</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Chelic</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Ickpiaruc</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>Imituck</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Nawillue</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Newichina</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Pevallo</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Pudnioc</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Yoickwina</b>	1771	Henley Hr ?	Unknown	William Richardson Journal
<b>Ickcongoque</b>	1772	Seal Island	Died in Great Britian in 1772	Cartwright Journals
<b>Ickuena</b>	1772	Henley Harbour	Child of Ickongoque-Died in England	Cartwright Journals
<b>Noozelliak</b>	1772	Lodge Bay	Died in England	Cartwright Journals
<b>Scheidley</b>	1772	Lodge Bay	Unknown	Cartwright Journals
<b>Shuglawina</b>	1773	Lodge Bay	Known as the 'chief'	Cartwright Journals
<b>Tweegok</b>	1773	Lodge Bay	Bought by Cartwright as a servant	Cartwright Journals
<b>Angnutoke</b>	1773	Cape Charles	Unknown	Grimston Papers
<b>Econgohis</b>	1773	Cape Charles	Unknown	Grimston Papers
<b>Emiktoke</b>	1773	Cape Charles	Unknown	Grimston Papers
<b>Jack</b>	1774	Lodge Bay	Referred as 'Indian Boy'.	Cartwright Journals
<b>Phillis</b>	1775	Lodge bay and Cartwright	Daughter of Tweegok and John Ryan	Cartwright Journals
<b>Nooquashock</b>	1776	Isthumus Bay	Had twins for Danial Scully	Cartwright Journals
<b>Catherine Ooquioo</b>	1778	Isthumus Bay	Daughter of Pere Barecack and Cowcosish	Cartwright Journals
<b>Cattock</b>	1778	Cartwright	Household servant to George Cartwright	Cartwright Journals
<b>Cowcosish</b>	1778	Isthumus Bay	Wife of Pere Barecack	Cartwright Journals
<b>John Aglolak</b>	1783	Chateaux bay	Unknown	Taylor, 1984
<b>Mikak</b>	1783	Chateaux bay	Visiting and trading	Taylor, 1984
<b>Sirkoak</b>	1783	Chateaux bay	Partner to Mikak	Taylor, 1984
<b>Sirkoak</b>	1783	Chateaux Bay	Travel from North	Taylor, 1984
<b>Tuglavina</b>	1783	Chateaux Bay	Trading	Taylor, 1984

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>Young Pualo Mikak</b>	1783	Chateaux bay	Partner to Mikak and Pualo lived in Hamilton Inlet from 1784 to 1795	Taylor, 1984
	1784	Hamilton Inlet		Taylor, 1984
<b>Adlucock</b>	1785	Lance Cove	Overwintered at 'Isle of Ponds'	Cartwright Journals
<b>Tukelavinia</b>	1785	Lance Cove	Overwintered at 'Isle of Ponds'	Cartwright Journals
<b>Sister of Moses</b>	1785	Chateaux bay	married to John Aglugak	Taylor, 1984
<b>Eketcheack</b>	1786	Isthumus Bay	Father of girl who was approached by Cartwright for marriage	Cartwright Journals
<b>Samual Shappick Betsy</b>	1791	Guys Cove	Unknown date	Slade papers
	1792	Grosswater Bay	extrapolated from children's birthdates and her own deathdate date recorded	HBC Journals
<b>Susan - Inuk</b>	1793	Groswater Bay	marries Ambrose Brooks	Lydia Campbell writings
<b>Jonathan Palliser</b>	1797	Hamilton Inlet	Moved here permanently	Taylor, 1984
<b>Captain Jack Magaruse</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Mawcoo</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Paulo Owettowey</b>	1798	Battle hr		Records of Slades
<b>Pompey</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Shelmuck</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Young Jack</b>	1798	Battle Hr		Records of Slades
<b>Cognavagner</b>	1798	Battle hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Eteweooke</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Unknown	Slade Records
<b>John Sinnick (Shunock?)</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Account	Slade Records
<b>Occabieuke</b>	1798	Battle hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Oglucock</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Unknown	Slade Records
<b>Old George</b>	1798	Battle hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Shagareu (Shuglo?)</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Shilmuck</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Shilmuk</b>	1798	Battle Hr	Unknown	Slade Records
<b>Teweockinar</b>	1798	Battle hr	Purchase	Slade Records
<b>Thomas Took</b>	1798	Battle hr	Account	Slade Records
<b>Toomashie</b>	1800	Sandwich Bay	Full-blooded Eskimo known	Harbour Grace Standard May 15,

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
			to many	1896
<b>Female Inuk</b>	1800	Groswater Bay	Married John Whittle	Lydia Campbell writings
<b>Phile Shackarew</b>	1803	Battle hr	Account	Slade Records
<b>Ann Shelmuck</b>	1806	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Peter Shelmuck</b>	1806	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Female Inuk</b>	1810	Groswater Bay	Married Robert Best	Lydia Campbell writings
<b>Harriet Inuk</b>	1810	Sandwich bay	married to George Pardy	Patty Way
<b>William Kay</b>	1811	Cape Charles	Sworn Affidavit concering Moravian trade	ADM 1 /477 - Fo. 87 & 138
<b>Arnuayak</b>	1811	Eivektok (Hamilton Inlet)	Recorded at Ungava	Moravian visit to Ungave in 1811
<b>Netsiak</b>	1811	Eivektok (Hamilton Inlet)	Recorded at Ungava	Moravian visit to Ungave in 1811
<b>John Norman Pitts</b>	1815	South/ Labrador Indian	christened	C of E, Fred Carrington
<b>David Shilmoch</b>	1815	Sandwich Bay	Baptised in 1837	Hr Grace Anglican
<b>George Shilmoch</b>	1815	Sandwich bay	From child baptism- david	Hr Grace Anglican
<b>Leah Shilmoch</b>	1815	Sandwich bay	From child baptism- david	Hr Grace Anglican
<b>George Dukes</b>	1820	Straits	Identified as Inuit	Etudes/Inuit/Studies 1998
<b>Mary</b>	1820	Eskimo Bay	married Pottle, Devon	LMN genealogies
<b>Peter Lucy</b>	1820	Groswater Bay	Place on map named for him	Reichel
<b>Jane Inuk</b>	1820	Plants Bight	married John Mudge	Will, headstone
<b>Tootac Palliser</b>	1824	Hamilton Inlet	Son of Mikak	Whitely, 2000 (from Methodist records)
<b>Joan(a)h Pennyhook</b>	1825	Indian Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>John Kuniook</b>	1825	Cullingham's Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Pompey</b>	1825	Cullinghams Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Sarah Kouk-souk</b>	1825	Cullingham's Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Sarah Ooing-atshuk</b>	1825	Cullingham's Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Sarah Penni-ook</b>	1825	Indian Tickle	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Johannah Pennyhook</b>	1827	Sandwich bay	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Molina</b>	1827	Esquamaux bay	Unknown	Methodist Records

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>Sarah Coutebuck</b>	1827	Esquamaux bay	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Ann Inuk</b>	1830	Seal Is.	m. John Keefe, death	Anglican Records
<b>Jane Inuk</b>	1830	St. Michael's Bay	Married Michael McDonald	Anglican records
<b>Mary Inuk</b>	1830	Swashoe Run	Married Thomas Ward	Anglican records
<b>Mary Inuk</b>	1830	North River	married to Charles Williams	Anglican Records
<b>Susan Phippard</b>	1830	Grosswater Bay	married Thomas Groves	HBC Journal Rigolet
<b>Edward Shickmack</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>George Shickmack</b>	1831	Venison Is.	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Kitty Shickmack</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Leah Shickmack</b>	1831	Venison Is.	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>George Stevens</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>John Stevens</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Kitty Stevens (Shelmuck)</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Mary Stevens</b>	1831	Venison Island	Unknown	Methodist Records
<b>Sophia</b>	1832	Red Point/Domino	wife of Joseph Diggs/Wm Circum	Anglican Records
<b>Samual Shappick</b>	1832	Battle Hr	Unknown	Moss Diaries
<b>Thomas Paul</b>	1832	Granby Island	Shows up at battle hr with cometic and 13 dogs along with other Inuit	Moss Records - Slades
<b>Mary Monygood</b>	1835	Spotted Islands	married Benjamin Circum	Anglican Records
<b>Susan Kibenhock</b>	1837	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Richard Monnysay</b>	1838	Forteau	Unknown	Bird papers
<b>William Shugalow</b>	1838	Forteau	Unknown	Bird papers
<b>? Manak</b>	1840	Sandwich Bay	married Thomas Frost	Anglican Records
<b>Jeremiah Solomon</b>	1840	Battle Harbour	Birth record of son	Anglican records
<b>Joanna Solomon</b>	1840	Battle Harbour	birth of son-husband Jeremiah	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Inuk</b>	1840	Bolsters Rock	married to William Clark	Anglican Records
<b>Matilda</b>	1840	Battle Harbour	married to Abel Symeon	Anglican records
<b>Nancy Inuk</b>	1840	Black Bear Bay	marrried to James Cridland	Anglican Records
<b>Charlotte Inuk</b>	1840	Seal Islands	Married Daniel Delaney	BH # 807

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>Markuse</b>	1840	Rigolet area	trade	HBC Journal Rigolet
<b>Jane Shuglo</b>	1840	South	married Toomashie	LMN Genealogies
<b>Sarah Jane Palliser</b>	1840	Grosswater Bay	married Thomas Oliver	Methodist Records
<b>Inuk wife</b>	1840	Groswater Bay	married Cole	Packard
<b>Maria Paulo (?)</b>	1844	St Francis Hr	Birth Mary Paulo unknown father	Anglican
<b>Joseph Diggs</b>	1844	Porcupine Bay	Birth Date, extrapolated from death record	BH Record # 281
<b>Nancy Manak</b>	1844	North River - wife of Tom Williams		Henry Gordon Journal
<b>George Morris</b>	1846	Seal Is	Birth	Anglican
<b>James Paulo (?)</b>	1847	St Francis Hr	Birth Mary Paulo unknown father	Anglican
<b>Eliza, Indian (Inuit) girl</b>	1847	Unknown/South	baptism	Methodists, Jno. Addy
<b>John Paulo</b>	1848	Fox Hr	Received	Anglican
<b>Nancy Paulo</b>	1848	Fox Hr	Rec/parent	Anglican
<b>Nathaniel Paulo</b>	1848	Fox Hr	Rec/parent	Anglican
<b>Anne Thomas</b>	1848	Forteau	Likely Thoms (re-Shunock)	Anglican Records
<b>Betsy Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Bridget ?????</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Caroline, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Catherine Shiwak</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>David Stephens</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Diana, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Elizabeth Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Hannah Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Hannah, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Hezekiah Thomas</b>	1848	Forteau	Likely Thoms (re-Shunock)	Anglican Records
<b>Isaac</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>James Shiwak</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Born in 1790	Anglican Records
<b>James Williams</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Jane ?????</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Jane Isaac</b>	1848	Seal Islands	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Jane Isaac</b>	1848	Seal Islands	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>John, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Joseph Tuctoosheena</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Julie Ann Ittiok</b>	1848	South	Married to Webber	Anglican Records
<b>Margaret Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Martin, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>Mary McPherson</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1848	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Sutton</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Tuctoosheena</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Williams</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mary, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Mrs. Paulo (mother)</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Nancy Sutton</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Nancy Tuctoosheena</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Nancy, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Samual Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Sarah Thomas</b>	1848	Forteau	Likely Thoms (re-Shunock)	Anglican Records
<b>Sarah, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Seal Islands	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Susan Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Susan, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas Paulo</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas Stephens</b>	1848	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas Williams</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>William Phippard</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>William, Esquimaux</b>	1848	Dumplin Island	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Ann Kibenhock</b>	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Betsy Marnock</b>	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Betsy Marnock jr</b>	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Samual Kibenhock</b>	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Susan Kibenhock</b>	1849	St Francis Hr	Also recorded in 1848	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas Marnock</b>	1849	St Francis hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas Marnock jr</b>	1849	St Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Thomas Paulo</b>	1849	Francis Hr	Born in 1801	Anglican Records
<b>Clara Inuk</b>	1849	South	married to John Lane	Field Baptism
<b>Anne Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1850	Battle Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Emily Julia Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1850	Battle Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>George Thoms/Shunock</b>	1850	Swail Bight	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Henry Kibenoc</b>	1850	St Francis Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>James Shufwick (Shiwak?)</b>	1850	St Francis Hr	meeting presence	Anglican
<b>John Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1850	Battle Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>John Paulo (?)</b>	1850	St Francis Hr	Birth Mary Paulo unknown father	Anglican
<b>John Thoms/Shunock</b>	1850	Swail Bight	Birth	Anglican

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
Mary Ann Paulo	1850	Fox Hr	Birth	Anglican
Mary Thoms/Shunock	1850	Swail Bight	Birth - parents	Anglican
Nancy Kibenoc	1850	Williams Hr	<b>Birth</b>	Anglican
Peter Shelmock	1850	Dumplin Island	44 years old - baptised born 1806	Anglican
Smoker (Inuk)	1850	Seal Islands	Death	Anglican
Tom Toomashoe	1850	Sandwich Bay	Birth - record given in 1864	Anglican
William Paulo	1850	St Francis Hr	Birth son of Nathaniel and nancy	Anglican
Ann Toomachoc	1850	Sandwich Bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
Anne Kippenock/Shufwick/Shiwak?	1850	Francis Hr	Repeat	Anglican Records
Betsy Alliswack	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Elizabeth Inuk	1850	Porcupine Bay	widow Quirk married Robert Parr	Anglican Records
Elizabeth Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
George Ittiock	1850	Francis Hr	Possible repeat from Spotted Island records	Anglican Records
Harriet Alliswack	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Harriet Inuk	1850	Seal islands	married to William Morris	Anglican records
John Alliswack	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
John Elishock	1850	Francis Hr	Baptism (16 years old)	Anglican Records
Mary Alliswack	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Mary Monygood widow Circum	1850	Spotted Islands	Married Michael Dyson	Anglican Records
Nancy Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Nancy Shelmuck	1850	Sandwich Bay	daughter of Peter, married Simon Lemare	Anglican Records
Nathaniel Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Samual Kippenhuck	1850	Francis Hr	Repeat	Anglican Records
Sara Inuk	1850	Deep Water Creek	married to Joseph Perry	Anglican Records
Thomas Elishock	1850	Francis Hr	Baptism (20 years old)	Anglican Records
Thomas Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Tom Toomashock (Davis)	1850	Sandwich bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
William Paulo	1850	Francis Hr	Unknown	Anglican Records
Salome Burdett	1850	Sand Hill	Unknown	Family Bible

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>Betsy Paulo</b>	1851	Fox Hr	At birth of William Henry Paulo	Anglican records from Kennedy extract
<b>Thomas Paulo</b>	1851	Williams Hr	At birth of William Henry Paulo	Anglican records from Kennedy extract
<b>Jeremiah Thoms/Shunock</b>	1851	Boulters Rock	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>John Paulo</b>	1851	St Francis Hr	Death at 45 years old	Anglican
<b>Marianne Thoms/Shunock</b>	1851	Boulters Rock	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Sarah Jane Thoms/Shunock</b>	1851	Boulters Rock	Birth	Anglican
<b>William Henry Paulo</b>	1851	Williams hr	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Sarah Manak</b>	1851	Straits	married to Thomas Gibbons	Patty Way
<b>Anne Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1852	Spear Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>John Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1852	Spear Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Marianne Chennix/Shunocks?</b>	1852	Spear Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>George Tombs/Shunock</b>	1853	Seal Bight	Birth- parent	Anglican
<b>James Sinnick/Shunock?</b>	1853	Spear Hr	Birth - s/o John and Ann	Anglican
<b>Jeremiah Tombs/Shunock?</b>	1853	Seal Bight	Birth	Anglican
<b>John Kippenock</b>	1853	Williams Hr	Birth to Samuel and Nancy	Anglican
<b>Mary Thoms (Shunock)</b>	1853	Seal Bight	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Kristian (Inuk)</b>	1853	Groswater Bay	travel account	Moravians
<b>Elija Shuglo</b>	1854	Groswater bay	Birth	Anglican
<b>Mary Jane Shuglo</b>	1854	Groswater Bay	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>William Shuglo</b>	1854	Groswater bay	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>George William Tuccolk</b>	1854	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Nancy Tuccolk</b>	1854	William hr	marriage to William Russell	Anglican Records
<b>Sally Thoms/Shunock</b>	1854	Fox Hr	Received	Anglican Records
<b>Ann Thoms/Shunock</b>	1855	Salt Pond	Birth d/o Jeremiah and Ann	Anglican
<b>Henry Sinnick/Shunock?</b>	1855	Spear Hr	Birth - to John and Ann	Anglican
<b>Mary Ann widow Butt</b>	1855	Battle Hr.	Married George Jeffreys	Anglican records
<b>Katherine Inuk</b>	1855	Straights	married to Peter leon	Patty Way
<b>James Thoms/Shunock</b>	1856	Salt Pond	Birth	Anglican

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>John Paulo</b>	1856	Williams Hr	Joseph Langar son by Mary Paulo	Anglican
<b>William Toms/Shunock</b>	1856	Fox Hr	Rec'd parents George and Mary	Anglican
<b>Charlotte Mountain George Thoms/Shunock</b>	1857	Georges Cove	Birth - parents	Anglican
	1857	Fox Hr	Birth - parent Nancy Paulo-widow	Anglican
<b>Henry Kibbinock</b>	1857	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>Jane Kibbinock</b>	1857	Williams Hr	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>Julia Ann Mountain</b>	1857	Georges Cove	Birth	Anglican
<b>Peter Mountain</b>	1857	Georges Cove	Birth - parents	Anglican
<b>George Toms Holley</b>	1857	Fox Hr	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Eliza Ittiock</b>	1858	Reeds Pond	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>George Ittiock</b>	1858	Reeds Pond	Birth-parent	Anglican
<b>John Paulo</b>	1858	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>Margaret Ittiock</b>	1858	Reeds Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1858	Williams Hr	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1859	St Francis Hr	marriage to Joseph Langar	Anglican
<b>Susannah Mountain</b>	1859	Georges Cove	Birth	Anglican records
<b>Mary Inuk</b>	1860	Deep Water Creek	2nd wife of Joseph Perry	Anglican Records
<b>Edward Holly</b>	1860	Fox Hr	marriage to Nancy Paulo	Anglican
<b>Eliza Ittiock</b>	1860	Spotted Islands	Birth	Anglican
<b>Harriet Thoms</b>	1860	Fox Hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
<b>George Ittiock</b>	1860	Spotted Islands	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Catherine Langer</b>	1860	Williams Hr	Unknown	Anglican records/LMN genealogies
<b>Ann Toomashoe</b>	1861	Sandwich bay	Birth - record given in 1864	Anglican
<b>Charlotte Smoker</b>	1861	Reeds Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Mary Smoker</b>	1861	Reeds Pond	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>Samuel Thoms/Shunock</b>	1861	Salt Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Christopher Thoms/Shunock</b>	1863	Salt Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Elizabeth Charlotte Smoker</b>	1863	Reeds Pond	Birth	Anglican
<b>Jane Smoker</b>	1863	Reeds Pond	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>William Morris</b>	1863	Porcupine Bay	Birth	Anglican
<b>Abel Symeon</b>	1863	Battle Hr	Census - Anglican	Anglican Records
<b>Ann Thomashoc (Davis)</b>	1863	Sandwich Bay	Birth	Anglican Records
<b>Anthony Indovick</b>	1863	Battle Hr	Census -	Anglican Records

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>Edward the Indian</b>	1863	Divers Tickle, Sandwich Bay	Anglican Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Isaac the Indian</b>	1863	Main Tickle, Sandwich bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Jeremiah Solomon</b>	1863	Battle Hr	Census - Anglican	Anglican Records
<b>Nathaniel Benjamen</b>	1863	battle Hr	Census - Anglican	Anglican Records
<b>Peter Shelmuck</b>	1863	Main Tickle, Sandwich bay	Unknown	Anglican Records
<b>Ann Toomashoe</b>	1864	Sandwich Bay	Mother of Tom and Ann	Anglican
<b>Betsy Paulo</b>	1864	Battle hr	marriage	Anglican
<b>Charlotte Elizabeth Stephens</b>	1864	Seal Islands	marriage to Alexander Turnbull	Anglican
<b>Elizabeth Jacky</b>	1864	Sandwich bay	Birth - parent	Anglican
<b>John Paulo</b>	1864	Battle hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
<b>John Thoms (Shunock)</b>	1864	Battle hr	marriage	Anglican
<b>Peter Jacky</b>	1864	Sandwich bay	Birth	Anglican
<b>William Thoms (Shunock)</b>	1864	Battle hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
<b>Solomon Solomon</b>	1864	Battle Harbour	birth	Anglican records
<b>Martha Symeon</b>	1864	Battle Harbour	Birth-Abel & Matilda	BH # 598
<b>George William Itttock</b>	1865	Spotted Islands	Birth - to George and Eliza	Anglican
<b>James Kibenock</b>	1865	Williams Hr	Birth	Anglican
<b>Nancy Russell/Tuccock</b>	1865	St Francis Hr	Death	Anglican
<b>Sarah Ann Morris</b>	1865	Pocupine Bay	Birth to William and Hannah	Anglican
<b>Susan Kibenock</b>	1865	Williams Hr	Birth - mother	Anglican
<b>Billy Langar</b>	1866	Williams Hr	Birth to Mary Langar/Paulo	Anglican
<b>Harriet Thoms/Shunock</b>	1866	Battle Hr	marriage to John Curl	Anglican
<b>Michael Toomer</b>	1866	Battle hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
<b>Samual Kibenock</b>	1866	Starvation Cove	Birth to Thomas and Sarah	Anglican
<b>William Thoms (Shunock)</b>	1866	Battle hr	witness to marriage	Anglican
<b>John Thoms (Shunock)</b>	1867	Fox Hr	records from late wifes death record	Anglican Records
<b>Mary Paulo</b>	1867	Little Hr	Death	Anglican Records

Identified as Esquimaux or derivations thereof	Year	Place	Other notes concerning individual	Source material
<b>John Shunock (Thoms)</b>	1867	Fox Hr	death prior to 1867	Anglican records from Kennedy extract

## **Appendix III**

Figure # 25a The Historic Areas of Land Uses by Inuit Labradorians.