

LAURIER RESEARCH GROUP REPORT**(2025-06-16)****External assessment of NunatuKavut history and rights assertions****Objective**

Perform an external assessment of documents related to NunatuKavut history and rights assertions to answer outstanding questions.

Scope

- Analyze documents from primary and secondary sources (approximately 10,000 pages);
- Create a database for these documents;
- Report on findings and provide written answers to questions provided.

Questions

1. For the purposes of establishing an aboriginal collectivity, an aboriginal group needs to be able to demonstrate use and occupation of a regional territory, shared language, culture, traditions and political structure. From an anthropological or historical perspective, what additional elements are required to demonstrate an Inuit Collective? In particular, what sort of demographic indicia are required to support the anthropological/historic perspective of what constitutes a self-governing Inuit collective? Please provide historical/anthropological perspectives on how the collectivity would have governed itself.
2. Is there evidence that points to the use and/or occupation of land within NunatuKavut's asserted territory by a historic Inuit collective that existed in Labrador?
 - If so, please explain when, where, and to what extent the land use and occupation took place.
3. What historical evidence points to the onset of European contact with the Inuit collective(s) that historically occupied Labrador? Please provide evidence of the date initial stage of contact and how that contact evolved up until the point that European presence is sustained.
4. Please provide historical/anthropological perspective on how or whether European settler presence/integration influenced the characteristics of the Inuit ancestry population inhabiting the territory claimed by NunatuKavut.
5. Is there evidence to support the establishment of a second distinct Inuit collective, other than the collective that is now represented by the Nunatsiavut Government, located within NunatuKavut's asserted territory, wholly or in part?

- a. If so, at what time in history would the development of a second collective have occurred?
- b. Was there one historic collective that split into two modern successor groups?
Or
- c. Was there two historic collectives of which NCC is the modern successor of one and Nunatsiavut Government the modern successor of the other?

If the response to Question 4 or 5 is yes:

6. Is the NunatuKavut Community Council membership (or a subset of) considered a modern successor of a historic Inuit collective identified in Question 2 or 3?
 - a. What evidence is there to demonstrate a connection between a historic collective identified in Question 2 or 3 and the NunatuKavut Community Council (e.g. culture, language, traditions, governance, ancestry)?

Methodology

An evidence-based content analysis methodology was applied for reviewing the provided document collection and answering the provided research questions. This methodology ensured that the findings are transparent and grounded in the historical evidence provided for review.

The following approach was taken to inform this report:

Review the research questions to clearly understand what the review is intended to answer and understand the primary concerns raised in each research question.

Review all of the documents provided in the document collection.

Analyze the contents of the provided documents with a focus on the research questions and what the wording of the question is asking.

Summarize all of the documents highlighting key relevant findings related to questions.

Provide responses to the research questions supported with evidence with direct sourcing from the provided documents.

Create a document index and document collection ('database') describing all of the documents provided for review as well as assign and label unique document identification numbers and new page numbers to each document for clear sourcing in the provided documents.

Limitations:

The scope of work did not include identifying and reviewing additional documents outside of what was provided in the document collection and did not include an in-depth

bias analysis task (please see below for more on the role of bias). The scope of work did not include reaching a definitive conclusion on these research issues, but rather analyzing the provided documents and addressing the questions as asked and worded in order to report on findings. The responses provided here offer evidence-based responses to the research questions limited to the contents of the documents provided and cannot be considered a definitive or final report on these questions.

The word 'opinion' does not appear in this report, nor in the questions that were asked.

No original ethnographic data was obtained nor any outside legal or academic expertise was sought for this report. A more extensive examination of the topic and questions in this report would require additional external research (for example, a robust file identification and review exercise at Library and Archives Canada).

Citation style:

Please refer to the accompanying document index and document collection. Citations in this report contain both a footnote with the original source information, and a unique document number reference that points to that document in the accompanying external document collection that was created for this report. Page number references in each footnote in this report refer to the new page numbers assigned to each document in the bottom right corner of each document in the external document collection.

The Role of Bias

The document collection provided for review and analysis for this report largely focuses on secondary (supplementary) sources such as academic papers and publications (including those produced by the NunatuKavut Community Council (NCC) and Labrador Metis Association) rather than primary sources. The reliance on secondary sources in this report may result in inherent biases whether intentional or unintentional. Particularly, given the claim deals with complex identity and culture questions, the documents provided in support of the claim are susceptible to a variety of subtle and evident biases.

For instance, one of the documents provided is an extensive report produced by the NunatuKavut Community Council Incorporated, describing the lands and people of Southern/Central Labrador. The preface of the report which introduces the scope of the report notes that the document was designed 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. It appears priority was given to the research and analysis by the people of South/Central Labrador on their own aboriginal roots including knowledge of their aboriginal ancestors which may be considered an impartial analysis. Such documents have a tendency to present information in a way that may make a specific claim and selecting or interpreting evidence that supports the claim while potentially leaving out relevant or contradictory information.

The report also identifies the primary authors, contributing authors and research support and editors to be made up of primary members of the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc., including elders. The list of authors also includes a law firm (possibly representing the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc.) and an extensive list of contract researchers who may have their own biases based on their background, methodological assumptions, goals of their contract, and context of the research. It's also possible that the research direction and interpretation is shaped by the priorities of the NCC who is authoring/funding the report and may seek to interpret information in a way that confirms pre-existing beliefs and expectations.

Some of the other documents were authored by individuals who were contracted by the NCC to examine the very issues under debate. While it might not be entirely fair to suggest that such work is "biased" in the negative way in which that term is generally used, the authors, inadvertently or not, may have presented the material in a way that was "helpful" to, or would be favorably received by, the client. While no definitive position on this is taken, as an in-depth bias analysis is beyond the scope of work for this specific report, these issues must be considered and acknowledged when reviewing the sources/citations in this research report.

On the other hand, some of the older literature, which tended to argue against the existence of a distinct Inuit collective in southern Labrador, did not have the benefit of the results of archaeological investigations that followed in later years and which provided a more compelling case for such a collective. That older work, missing this evidence, at times tended to rely on Eurocentric views in reaching conclusions as to Inuit behaviors and locations and the reasons for them.

It is also possible that the authors of this very research report have internalized biases which influenced the responses, given that the authors have lived lives that are outside the experience of Indigenous lifeways and the material reviewed was limited to only that which was provided in the document collection.

1. For the purposes of establishing an aboriginal collectivity, an aboriginal group needs to be able to demonstrate use and occupation of a regional territory, shared language, culture, traditions and political structure. From an anthropological or historical perspective, what additional elements are required to demonstrate an Inuit Collective? In particular, what sort of demographic indicia are required to support the anthropological/historic perspective of what constitutes a self-governing Inuit collective? Please provide historical/anthropological perspectives on how the collectivity would have governed itself.

Summary: *To establish an Aboriginal collective, a group must demonstrate use and occupation of a regional territory, shared language, culture, traditions, and a political structure. Additionally, they often have mechanisms for legitimizing membership through leadership, kinship ties, or institutional structures, with validation occurring via formal authority or community consensus, such as elders or councils. Territorial boundaries, physical artifacts, and cultural practices further define membership, which may be inherited through bloodlines or acquired through marriage. Self-governing is demonstrated through leadership structures, legal frameworks, economic control, cultural cohesion, and territorial autonomy, whether through decentralized councils or centralized authority figures.*

Key Takeaways

Criteria for Aboriginal Collectivity:

1. Must demonstrate use and occupation of a regional territory, shared language, culture, traditions, and political structure.
2. Membership is legitimized through leadership, kinship ties, or institutional structures, validated by formal authority or community consensus.

Additional Elements for Inuit Collective:

3. Mechanisms for incorporating non-kin members (e.g., marriage, adoption).
4. Material artifacts, cultural practices, and territorial boundaries define group identity.
5. Ethnogenesis refers to the emergence of a culturally distinctive group.

Self-Governance Indicators:

6. Leadership structures, legal frameworks, economic control, cultural cohesion, and territorial autonomy.
7. Governance may be decentralized (e.g., councils of elders) or centralized (e.g., chiefs).

Historical Evidence of Inuit Presence:

8. Year-round settlement in southern Labrador since the 1500s, with subsistence practices focused on seal hunting and resource preparation.
9. Archaeological evidence includes semi-subterranean dwellings, tools, and burial sites.

Transhumance Lifestyle:

10. Seasonal movement across land and seascapes for resource harvesting.
11. Mobility and interactions with Europeans shaped Inuit governance and demographics.

1765 Labrador Inuit Treaty:

12. Recognized Inuit rights to self-governance, resource harvesting, and territorial autonomy.
13. These rights are now held by NunatuKavut communities.

Through our research we have accessed primary and secondary sources, provided by the Client which includes published ethno-historical, anthropological, archaeological and historical literature, and government reports, relevant to the study region. We will provide responses drawn from the literature reviewed.

The first questions states that an aboriginal group needs to be able to demonstrate use and occupation of a regional territory, shared language, culture, traditions and political structure in order to establish an aboriginal collectivity.

In terms of additional elements, we can say that groups typically have mechanisms to legitimize membership in a collective, whether through leadership, kinship ties, or institutional structures. Membership may require validation through formal authority or community consensus. This could be seen in the authority of elders, chiefs, or councils in indigenous societies.

Territorial boundaries can demarcate membership in a group as well as physical artifacts such as tools, clothing, art, or even architecture can also serve as markers of group membership. These material objects embody the cultural practices of the group and are often used to distinguish insiders from outsiders.

Culture here can refer to the “symbolic road map of meanings, practices, and values developed by a human group to navigate their natural and social world,” while “Society can “refer to the patterned social interactions and institutions of a people,” which are “consistent with their cultural values and beliefs.” The distinctive cultures of Labrador’s two “original cultural groups,” the Inuit and the Innu, are evident in everything from “different notions about the supernatural, the properties and value of particular resources, and appropriate social decorum” (**Doc. 05_3, p. 17**)¹.

For many groups, particularly in kinship-based societies, membership is passed through bloodlines or ancestral heritage. Being born into a particular family or clan often signifies group membership, even if individuals do not fully participate in the day-to-day activities of the group. Some groups have mechanisms for incorporating non-kin members

¹ Minaskuat Limited Partnership (2005). A Historical Profile of the Labrador Coast Area's Mixed European-Indian or Mixed European-Inuit Ancestry Community. Prepared for Department of Justice Canada, p.17.

through processes like adoption, marriage, or other forms of social integration. This allows outsiders to become part of the group, provided they conform to group norms.

Ethnogenesis refers to the emergence of a culturally distinctive people who are considered to represent a new or unique ethnicity (**Doc. 05_3, p. 16**)².

To demonstrate that a group is self-governing, the key demographic indicators must include a combination of leadership structures, legal frameworks, economic control, cultural cohesion, and territorial autonomy. These factors are interdependent and collectively show that the group can govern itself without reliance on external authorities or intervention. Governance could be decentralized and based on councils of elders or other forms of consensus, or it could be more hierarchical, with a central authority such as a chief or monarch. See below details drawn from the documents.

The Inuit arrived in Sandwich Bay around 1570. Features such as semi-subterranean dwellings with entrance passages, cold traps and lintel entryways; stone fox traps; boulder burials and cache systems; material culture; and a subsistence economy based largely on the acquisition of seal are all present in the earliest sites there and ensure the identification of early Inuit peoples. The sites point to an early and year-round settlement (**Doc. 03_3, pp. 4-5**)³.

The Labrador Inuit Treaty of 1765 was formally reported to the Privy Council of Britain in May 1769. It is now protected under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982. The current holders and beneficiaries of this Treaty Right are the member communities of NunatuKavut (**Doc. 06, p. 37**)⁴.

The 1765 Treaty protects the rights of Inuit and their descendants to harvest wildlife and use natural resources within their territory. It acknowledges their Aboriginal Title and right to self-governance. These rights, now held by the NunatuKavut communities, are considered a gift from the Creator and their ancestors, meant to be passed down for future generations. The significance of this Treaty must be recognized by the government, and processes should be implemented to uphold these rights (**Doc. 06, p. 62**)⁵.

The archival and archaeological evidence presents a good case for year-round Inuit occupancy and land use in southern Labrador and the North Shore from the mid 1500's to the mid 1700's (**Doc. 01_8, p. 27**)⁶.

² Ibid, p.16.

³ Rankin, Lisa K. (2010). A People for All Seasons: Expressions of Inuit Identity over the past 500 Years in Southern Labrador. In L.A. Meyer et al., *Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity* (pp. 332-340). University of Calgary: Calgary, p.4-5.

⁴ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador., p.37

⁵ Ibid, p.62.

⁶ Stopp, Marianne P. (2002). Reconsidering Inuit presence in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 26(2), pp. 71-106, p.27

Remains indicate multi-season hunting and settlement, trapping, resource preparation and cultural and spiritual activities, not to mention trading with Europeans. The presence of larger numbers of people in the summer, smaller numbers in the winter and family social organization resembles the settlement demographics in northern Labrador (**Doc. 01_8, p. 28**)⁷.

The first archaeological survey of the coast between Chateau Bay and Sandwich Bay resulted in evidence of Inuit. Some sods houses in the sample could be dated to the late 19th to early 20th centuries. Another set of sod houses dated to the late 18th century or earlier. The survey pointed to multi-season Inuit settlement in southern Labrador where trade or scavenging at European fishing sites fitted in with a wider spectrum of complex year-round resource exploitation (**Doc. 01_10, p. 6**)⁸.

The Inuit transhumance lifestyle, which involved both yearly and longer cycles across the land and seascape, their mobility, complex relations with Europeans, and challenging geography resulted in European observers providing inconsistent and fragmented views of the Inuit population in Labrador as a modern community (**Doc. 06, p. 118**)⁹.

Inuit, particularly Thule and Modern Inuit, are not only transhumance societies but also rapid movers. They defy conventional territorial boundaries by following marine resources throughout the Arctic's seasonal cycles and seeking opportunities for acquiring iron and engaging in trade (**Doc. 06, p. 119**)¹⁰.

Conclusion

To establish an Inuit collective, historical and anthropological evidence must demonstrate use and occupation of a defined territory, shared language, culture, traditions, and political structure. Additional elements, such as kinship ties, material artifacts, and mechanisms for incorporating non-kin members, further validate group identity. Self-governance is evidenced through leadership structures, legal frameworks, economic control, and cultural cohesion. The Inuit of southern Labrador exhibited these characteristics through their year-round settlements, transhumance lifestyle, and resource-based economy. The 1765 Labrador Inuit Treaty formally recognized their rights to self-governance, resource harvesting, and territorial autonomy, which are now held by NunatuKavut communities. This historical foundation underscores the legitimacy of the Inuit collective in southern Labrador.

⁷ Ibid, p.28.

⁸ Stopp, Marianne P. (2015). Faceted Inuit-European contact in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 39(1), pp. 63-89, p.6.

⁹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.118.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.119.

- 2. Is there evidence that points to the use and/or occupation of land within NunatuKavut's asserted territory by a historic Inuit collective that existed in Labrador?**
- **If so, please explain when, where, and to what extent the land use and occupation took place.¹¹**

Summary: *Archaeological and historical evidence places Inuit at several locations in NunatuKavut's asserted territory since the 16th century, although there remains some dispute in the literature as to what drew them there. The Inuit built homes, harvested resources and engaged in cultural and spiritual activities in this area. There is substantial evidence pointing to the use and occupation of land within NunatuKavut's asserted territory by a historic Inuit collective that existed in Labrador. The evidence details the nature, extent, and continuity of Inuit land use and occupation in central and southern Labrador. There is evidence confirming the existence of permanent Inuit communities in central and southern Labrador from as early as the first European observations in the late 17th century through to the 1900s. Notably, the Inuit in south and central Labrador saw themselves as a single collectivity distinct from the Inuit in northern Labrador and Greenland.*

Key Takeaways

Evidence of Inuit Land Use and Occupation:

1. Archaeological and historical evidence confirms Inuit presence in NunatuKavut's asserted territory since the 16th century.
2. Inuit built homes, harvested resources, and engaged in cultural and spiritual activities in southern Labrador.

Year-Round Occupancy:

3. Inuit settlements in southern Labrador were permanent, not just seasonal trading posts.
4. Multi-season hunting, trapping, and resource preparation were common practices.

Subsistence Activities:

5. Inuit relied on diverse ecosystems, including migratory sea mammals, fish, and land mammals, for year-round sustenance.

Cultural and Spatial Organization:

6. Inuit place names in south and central Labrador reflect deep knowledge of the environment and regular land use.
7. These toponyms demonstrate territorial organization and cultural connection to the land.

¹¹ Given the presence of Question #3, the researchers have interpreted Question #2 to refer primarily to Inuit land use and occupation in the asserted territory before contact. Although some of the later entries for Question #2 do relate to post-contact use and occupation, the impacts of contact are for the most part addressed in the response to Question #3.

1765 Treaty Recognition:

8. The Treaty affirmed Inuit rights to harvest wildlife, use natural resources, and maintain self-governance in their territory.

Continuity of Land Use:

9. Despite external pressures, Inuit maintained traditional land use patterns, adapting to new technologies while preserving cultural practices.

Archaeological Findings:

10. Sites like Sandwich Bay, Indian Harbour, and Hamilton Inlet provide evidence of permanent Inuit settlements and resource exploitation.

Distinct Southern Inuit Identity:

Southern Inuit communities were culturally distinct from northern Inuit, with unique settlement patterns and interactions with Europeans.

Archaeological projects, such as those in Sandwich Bay, document the significant and year-round Inuit presence in southern Labrador. These findings indicate that Inuit settlements were not merely seasonal trading posts but permanent and well-established communities.

Inuit practiced a seasonal transhumance pattern, utilizing the land for different resources throughout the year. Maps from Tony Williamson of the Labrador Institute and research by Dr. John Kennedy illustrate these migratory patterns, indicating a strong, continuous connection to the land for subsistence activities such as hunting, fishing, and gathering.

The ecosystems in southern Labrador provided a variety of resources, including migratory sea mammals, fish, and land mammals, which supported the Inuit's year-round subsistence activities.

Despite external pressures and changes over time, the Inuit of southern Labrador maintained their traditional land use patterns. They adapted to new technologies and continued their subsistence practices, as evidenced by the enduring use of seasonal homes and resource areas.

The cohesive system of Inuit place names in south and central Labrador demonstrates a sophisticated degree of spatial organization and regular use of the land. These place names reflect the Inuit's deep knowledge of their environment and their cultural connection to the land.

The Treaty of 1765 recognized the Inuit's continued title to and occupation of central and southern Labrador, affirming their status as an organized society with rights to self-government, resource harvesting, and trade.

These pieces of evidence collectively confirm that the historic Inuit community used and occupied the lands within NunatuKavut's asserted territory extensively, maintaining their

cultural practices and connection to the land from pre-European contact through to the present day. See below for details drawn from the reviewed literature.

Archaeological work has shown that the Inuit have had a significant presence in southern Labrador since the late 1500s (**Doc. 03_3, p. 2**)¹².

The Inuit arrived in Sandwich Bay around 1570. Features such as semi-subterranean dwellings with entrance passages, cold traps and lintel entryways; stone fox traps; boulder burials and cache systems; material culture; and a subsistence economy based largely on the acquisition of seal are all present in the earliest sites there and ensure the identification of early Inuit peoples. The sites point to an early and year-round settlement (**Doc. 03_3, pp. 4-5**)¹³.

Indian Harbour is the earliest known Inuit habitation site in southern Labrador. The range of house styles and associated artefacts suggest that the Inuit occupied Indian Harbour several times between the 16th and 19th centuries (**Doc. 03_4, p. 3**)¹⁴.

Huntingdon Island bears the remains of Inuit sites that represent both summer and winter occupations. These sites date from the early to mid-16th century (**Doc. 01_7, p. 4**)¹⁵. The material remains from them show that the Inuit living in Sandwich Bay were more than itinerant traders. The sod houses are communal houses, meaning that a single structure was built to house multiple families, and the artifacts indicate the presence of families (**Doc. 01_7, p. 5**)¹⁶.

Surveys and excavations identified a 16th century Inuit settlement in Hamilton Inlet (**Doc. 01_3, p. 85**)¹⁷. The resources at Inuit settlements indicate that residents carried out a modified-maritime way of life akin to that of Inuit living north of Hamilton Inlet (**Doc. 01_8, p. 15**)¹⁸.

Regional archaeological surveys in Hamilton Inlet have discovered 19 Labrador Inuit winter houses. These sites range in time from the 17th to the mid 19th century. Settlement pattern studies suggest a fall/winter occupation in the Narrows and a

¹² Rankin, Lisa K. (2010). A People for All Seasons: Expressions of Inuit Identity over the past 500 Years in Southern Labrador. In L.A. Meyer et al., *Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity* (pp. 332-340). University of Calgary: Calgary, p.2.

¹³ Ibid, p.4-5.

¹⁴ Rankin, Lisa K. (2013). The Role of the Inuit in the European Settlement of Sandwich Bay, Labrador. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.), *Exploring Atlantic Transitions. Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 310-319). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.3.

¹⁵ Rankin, Lisa & Crompton, Amanda (2013). The Labrador Metis and the politics of identity: understanding the archaeological past to negotiate a sustainable future. *International Journal of Heritage and Sustainable Development*, 3(1), pp. 71-79, p.4.

¹⁶ Ibid, p.5.

¹⁷ Woollett, James M. (2003). *An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change*. Dissertation. The City University of New York, p.85.

¹⁸ Stopp, Marianne P. (2002). Reconsidering Inuit presence in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 26(2), pp. 71-106, p.15.

spring/summer occupation along the outer coasts and islands of Groswater Bay (**Doc. 01_4, p. 6**)¹⁹.

By 1650 the Sandwich Bay Inuit had settled Snack Cove (**Doc. 03_4, p. 5**)²⁰. Snack Cove is at present the southernmost year-round early Inuit settlement in Labrador (**Doc. 03_10, p. 8**²¹; **Doc. 01_23, p. 8**)²².

The Snack Cove sites and other survey data from the same project indicate a year-round mid 17th century occupation by Inuit who had access to European camps or caches and were incorporating some European items, often modified, into their traditional material culture. It thus seems that the emerging archaeological data supports the notion that the Inuit presence in southern Labrador may be comparable in nature to that further north (**Doc. 01_6, p. 29**)²³.

The Snack Cove sites were not occupied as a base camp for Inuit interested in obtaining European goods for trade, as key indicators for this scenario are missing. The sites are not near places where Inuit would have been able to easily obtain European goods during the 17th century. The possibility that Inuit settlements in southern Labrador represent an extension of Inuit land use territories is expressed through the continuity with traditional subsistence and settlement patterns in central and northern Labrador. It is most probable that the intentions of the Inuit living in southern Labrador were to occupy the land during multiple seasons of the year, exploiting a typical land use pattern (**Doc. 01_13, p. 119**)²⁴.

The Snack Cove sites on Huntingdon Island in southern Labrador showed continuity in the subsistence and settlement patterns, social organization, architecture, interaction patterns and tool forms with the Inuit in northern Labrador (**Doc. 01_13, p. 127**)²⁵.

Archaeological evidence from Snack Cove and other areas of southern Labrador coupled with ethnohistoric data indicate that the Inuit had extended their land use to include southern Labrador on a year-round basis. It is clear from archaeological investigations of the Snack Cove sites that the intentions behind the occupations in

¹⁹ Jordan, R.H. & Kaplan, S.A. (1980). An archaeological view of the Inuit / European contact period in Central Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 4(1), pp. 35-45, p.6

²⁰ Rankin, Lisa K. (2013). The Role of the Inuit in the European Settlement of Sandwich Bay, Labrador. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.), *Exploring Atlantic Transitions. Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 310-319). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.5.

²¹ Fitzhugh, William W. (2009). Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The Less 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec. In Bjarne Gronnow (ed.) *On the Track of the Thule Culture from Bering Strait to East Greenland* (pp. 129-148). National Museum of Denmark: Copenhagen, p.8

²² Fitzhugh, William W. (2007). Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec. Smithsonian Institution. pp. 1-22., p.8.

²³ Rankin, Lisa K. (2009). An Archeological View of the Thule/Inuit Occupation of Labrador. Memorial University. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-52, p.29.

²⁴ Brewster, Natalie (2005). The Inuit in Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Master's Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-152, p.119.

²⁵ Ibid, p.127.

southern Labrador were to create a way of life similar to that of Inuit living in northern Labrador (**Doc. 01_13, p. 128**)²⁶.

Archaeological evidence has shown that the Inuit settled as far south as the Strait of Belle Isle (**Doc. 01_13, p. 29**)²⁷.

A thorough analysis of early historic maps, Inuit toponyms and early European documents has turned up many references to the Inuit in southern Labrador (**Doc. 03_3, pp. 3-4**)²⁸.

The limited archaeological data and ethnohistoric evidence all indicate that the Inuit maintained year-round occupations in southern Labrador and had a social and economic organization similar to that in more northerly regions (**Doc. 01_13, p. 12**)²⁹.

The archival records indicate a range of activities that points to occupancy and resource procurement, not short-term trade (**Doc. 01_8, p. 14**)³⁰.

Settlement south of Hamilton Inlet included warm and cold season habitation within the rich resource zones of the North Shore and the Strait of Belle Isle. Descriptions of dwellings, resource use and social groupings support a multi-season presence by Inuit who essentially carried out traditional seasonal land use practices, at the same time incorporating European goods (**Doc. 01_8, p. 15**)³¹.

The nature of Inuit presence as suggested by the archaeological evidence points to various resource-based, multi-season activities (**Doc. 01_8, p. 24**)³².

The archival and archaeological evidence presents a good case for year-round Inuit occupancy and land use in southern Labrador and the North Shore from the mid 1500's to the mid 1700's (**Doc. 01_8, p. 27**)³³.

Remains indicate multi-season hunting and settlement, trapping, resource preparation and cultural and spiritual activities, not to mention trading with Europeans. The presence of larger numbers of people in the summer, smaller numbers in the winter and

²⁶ Ibid, p.128.

²⁷ Ibid, p.29.

²⁸ Rankin, Lisa K. (2010). A People for All Seasons: Expressions of Inuit Identity over the past 500 Years in Southern Labrador. In L.A. Meyer et al., Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity (pp. 332-340). University of Calgary: Calgary, p.3-4.

²⁹ Brewster, Natalie (2005). The Inuit in Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Master's Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-152, p.12.

³⁰ Stopp, Marianne P. (2002). Reconsidering Inuit presence in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 26(2), pp. 71-106, p.14.

³¹ Ibid, p.15.

³² Ibid, p.24.

³³ Ibid, p.27.

family social organization resembles the settlement demographics in northern Labrador **(Doc. 01_8, p. 28)**³⁴.

Numerous historic documents from the contact period indicate the presence of Inuit dwellings in the Strait of Belle Isle and along the coast of southern Labrador **(Doc. 01_13, p. 40)**³⁵.

In 1694, Louis Jolliet surveyed the coast between Mingan and Zoar, just north of Hamilton Inlet **(Doc. 03_5, p. 9)**³⁶. He described Inuit sites and people he met around Chateau Bay and Cape Charles **(Doc. 01_25, p. 3)**³⁷. He noted the presence of Inuit men, women, boys and girls living along the southern Labrador coast and that the villages he visited were headed by a Chief **(Doc. 01_13, p. 115)**³⁸.

By the 18th century, the Inuit are known to have ventured into southernmost Labrador and the Strait of Belle Isle **(Doc. 01_3, p. 85)**³⁹.

47) Historical records report that Inuit made trips to southern Labrador (especially Sandwich Bay and Chateau Bay) on at least seasonal bases to conduct trade **(Doc. 01_3, p. 86)**⁴⁰.

In 1743, Fornel went to Hamilton Inlet and noticed that the Inuit lived in villages **(Doc. 01_13, pp. 115-116)**⁴¹. He noted many encounters with “Eskimaux” travelling in canoes and boats **(Doc. 02_15, pp. 2-3, 7-8)**⁴². He remarked that the Eskimaux formerly “ascended to Mingan, but the establishments made along the coast compelled them to move away” **(Doc. 02_15, p. 9)**⁴³; that they were “scattered from Belleisle strait along the sea to Hudson strait” **(Doc. 02_15, p. 10)**⁴⁴ and that during the summer, they “wander and rove” **(Doc. 02_15, p. 10)**⁴⁵.

³⁴ Ibid, p.28.

³⁵ Brewster, Natalie (2005). The Inuit in Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Master's Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-152, p.40.

³⁶ Stopp, Marianne (2008). The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright. McGill-Queen's University Press, p.9.

³⁷ Fitzhugh, William W. (2015). The Inuit archeology of the Quebec Lower North Shore, *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 39(1), pp. 37-62, p.3.

³⁸ Brewster, Natalie (2005). The Inuit in Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Master's Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-152, p.115.

³⁹ Woollett, James M. (2003). An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change. Dissertation. The City University of New York, p.85.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.86.

⁴¹ Brewster, Natalie (2005). The Inuit in Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Master's Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-152, p.115-116.

⁴² Narrative of a voyage by Sieur Louis Fornel to La Baye des Eskimaux, 16 May to 27 Aug. 1743. An English Translation of the Original French Narrative from Documents of the Enquiry into the Labrador Boundary by the British Privy Council. (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1929), p.2-3;7-8.

⁴³ Ibid, p.9.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.10.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.10.

The first archaeological survey of the coast between Chateau Bay and Sandwich Bay resulted in evidence of Inuit. Some sods houses in the sample could be dated to the late 19th to early 20th centuries. Another set of sold houses dated to the late 18th century or earlier. The survey pointed to multi-season Inuit settlement in southern Labrador where trade or scavenging at European fishing sites fitted in with a wider spectrum of complex year-round resource exploitation (**Doc. 01_10, p. 6**)⁴⁶.

The people living at the encampments described in the archival records generally consisted of entire families. Family groupings correspond well with a picture of occupancy. The large groupings of Inuit, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, suggest an established presence. There appears to be a general correspondence between settlement patterning and size in the south and that of northern Labrador. The presence of entire families in the south, through both the warm and cold season, and their distribution, also suggests occupancy rather than temporary visits (**Doc. 01_8, p. 13**)⁴⁷.

Moravian missionaries recorded answers to series of questions that they asked “the Esquimaux Indians” in or around 1765. They called themselves “Caralit”, all along the coast as far as “72. deg. North”. There were about 300, but “perhaps as many staid at home”. This referred only to those who lived south of Davis’s Inlet. “These who come here” lived at Esquimaux Bay and Mille Isles (**Doc. 02_1, p. 35**)⁴⁸. They spoke of Caralit who live northward of them. No Europeans lived near them (**Doc. 02_1, p. 37**)⁴⁹. They were not friends with the northward Caralit (**Doc. 02_1, p. 25**)⁵⁰.

Captain George Cartwright went on a voyage to Fogo in 1771 and took with him Shuglawina, described as being a chief among the southern Labrador Inuit (**Doc. 01_1, p. 21**)⁵¹.

Cartwright’s journal during his 16 years on the coast of Labrador mentioned “Esquimaux”, or evidence of them, in various locations: 1774: Esquimaux on Otter Island (**Doc. 02_6, p. 24**)⁵²; 1776: “we observed, that the Esquimaux had encamped on [Swallow Island]” (**Doc. 02_6, p. 200**)⁵³; 1777: some old Esquimaux shallows near Ivucktoke Bay (**Doc. 02_6, p. 268**)⁵⁴; 1778: a broken grapnel left by some of the

⁴⁶ Stopp, Marianne P. (2015). Faceted Inuit-European contact in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 39(1), pp. 63-89, p.6.

⁴⁷ Stopp, Marianne P. (2002). Reconsidering Inuit presence in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 26(2), pp. 71-106, p.13.

⁴⁸ Lysaght, A.M. (1971). *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766: His Diary, Manuscripts and Collections*. Faber and Faber: London, p.35.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.37.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.25.

⁵¹ Martijn, Charles A. (2009). *Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, Circa 1550-1800 CE*, p.21.

⁵² Cartwright, George (1792). *A Journal of Transactions and Events during a Residence of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador, Vol. II*. Printed by Allin and Ridge, p.24.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p.200.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.268.

Esquimaux near Sutton Bay (**Doc. 02_6, p. 359**)⁵⁵; 1779: Ivucktoke Bay, where they saw so many dead Esquimaux (**Doc. 02_6, p. 461**)⁵⁶; 1779: Round Island made a snug, small harbour for shallows and was used by the Esquimaux for that purpose (**Doc. 02_6, p. 495**)⁵⁷; and 1779: on the south side of Iglo Harbour in the Isle of Ponds, the ruins of two Esquimaux winter-houses... (**Doc. 02_6, p. 529**)⁵⁸. In 1783, Cartwright recorded two of the southernmost Inuit communities of that time, at Spotted Islands and Huntingdon Island (**Doc. 03_5, p. 15**)⁵⁹.

In 2007, Dr. William Fitzhugh discovered winter/summer Inuit houses at the Hart Chalet site, near the Bradore River. He identified three sites with mounded walls characteristic of 17th–18th century Inuit dwellings and noted their unusual location in a sheltered forested bay near the river's outlet (**Doc. 06, p. 273**)⁶⁰.

Dr. Lisa Rankin's 2009 report provides a comprehensive summary of academic understandings of Inuit occupation in south and central Labrador. She emphasizes that Thule Inuit were not merely isolated traders or occasional visitors to European settlements but had a more established presence in the region (**Doc. 06, p. 15**)⁶¹.

Dr. Rankin's March 2009 report confirms that the Inuit had year-round settlements in south and central Labrador well before the mid-1600s. They lived in extended family groups within their traditional territory, rather than making seasonal trading trips. Dr. Rankin notes that archaeological evidence indicates year-round Inuit settlement in southern Labrador by the mid-17th century, rather than just seasonal trading trips (**Doc. 06, p. 15**)⁶².

In the 1970s, experts agreed on Inuit presence in southern Labrador by 1540 but had different competing hypotheses regarding its extent and purpose at the time of contact (**Doc. 06, pp. 13-14**)⁶³.

Scholars agree that the Inuit occupied south and central Labrador consistently and extensively long before the mid-1700s. Evidence confirms their presence in the region prior to the mid-1500s (**Doc. 06, p. 11**)⁶⁴.

Thule Inuit migrated to Labrador in waves, with the first arriving around 1200. Additional waves followed between 1400 and 1500, and a final wave in the 1900s resettled Hebron

⁵⁵ Ibid, p.359.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.461.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.495.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p.529.

⁵⁹ Stopp, Marianne (2008). *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*. McGill-Queen's University Press, p.15.

⁶⁰ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.273.

⁶¹ Ibid, p.15.

⁶² Ibid, p.15.

⁶³ Ibid, p.13-14.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p.11.

to counter population losses from disease, including the Spanish Influenza (**Doc. 06, p. 11**)⁶⁵.

Archaeological projects in Sandwich Bay have clearly documented the long-term, significant, and year-round Inuit presence in southern Labrador (**Doc. 06, p. 11**)⁶⁶.

Dr. Gordon Handcock notes that Cartwright's journals indicate Inuit families occupied Hamilton Inlet, Island of Ponds, and Sandwich Bay in the 1770s, likely as year-round settlements or over-wintering sites for Inuit who spent the rest of the year in the south. The number of houses in Hamilton Inlet suggests a winter population of 160-200 people (**Doc. 06, p. 23**)⁶⁷.

Inuit seasonal transhumance land use patterns are still evident in the Inuit-descendant communities of south and central Labrador. While this lifestyle had declined (67) in Moravian communities, it remained strong in others, as shown in maps by Tony Williamson of the Labrador Institute in his 1977 paper for Petro Canada, "Initial Social and Economic Evaluation of the Labrador Coast" (**Doc. 06, p. 103**)⁶⁸.

John Kennedy's 2001 project for the Coasts under Stress Project shows that Inuit populations continued their traditional land and resource use, wintering in unsheltered bays and spending spring on headlands and islands. Despite challenges like disease, the Great Depression, and resettlement policies, this pattern persisted until the 1992 cod fishery moratorium, which had severe impacts (**Doc. 06, p. 103**)⁶⁹.

Today's land and sea use patterns in South/Central Labrador closely resemble historical harvesting practices, with slight adjustments for the wage economy. In the 1970s, Inuit descendants maintained a migratory lifestyle based on resource availability and wage dependence. Tony Williamson's 1980 study highlighted that southern Labrador had a significantly higher number of people in transit during various seasons compared to the north, following settlement in central communities after World War II (**Doc. 06, p. 261**)⁷⁰.

The traditional mobility and transhumance for harvesting can indicate cultural retention, with Inuit in northern Moravian communities showing less of this practice than those in the south into the 20th century. Southern Labrador saw significant settlement only after World War II, as reflected in the 1935 census. Despite being gathered into fewer communities by the 1970s, Inuit descendants in the south continued to access the same resources and follow ancestral traditions, remaining connected to the land (**Doc. 06, p. 262**)⁷¹.

Dr. John Kennedy's 2001 'Coasts under Stress' Project found that despite challenges like disease, the Great Depression, and resettlement policies, Inuit land use patterns persisted until the 1992 cod fishery moratorium, which had severe impacts. Kennedy's

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.11.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p.11.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.23.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.103.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.103.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.261.

⁷¹ Ibid, p.262.

informants in Lodge Bay, Mary's Harbour, St. Lewis, Port Hope Simpson, and Makkovik were deeply connected to their environment, showing extensive knowledge of local species such as salmon, char, rabbits, caribou, seals, and whales, as well as environmental factors like tree growth rates and snowfall (**Doc. 06, p. 332**)⁷².

Thule villages typically consisted of three to five families, maximizing access to seasonally available resources. They followed a seasonal transhumance pattern, with each family group utilizing a specific tract of land for resource gathering (**Doc. 06, p. 29**)⁷³.

Inuit representatives describe harvesting activities in both marine and freshwater areas, including whales, seals, and cod from the sea, salmon from rivers, and deer, foxes, bears, and wolves on land. This transhumance land use pattern persists to this day (**Doc. 06, p. 30**)⁷⁴.

The Inuit of south/central Labrador maintained their traditional transhumance land use patterns, blending trade practices with subsistence harvesting, a way of life passed down for at least a century (**Doc. 06, p. 85**)⁷⁵.

Roger Curtis observed that by 1772, the Moravians had succeeded in reducing the seasonal mobility of the Nonynoke Inuit. He hoped that the Ogbucktoke, who still maintained their traditional transhumance lifestyle, might also benefit from trade by limiting their presence in the south (**Doc. 06, p. 88**)⁷⁶.

Resource maps for communities such as Lodge Bay, Mary's Harbour, Fox Harbour, Port Hope Simpson, and others clearly show the ongoing seasonal transhumance land use pattern (**Doc. 06, p. 103**)⁷⁷.

The Inuit transhumance lifestyle, which involved both yearly and longer cycles across the land and seascape, their mobility, complex relations with Europeans, and challenging geography resulted in European observers providing inconsistent and fragmented views of the Inuit population in Labrador as a modern community (**Doc. 06, p. 118**)⁷⁸.

Inuit, particularly Thule and Modern Inuit, are not only transhumance societies but also rapid movers. They defy conventional territorial boundaries by following marine resources throughout the Arctic's seasonal cycles and seeking opportunities for acquiring iron and engaging in trade (**Doc. 06, p. 119**)⁷⁹.

Seasonal transhumance remains a key feature of Inuit culture, fostering community through summer aggregations and winter dispersals while maximizing resource use in a sustainable way. W.H.A. Davies observed this pattern among "half-breeds" in the

⁷² Ibid, p.332.

⁷³ Ibid, p.29.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.30.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.85.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.88.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.103.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p.118.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.119.

1840s, and substantial evidence shows its continuation in the Inuit population until the forced resettlements of the 1960s (**Doc. 06, p. 240**)⁸⁰.

Dr. Hanrahan found that the lifestyle of Inuit members was based on seasonal transhumance, with many moving two to three times a year. Summer stations were larger groups on islands or headlands, while smaller family groups wintered in wooded bays. Travel and intercommunity visits were common along the coast, as evidenced by genealogies showing intermarriage between communities, like Sandwich Bay women marrying Mary's Harbour men (**Doc. 06, p. 240**)⁸¹.

The Inuit population in Labrador lived a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, relying on a geographically dispersed resource base of migratory animals like fish, whales, seals, foxes, and caribou. Their well-adapted technologies and the vast, challenging landscape led to a pattern of seasonal transhumance, utilizing coastal areas, islands, rivers, and inland hunting and trapping grounds (**Doc. 06, p. 293**)⁸².

Inuit followed a seasonal transhumance pattern, with each extended family or group utilizing a specific tract of land for resources. Natalie Brewster notes that they exploited every coastal ecological niche, moving through their territory in a seasonal cycle that ensured maximum access to available resources. As Dr. Stopp explains, each season involved settlement moves aligned with resource procurement (**Doc. 06, p. 324**)⁸³.

Inuit seasonal transhumance land use patterns are still evident in the Inuit-descendant communities of south and central Labrador. This is shown in Tony Williamson's 1977 maps, which detail the "migratory patterns" of communities like Lodge Bay, Mary's Harbour, Fox Harbour, and others, reflecting the ongoing seasonal transhumance lifestyle (**Doc. 06, p. 326**)⁸⁴.

Stopp explains that Inuit presence in southern Labrador can be understood from an environmental perspective, as the area south of Hamilton Inlet is rich in resources. The coastline supports migratory sea mammals, birds, anadromous fish, and various land mammals and freshwater species. The Strait of Belle Isle serves as a natural funnel for pack ice and migrating sea mammals. The region offered subsistence security throughout the year, with advantages over more northerly areas, including easier access to caribou, sea mammal populations, and a greater diversity of species due to milder temperatures. The island archipelagos and deep bays between Chateaux Bay and Hamilton Inlet were ideal for hunting seals, fishing, and land hunting. (**Doc. 06, p. 260**)⁸⁵.

A cohesive Inuit place name system in south and central Labrador reflects a sophisticated level of spatial organization. This toponymic system was established from

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.240.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.240.

⁸² Ibid, p.293.

⁸³ Ibid, p.324.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.326.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.260.

the earliest European encounters and remained in use at least into the 20th century, even after European sovereignty was established **(Doc. 06, p. 25)**⁸⁶.

Inuit place name systems represent their adaptation to and appropriation of specific environments over time. These names reflect how Inuit have observed, analyzed, and organized their surroundings, using their linguistic tools to create names for spaces. Through oral tradition, Inuit developed mental maps and an oral record of geographical and environmental knowledge. As such, toponyms reflect spatial organization, land use practices, and the establishment of human territoriality **(Doc. 06, p. 25)**⁸⁷.

Dr. Rollmann confirms that the toponyms on the 1765 Haven map align with other Inuit place name systems, reflecting Inuit land use, occupancy, and territoriality. These names are rooted in local geographical and environmental knowledge, identifying physical conditions, resources, and areas for human habitation, while also reflecting cultural and religious significance **(Doc. 06, p. 27)**⁸⁸.

Dr. Douglas Wharram has conducted detailed analysis of the toponyms on the Haven map, while Dr. Ludger Muller-Wille suggests that the place names were created with practical utility in mind. They focus on the location, orientation, and identification of resources, as well as evaluating the physical topography for settlement placement and travel routes on land, sea, and ice **(Doc. 06, p. 27)**⁸⁹.

Due to limitations in language use, some toponyms on the Haven map show transcription errors and linguistic interference with Greenlandic. However, the journal documenting the collection of these place names confirms that the names gathered by the missionaries were authentic Inuit names, despite transcription deficiencies **(Doc. 06, p. 48)**⁹⁰.

Various types of evidence support the Inuit's exclusive use and occupation of their claim area, including European records, Inuit and European place names, archaeological findings, and testimony from the Inuit themselves **(Doc. 06, p. 292)**⁹¹.

The toponymy of Southern Labrador reflects Inuit presence, with Inuit place names recorded by Europeans and European names like Baie des Esquimaux attesting to their occupation. In contrast, there is no similar toponymic record for the Innu in that region **(Doc. 06, p. 292)**⁹².

European explorers, from the earliest contact, documented Inuit presence in Southern Labrador and the North Shore of the St. Lawrence through observations and place names. Stopp highlights that archival, archaeological, cartographic, and toponymic evidence suggests Inuit presence on the Quebec North Shore as early as the 16th

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.25.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.25.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.27.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.27.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.48.

⁹¹ Ibid, p.292.

⁹² Ibid, p.292.

century, with place names like Baie des Esquimaux marking their occupation **(Doc. 06, p. 294)**⁹³.

Inuit presence on the Southern coast is further supported by numerous Inuit place names recorded by Europeans in south/central Labrador. Lieutenant Curtis and Moravian missionaries documented these toponyms, and Rankin et al. conclude that by the mid-18th century, Inuit presence in Southern and Central Labrador was widespread **(Doc. 06, p. 295)**⁹⁴.

Early European maps clearly depict significant Inuit occupation of south and central Labrador from the 1500s through the time of sovereignty. The "Toponymic and Cartographic Research" report by Drs. Hancock, Ramsden, Rankin, Rollmann, and Wharram summarizes these early maps, showing that Inuit presence was widely recognized and consistently observed by early European visitors to the region **(Doc. 06, p. 322)**⁹⁵.

The cohesive Inuit place name system in south and central Labrador demonstrates sophisticated spatial organization, supporting regular use and occupation of the land. This system, in place from early European encounters through European sovereignty and into the 20th century, reflects Inuit land use, occupancy, and territoriality. The place names convey geographical and environmental knowledge, identifying locations, resources, and potential for human habitation, including cultural and religious significance **(Doc. 06, p. 326)**⁹⁶.

The toponyms on the 1765 map are representative of Inuit place name systems and cover a wide area, from Quirpon and Sacred Bay in Newfoundland to Hamilton Inlet. The 1872 and 1873 maps confirm that these place names remained in use throughout that period **(Doc. 06, p. 326)**⁹⁷.

The Inuit presence in central and southern Labrador involved permanent settlement and regular use of specific land areas for seasonal hunting, fishing, and resource gathering. This is supported by archaeological evidence, European encounter records, maps, place names, and Inuit testimony **(Doc. 06, p. 327)**⁹⁸.

Inuit communities consistently returned to the same seasonal locations year after year, sometimes for generations or centuries, developing a strong connection and deep familiarity with these areas. These seasonal resource zones were considered "definite tracts of land" with regular use by the Inuit **(Doc. 06, p. 321)**⁹⁹.

⁹³ Ibid, p.294.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p.295.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p.322.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p.326.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p.326.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p.327.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p.321.

After the treaty conference, the Inuit returned to their resource areas in south and central Labrador, where they shared the outcomes of the treaty with others and discussed what steps to take next **(Doc. 06, p. 42)**¹⁰⁰.

European records provide evidence of Inuit use and occupation of specific locations, including village sites and hunting and fishing areas. These records also suggest Inuit efforts to exclude others, reflected in conflicts and avoidance with both the Innu and Europeans. Notably, while early European accounts frequently document encounters with Inuit, there is a marked scarcity of documented encounters with the Innu **(Doc. 06, p. 292)**¹⁰¹.

At the time of sovereignty, evidence shows that the Inuit regularly used and occupied seasonal resource areas in south and central Labrador, including inland waterways, river systems, and areas for caribou hunting and trapping **(Doc. 06, p. 322)**¹⁰².

The Inuit population in Labrador, with its hunter-gatherer lifestyle, relied on a geographically dispersed resource base, including migratory animals like fish, whales, seals, foxes, and caribou. Their well-adapted technologies and the challenging environment led to a seasonal transhumance pattern, utilizing identifiable seasonal resource areas. **(Doc. 06, p. 322)**¹⁰³.

The seasonal resource areas used by the Inuit included coastal regions, islands, and inland areas along rivers, as well as hunting and trapping grounds. These tracts of land were regularly occupied, providing sufficient grounds for establishing Aboriginal Title from both European and Aboriginal perspectives **(Doc. 06, p. 322)**¹⁰⁴.

Historical evidence shows a significant Inuit population in southern Labrador, with most concentrated at identifiable resource areas. In 1764, the Moravians estimated the population in this region to be around 600, excluding those north of Davis Inlet **(Doc. 06, p. 323)**¹⁰⁵.

The evidence demonstrates that the Inuit regularly used specific tracts of land and marine areas for hunting, gathering, and fishing, returning seasonally to these resource areas. This regular use of defined locations supports the establishment of Title **(Doc. 06, pp. 324-325)**¹⁰⁶.

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 **(Doc. 06, p. 326)**¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p.42.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p.292.

¹⁰² Ibid, p.322.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.322.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.322.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p.323.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p.324-325.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.326.

The Inuit in southern Labrador intended to occupy the land year-round, following a typical Inuit land use pattern. Their occupations in the region were permanent (**Doc. 06, p. 11**)¹⁰⁸.

The Inuit intended to occupy lands in south and central Labrador from at least the mid-1500s, following a typical land use pattern throughout multiple seasons of the year (**Doc. 06, p. 25**)¹⁰⁹.

Thule Inuit used a wide range of land, including all of coastal Labrador and inland areas accessible by river systems. Frank Speck confirms that caribou hunting occurred in the interior, with continuous residence inland from Hamilton Inlet and Lake Melville (**Doc. 06, p. 29**)¹¹⁰.

The harvest of various species, as described by Inuit in 1765, includes both marine and freshwater resources. They mentioned harvesting whales, seals, and cod from the sea, salmon from rivers, and deer, foxes, bears, wolves, and other animals from land. This transhumance land use pattern persists today, as evidenced by the 1977 PetroCanada study charts. Inuit informants from 1721 and 1732 also reported trapping and consuming caribou, seals, polar bears, black bears, foxes, otters, martens, trout, and various fish (**Doc. 06, p. 30**)¹¹¹.

Thule villages traditionally consisted of three to five families living in a specific area. While not sedentary, these populations maintained a permanent presence. The Inuit's occupation of southern Labrador during the early contact period reflected typical Inuit land use patterns (**Doc. 06, p. 31**)¹¹².

The Inuit seasonal transhumance land use patterns are still evident in the Inuit-descendant communities of south and central Labrador. While this lifestyle declined in the Moravian communities, it persisted strongly in the south/central Labrador communities. This is supported by maps created by Tony Williamson in 1977 for a Petro Canada report, which show the continued presence of these patterns in the region (**Doc. 06, p. 103**)¹¹³.

The maps illustrating "migratory patterns on the Labrador Coast" show the ongoing seasonal transhumance land use pattern in communities like Lodge Bay, Mary's Harbour, Fox Harbour, and others. These patterns reflect the continued seasonal movement for resource use in these coastal areas. However, the maps do not depict inland and riverine usage, which also remains a part of the resource use patterns in these communities and other NunatuKavut communities (**Doc. 06, p. 103**)¹¹⁴.

John Kennedy's 2001 project for the Coasts under Stress Project highlights the ongoing land and resource use patterns in the region. He describes how the population

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p.11.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.25.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.29.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p.30.

¹¹² Ibid, p.31.

¹¹³ Ibid, p.103.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p.103.

traditionally wintered in unsheltered bays and spent spring on headlands and islands. Despite challenges like disease, the Great Depression, and resettlement policies, this seasonal land use pattern persisted until the 1992 cod fishery moratorium, which had severe consequences on the community **(Doc. 06, p. 103)**¹¹⁵.

The toponymy of Southern Labrador reflects Inuit presence, with both Inuit place names recorded by Europeans and European names, like Baie des Esquimaux, indicating Inuit use and occupation in the region **(Doc. 06, p. 292)**¹¹⁶.

The archaeological record shows extensive Inuit use and occupation, with evidence of village sites, hunting areas, and other resource usage. In contrast, there is no similar archaeological record indicating intensive Innu presence in the region **(Doc. 06, p. 292)**¹¹⁷.

The Court of Appeal of Newfoundland and Labrador in the Labrador Metis Nation case confirmed clear evidence of Inuit genetic, cultural, and land use continuity. The communities have consistently self-identified as "Aboriginal" and "from Labrador," and ongoing research has strengthened their understanding of their Inuit heritage. The key factor is self-identification within the community, which has been clearly met, regardless of external recognition by government or other organizations **(Doc. 06, p. 306)**¹¹⁸.

The Inuit in southern Labrador intended to occupy the land year-round, following a typical Inuit land use pattern. Their occupations in the region were permanent, with seasonal movement tied to resource availability **(Doc. 06, p. 320)**¹¹⁹.

The seasonal transhumance land use patterns of Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador are evident in maps created by Tony Williamson in 1977. These maps, which depict the migratory patterns of various communities, show the continued seasonal movement for resource use. However, the maps do not include inland and riverine use, which also remains a part of the communities' ongoing land use practices **(Doc. 06, p. 322)**¹²⁰.

Dr. John Kennedy's 2001 'Coasts under Stress' Project found that despite external challenges like disease, the Great Depression, and resettlement policies, the Inuit seasonal land use patterns in southern Labrador continued. However, the 1992 cod fishery moratorium had a devastating impact on these practices **(Doc. 06, p. 322)**¹²¹.

The 1765 Labrador Inuit Treaty recognized the Inuit's continued Title to central and southern Labrador and implicitly ensured the Inuit could maintain their way of life and self-government, guaranteeing continued access to resources for self-sustenance and trade **(Doc. 06, p. 33)**¹²².

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.103.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.292.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p.292.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p.306.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p.320.

¹²⁰ Ibid, p.322.

¹²¹ Ibid, p.322.

¹²² Ibid, p.33.

The 1765 Treaty between the Inuit of south/central Labrador and the Crown, now protected by section 35 of the Constitution, affirms their rights to harvest wildlife, utilize natural resources, and maintain self-government. It recognizes their Aboriginal Title, which is now held by the NunatuKavut communities as a legacy for future generations. The government must now acknowledge and implement these Treaty rights (**Doc. 06, p. 62**)¹²³.

The Inuit have continuously occupied their territory, maintaining their traditional land use. By the late 19th century, they were still living and harvesting resources at Pitts Arm, the site of the 1765 Labrador Treaty (**Doc. 06, p. 62**)¹²⁴.

After 1765, the Inuit continued to use and occupy their territory in south and central Labrador on a regular, multi-seasonal basis. However, they faced increasing displacement, first from seasonal non-resident fisheries and later from a more permanent non-Inuit presence in some areas (**Doc. 06, p. 86**)¹²⁵.

The 1765 Treaty Conference discussions show that the Inuit of south and central Labrador saw themselves as a unified group with shared interests, language, and goals, distinct from northern Inuit. They clearly identified central and southern Labrador as their homeland (**Doc. 06, p. 305**)¹²⁶.

The assertion of British sovereignty around 1763 did not disrupt the Inuit's exclusive use and occupation of their territory. The Inuit demonstrated the intention and capacity to exclude other groups, reinforcing their claim to the land.

British sovereignty over Labrador is generally dated to the Treaty of Paris in 1763, though some argue it could be earlier (1758–1759). However, Inuit occupation remained unchanged during this period, having existed since the 1500s. The 1763 date is proposed as the relevant legal marker for British sovereignty (**Doc. 06, pp. 10-11**)¹²⁷.

The Treaty Conference between Palliser and the Inuit of south and central Labrador established a Treaty Relationship of Peace and Friendship (**Doc. 06, p. 57**)¹²⁸.

The date of British sovereignty in Labrador is generally considered to be around the Treaty of Paris in 1763. However, there was no significant change in Inuit occupation during the 1750s or 1760s. Additionally, evidence from the surrounding years further supports the Inuit's exclusive use and occupation of the land at the time of sovereignty (**Doc. 06, p. 293**)¹²⁹.

There is strong evidence that the Inuit of Southern Labrador maintained a distinct territory separate from the Innu. At the time of British sovereignty, the Inuit regularly used and occupied south and central Labrador, including inland waterways, river

¹²³ Ibid, p.62.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p.62.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p.86.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p.305.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.10-11.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.57.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p.293.

systems, and areas for caribou hunting and trapping various mammals (**Doc. 06, p. 296**)¹³⁰.

Until and beyond the time of sovereignty, the Inuit had exclusive use and occupation of the Labrador coast and some river systems. The Innu primarily stayed in the interior, visiting the coast only periodically. Both groups maintained separate territories, with mechanisms to preserve this divide. It was only after the establishment of permanent trading posts by traders like Cartwright post-sovereignty that the Innu began to visit the coast more regularly, primarily for short trade visits (**Doc. 06, p. 298**)¹³¹.

Until after British sovereignty, the Inuit, despite being generally peaceful, made significant efforts to exclude Europeans from south and central Labrador, and were largely successful in doing so (**Doc. 06, p. 300**)¹³².

The Inuit of central and southern Labrador were a distinct cultural group with exclusive use and occupation of the region at the time of British sovereignty in 1763. They maintained this exclusive occupation through their physical presence, relationship to the land, and efforts to exclude others from their territory (**Doc. 06, p. 301**)¹³³.

The Inuit of central and southern Labrador maintained a distinct territory separate from the Innu. At the time of British sovereignty, the Inuit regularly used specific areas in southern and central Labrador, including inland waterways, river systems, and regions for trapping and caribou hunting. In contrast, the Innu primarily inhabited inland areas and visited the coast occasionally for fishing or trade (**Doc. 06, p. 328**)¹³⁴.

Frank G. Speck notes in his essay that “In 1914 Beothuk and Indian relationships were investigated in the field and published. On the last occasion, elements of Beothuk and Eskimo culture were a center of attention, the ecology of the two fundamentally different cultures of the Labradorean aborigines, Eskimo and Indian was borne in mind as a problem for detailed future research. The two racial types with their cultural divergences of being segregated in their development, to the two physical zones, the coast (Eskimo) And the interior plateau, (Indian) implying certain historical or organic factors as operating in human migrations, culture shifts, and biotic adjustments” (**Doc. 04_1, p. 3**)¹³⁵.

Speck states “Investigation in the summer of 1934 of the alleged inland life and residence of Eskimo in northeastern Labrador led to the disclosure of the following facts relative to a small band of the people living inland from Nachvak westward to the drainage area of Whale River. This group habitually occupies the hinterland and possesses a type of culture, determined by the inland environment, not the coast” (**Doc. 04_1, p. 3**)¹³⁶.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p.296.

¹³¹ Ibid, p.298.

¹³² Ibid, p.300.

¹³³ Ibid, p.301.

¹³⁴ Ibid, p.328.

¹³⁵ Speck, Frank G. (1936). Inland Eskimo Bands of Labrador. In Essays in Anthropology. Books for Libraries Press, Inc. Freeport, New York, pp. 313-330, p.3.

¹³⁶ Ibid, p.3.

Speck notes, “there are correspondences in a number of features between the arts and crafts of the interior Indians and the southern Labrador Eskimo some of which are to be noted,” which, “may possibly link up to form a chain of evidence indicating a cultural rapprochement between Indians and Eskimo in the Labradorean area.” Speck further states, “...we may consider the other, alternative that of there having been an ancient inland and coastal culture of mixed composition retaining however strong in land traits as the form of culture possessed by the Labrador Eskimo at the time of their migration into the country” (Doc. 04_1, p. 6)¹³⁷.

Speck notes that “After the massacre of Eskimo at Battle harbor the retreat to Sandwich Bay around Cartwright left them in their last stronghold. Here the Neteetu’miut were located, the term translated as “People of the Valley,” and also by an alternative, “Seal Hunting People.” Mixed-blood survivors still dwell in these environs and Hawkes reported, in 1914, still two old women there who spoke Eskimo among others who showed physical characteristics of the race” (Doc. 04_1, p. 11)¹³⁸.

Speck makes the concluding assumptions that “Eskimo were, until their extirpation by the Montagnais-Naskapi Indians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, permanent residents of the southern and southeastern interior and coasts of the Labrador peninsula, within the gulf of St. Lawrence as far west as the 65th latitude, and of northern Newfoundland, dividing their time as limited nomads between the interior and the coast according to season, as do the still existing bands on the northeastern coast,” and that “a blending of Eskimo and Indian blood and culture had started to develop among the southern Labrador representatives of the groups, despite the contrary evidence of cranial features as reported by Hallowell” (Doc. 04_1, p. 14)¹³⁹.

Lawrence Jackson notes “the northern coast was held by the ancestors of today’s Inuit population and the interior was the domain of the Naskapi and Montagnais Indians, the latter often migrating to bays on the southern coast in summer” (Doc. 04_2, p. 9)¹⁴⁰.

A report prepared by the Minaskuat Limited Partnership notes that “writing about the opening of the new mission station at Zoar (near Voisey’s Bay) in 1865, the missionaries observe that the “settlers” expressed an identity as “half-breeds” and considered themselves distinct from that of the Inuit” (Doc. 05_3, p. 16)¹⁴¹.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p.6.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p.11.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p.14.

¹⁴⁰ Jackson, Lawrence (1982). Bounty of a Barren Coast: Resource Harvest and Settlement in Southern Labrador. Prepared for Petro Canada Explorations Ltd, p.9.

¹⁴¹ Minaskuat Limited Partnership (2005). A Historical Profile of the Labrador Coast Area's Mixed European-Indian or Mixed European-Inuit Ancestry Community. Prepared for Department of Justice Canada, p.16.

A report prepared by the Minaskuat Limited Partnership notes the problems with the term “Labradorian,” is that “it ignores cultural origin, and is consequently used to refer both to residents with and without Inuit ancestors” (Doc. 05_3, p. 19)¹⁴².

A report prepared by the Minaskuat Limited Partnership notes that “the Moravians also used the labels “white settlers,” “English settlers,” or “European settlers” to refer to European newcomers apparently without Inuit ancestry, and more descriptive labels such as “half castes”, “half-breeds” or “mixed Settlers” to refer persons of mixed-ancestry. Anthropologist Helge Kleivan reports that after around 1908, northern Labrador Inuit used the Inuktitut [Inuit language] word “Kablunangajok” “or Half-breeds” a person of mixed European-Inuit ancestry, as opposed to a “Kablunak” or white man” (Doc. 05_3, p. 20)¹⁴³.

Archaeologist Réginald Auger discovered in the Strait of Belle Isle, possible Inuit sod houses are difficult to differentiate from those used by European fishers and this difficulty is due to the growing overlap of material culture items between the two groups through trade and to the growth of mixed Inuit-European households, who would eventually become Labrador’s “settler” population (Doc. 05_3, p. 24)¹⁴⁴.

Neil Reddekopp states, “the claim is being asserted by a group, which does not have a blood quantum, but which is made-up of individuals who do; the material submitted to date, while entirely appropriate and necessary for the purpose for which it has been submitted, are not in a form which is conducive to the calculation of the blood quantum of modern generations of descendants...” (Doc. 05_4, p. 17)¹⁴⁵.

Neil Reddekopp states “it appears justified to conclude that a society drawing from both its European and Inuit forbears began to form in the early nineteenth century; that it took shape in the generation or two that followed the establishment of Hudson’s Bay company posts at North West River and Rigolet in 1835; that this society continued to grow through marriage with new families in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; that in the late nineteenth century the blood quantum in individuals ranged from one-fourth to three-fourths Inuit; that a significant pattern of endogamous marriage has maintained the blood quantum of most members of the family studied in the range of one-fourth Inuit; and that the Labrador Métis remained a numerically significant (and in some areas dominant) portion of Labrador’s population until the time of the Second World War” (Doc. 05_4, p. 17)¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴² Ibid, p.19.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p.20.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p.24.

¹⁴⁵ Reddekopp, Neil (1996). A Review of Genealogical Aspects of the Supplemental Research Submission of the Labrador Metis Association. Prepared for Claims and Historical Research Centre, pp. 1-56, p.17.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p.17.

Conclusion

Extensive archaeological, historical, and ethnohistorical evidence confirms the Inuit's long-term use and occupation of NunatuKavut's asserted territory. From the 16th century onward, Inuit established permanent settlements, engaged in multi-season subsistence activities, and maintained cultural and spiritual practices deeply connected to the land. The 1765 Treaty further recognized their rights to self-governance and resource harvesting within their territory. Despite external pressures and evolving circumstances, the Inuit of southern Labrador demonstrated resilience, preserving their traditional land use patterns and cultural identity. This continuity of occupation and connection to the land provides strong support for their claim to the asserted territory.

3. What historical evidence points to the onset of European contact with the Inuit collective(s) that historically occupied Labrador? Please provide evidence of the date initial stage of contact and how that contact evolved up until the point that European presence is sustained.

***Summary:** Contact between Inuit and Europeans in Labrador began around the 1400's and evolved from indirect contact, during which Inuit might scavenge or steal items from European vessels, to direct contact, which was at first often violent but could instead involve trade, depending on each party's assessment of the other's motives, strengths and vulnerabilities. As direct contact increased, the trading relationship and later a social one came to dominate. A 1765 Treaty between the British and the Inuit at Chateau Bay recognized both relationships and both further developed during especially Captain George Cartwright's time in Labrador, from 1770 to 1786. Over time, Inuit changed their residence patterns in response to European influences, incorporated elements of European culture and married Europeans. See below details drawn from the documents.*

Key Takeaways (Onset and Evolution of Contact)

1. **Date of First Contact:** Inuit-European contact began around the 1400's.
2. **Nature of Contact:** Contact evolved from indirect to direct.
3. **Types of Contact:** Contact moved from Inuit scavenging or stealing, to violent clashes, to trading and social relationships.

Between the 13th and early 16th centuries, the Inuit laid claim to the coast of Labrador down through the Straits of Belle Isle as far as the present day lower north shore of Quebec. For much of the period from contact to the mid 18th century, Europeans and Inuit often came into conflict. While the Inuit regularly traded with Europeans, relations were volatile, as the Inuit strove to maintain control over the coastal regions on which they depended for a livelihood (**Doc. 01_5, p. 6**)¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁷ Korneski, Kurt (2016). Planters, Eskimos, and Indians: Race and the Organization of Trade under the Hudson's Bay Company in Labrador, 1830-50. *Journal of Social History*, 50(2), pp. 307-335, p.6.

The Thule people arrived on southern Baffin Island in the early 13th century and later moved to the Labrador coast, possibly in response to the Norse settlement collapse and the search for European goods. Their contact with Europeans was early but mostly indirect, exposing them to European goods without significant cultural influence. By the 16th century, Thule visits to European outposts in southern Labrador were common **(Doc. 06, p. 17)**¹⁴⁸.

Trade was central to Inuit culture at the time of European contact and has remained important since. Before contact, Inuit maintained extensive trading networks along the coast and Newfoundland. Interaction with the Norse introduced them to European materials, especially metals. Trading with Europeans was a natural extension of this tradition **(Doc. 06, p. 32)**¹⁴⁹.

Dr. Ramsden argues that trade with Europeans was central to Inuit culture and a key reason for the Thule migration to Labrador. Since the 13th century, Thule and Inuit had consistently traded with Europeans, as evidenced by European metal found at Thule sites. The Thule moved to Labrador specifically to obtain metal after losing access to Greenlandic Norse sources, using raiding, scavenging, indirect trade, and direct trade when possible. This migration was swift and purposeful, with strong evidence of European interaction by the 17th century and intensive trade documented by the 18th century **(Doc. 06, p. 208)**¹⁵⁰.

By the late 1400's, Inuit from northern Labrador had started to overwinter in the Sandwich Bay area and came into early contact with Basques and Bretons **(Doc. 01_10, p. 7)**¹⁵¹.

Inuit from central Labrador went into the Strait of Belle Isle primarily to access European goods and trade. Before then, the Inuit had little direct European contact. Their southern movement began as seasonal forays and ended with varying degrees of acculturation and residency within a region of intensifying European settlement. The southern movement did not establish a population base **(Doc. 03_10, p. 1)**¹⁵².

Preliminary research in Sandwich Bay suggests that during the earliest phases of the contact period the Inuit in the region probably sought out Europeans to gain access to

¹⁴⁸ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.17.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p.32.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p.208.

¹⁵¹ Stopp, Marianne P. (2015). Faceted Inuit-European contact in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 39(1), pp. 63-89, p.7.

¹⁵² Fitzhugh, William W. (2009). Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The Less 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec. In Bjarne Gronnow (ed.) *On the Track of the Thule Culture from Bering Strait to East Greenland* (pp. 129-148). National Museum of Denmark: Copenhagen, p.1.

prized European commodities. In exchange the items that the Inuit provided made European ventures in the region more profitable (**Doc. 03_4, p. 8**)¹⁵³.

Inuit-European contact first took place in the 16th century, in the north through sporadic contact with European explorers and in the south through closer interactions with European fishermen and whalers. Intensive contact did not occur until the 18th century, when trade relations increased and the Moravian missionaries first settled in the north (**Doc. 03_1, p. 2**)¹⁵⁴.

After European contact in the 1500s, Inuit in southern and central Labrador quickly adapted to incorporate European trade into their subsistence practices. Those between Nain and the Strait of Belle Isle developed a dual economy of hunting and trading. Some areas, like Arvertok (later Hopedale), became more trade-focused, leading to a reduction in hunting. Other communities maintained a more balanced approach between hunting and trading. Despite some differences in resource focus, these communities remained part of the same cultural group (**Doc. 06, p. 18**)¹⁵⁵.

Europeans initially came to Labrador for fishing but soon turned to whaling, particularly targeting right and bowhead whales migrating through the Strait of Belle Isle from the 1530s to the early 1600s. Whaling in Labrador during the 16th century was done on an "industrial scale," with Red Bay becoming the world's largest whaling station at the time. However, the European presence was seasonal, and the whaling industry in Labrador was short-lived. By the 1620s, factors such as overhunting and strained relations with the Inuit led to the decline of the industry, and Basque whalers ceased coming to the area (**Doc. 06, p. 70**)¹⁵⁶.

Edwin Bezzina notes that Inuit were present in the Strait of Belle Isle during Jacques Cartier's 16th-century voyage, with Basque whalers encountering them in the 1540s. Inuit had a presence in southern Labrador well before the 1700s, as evidenced by 17th-century artifacts on Quebec's north shore and a burial site with a settlement on Spotted Island. By the mid-17th century, a permanent Inuit population had established itself on Quebec's lower north shore (**Doc. 06, p. 29**)¹⁵⁷.

Whale-hunting Inuit advanced south along the Labrador coast and by 1550 became aware of European – especially Basque – activities in the Strait. Inuit probably staged seasonal spring probes or forays into the Straits from permanent winter settlements in Hamilton Inlet and further north. European contact in the south was extremely limited,

¹⁵³ Rankin, Lisa K. (2013). The Role of the Inuit in the European Settlement of Sandwich Bay, Labrador. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.), *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 310-319). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.8.

¹⁵⁴ Fay, Amelia (2013). Finding Mikak: The Search for a Late 18th-Century Inuit Trader in the Archeological Record. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.) *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 341-349). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.2.

¹⁵⁵ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.18.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.70.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.29.

often violent and opportunistic. Winter settlements generally remained north of Cape Charles (**Doc. 03_10, p. 13**¹⁵⁸; **Doc. 01_23, pp. 11-12**)¹⁵⁹.

By the 16th century, the acquisition of European goods by Labrador Thule/Inuit did not significantly alter their traditional culture. Most European items, particularly iron, were repurposed into traditional artifacts. Inuit subsistence remained focused on seal hunting, and their settlements continued to follow traditional patterns, with homes like sod-walled houses and tents. They showed no interest in adopting new European technologies, such as iron smelting, but instead used the European goods as raw materials (**Doc. 06, p. 204**)¹⁶⁰.

European items found among the Inuit are diverse, with a majority consisting of iron nails, spikes, and fragments of iron, copper, and lead. Many of these materials were modified and repurposed into traditional Inuit tools, such as end blades, ulus, knife blades, and harpoon heads. Other European goods include glass beads, glassware fragments, earthenware, gun parts, musket balls, iron pots, roof tile fragments, kaolin pipe stems, and occasional other items (**Doc. 06, p. 205**)¹⁶¹.

Inuit culture, like all cultures, is constantly evolving. By the mid-1500s, when Europeans made contact in Labrador, the Thule had already adapted to the region's environment and resources. They also had a long history of trade with the Norse and fishermen, making the use of metals and trade with outsiders an established part of their culture (**Doc. 06, pp. 308-309**)¹⁶².

Competition between Inuit and Europeans for the rich whale, seal, and fish resources of south and central Labrador began as early as the mid-1500s. Basque whalers in the area during the 16th century faced fierce resistance from the Inuit, whose attacks intensified after initial skirmishes. From 1575 to 1618, these attacks made Basque whaling increasingly difficult, clearly demonstrating the Inuit's determination to protect their land and resources (**Doc. 06, p. 33**)¹⁶³.

Carol Brice-Bennett states the "Inuit reached the southern extreme of the Labrador peninsula, in the vicinity of the Strait of Belle Isle, shortly before the first Europeans arrived to exploit marine species (whales, seals and codfish) in that region on a systematic seasonal basis," and notes, "The Inuit as well as Montagnais Innu, were interacting with Spanish Basque whalers by the mid-16th century but the quality of their

¹⁵⁸ Fitzhugh, William W. (2009). Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The Less 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec. In Bjarne Gronnow (ed.) *On the Track of the Thule Culture from Bering Strait to East Greenland* (pp. 129-148). National Museum of Denmark: Copenhagen, p.13.

¹⁵⁹ Fitzhugh, William W. (2007). Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec. Smithsonian Institution. pp. 1-22, p.11-12.

¹⁶⁰ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.204.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.205.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p.308-309.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, p.33.

relations differed significantly while Innu assisted the Basques and had a friendly rapport with them, the Inuit were commonly hostile...” (Doc. 05_1, p. 2)¹⁶⁴.

After the disappearance of Basque whalers and their replacement by Dutch, English and French explorers, traders, fishermen and initial settlers after 1600, Inuit began to make regular southbound raiding and trading voyages from winter settlements that by this time extended south of Cartwright. Inuit sites in Hamilton Inlet display the European spoils of raiding (Doc. 03_10, p. 13¹⁶⁵; Doc. 01_23, p. 12¹⁶⁶).

From the late 16th century, through the 17th and well into the 18th, accounts report organized conflict between French fishing crews and Inuit travelling along the coast of southern Labrador (Doc. 01_14, p. 3)¹⁶⁷.

Between the late 16th and early 18th centuries, European fishers and explorers passing along the southern Labrador coast traded with the Inuit. Inuit families coalesced into large communal houses headed by important male traders, who directed the flow of European goods from the south to Inuit groups residing further north (Doc. 03_4, p. 5)¹⁶⁸.

Most of the available information, as concerns ethnohistorical records relating to a historic Inuit presence in northern Newfoundland from early contact to the 19th century, consists of brief references to random encounters between European fishermen and Inuit foragers who crossed the Strait of Belle Isle. Contact took place during the summer and autumn along the coasts of the Northern Peninsula and was invariably marked by brutal clashes and loss of life. The Inuit also ransacked fishing installations abandoned each year by French and Basque seamen who sailed home when winter set in. This turbulent situation continued for more than two centuries (Doc. 01_1, pp. 24-25)¹⁶⁹.

When Inuit began to systematically exploit the natural and European-contact resources of the Strait of Belle Isle around 1600, they encountered a disorganized field of European stations and posts whose locations were constantly in flux. Europeans were

¹⁶⁴ Brice-Bennett, Carol (1997). The Inuit legacy in southern Labrador. Submitted to Fisheries and Oceans Canada, pp. 1-29, p.2.

¹⁶⁵ Fitzhugh, William W. (2009). Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The Less 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec. In Bjarne Gronnow (ed.) On the Track of the Thule Culture from Bering Strait to East Greenland (pp. 129-148). National Museum of Denmark: Copenhagen, p.13.

¹⁶⁶ Fitzhugh, William W. (2007). Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec. Smithsonian Institution. pp. 1-22, p.12.

¹⁶⁷ Pope, Peter E. (2015). Bretons, Basques, and Inuit in Labrador and northern Newfoundland: The control of maritime resources in the 16th and 17th centuries. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 39(1), pp. 15-36, p.3.

¹⁶⁸ Rankin, Lisa K. (2013). The Role of the Inuit in the European Settlement of Sandwich Bay, Labrador. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.), *Exploring Atlantic Transitions. Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 310-319). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.5.

¹⁶⁹ Martjin, Charles A. (2009). Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, Circa 1550-1800 CE, p.24-25.

confronted with an Inuit cat-and-mouse strategy of trading and raiding; Inuit would trade when outnumbered and raid if they sensed vulnerability (**Doc. 01_25, p. 4**)¹⁷⁰.

Inuit occupied South and Central Labrador from the late 16th century, with their migratory lifestyles centered on resource procurement in both cold and warm seasons. In 1694, Louis Jolliet observed Inuit hunting and sealing at Mecatina, describing an abandoned Inuit sod house at Cape Charles surrounded by seal fat and animal bones, and noting that his crew was offered seal meat and oil in the Spotted Islands. In 1702, Sieur Augustin de Courtemanche also found a sod house at Baie des HaHa with remains of seal, caribou, and whale. By 1765, during the Moravian missions and the treaty event, the Inuit insisted on traveling to Newfoundland for wood to make darts and arrows, and when asked about visiting a ship, they responded that they were too busy catching cod for their families (**Doc. 06, p. 259**)¹⁷¹.

From the beginning of the 17th century and for another 150 years, references to Inuit are common in French documents, particularly for the southern Strait of Belle Isle, and invariably recounted hostile relations. It appears that Inuit obtained European material through both trade and pilfering at European fishing stations in both winter and summer (**Doc. 01_8, pp. 13-14**)¹⁷².

The central coast expansion south to Hamilton Inlet in the 17th century may have been motivated by the increased opportunities to obtain European goods and raw materials in more southerly locations. Thus, the present distribution of the Labrador Eskimo along the central coast may, in part, be a direct result of European contact (**Doc. 01_4, pp. 5-6**)¹⁷³.

Artifacts of European manufacture are often reported in excavations of 17th century sod houses, especially in southern Labrador, suggesting that this was a period of insipient and growing European cultural influence (**Doc. 01_3, p. 91**)¹⁷⁴.

The initial pioneer settlement in Hamilton Inlet may have been a calculated, deliberate and opportunistic movement insofar as this region is closer to the Strait of Belle Isle, where European goods could be obtained. The Inuit settlers may have come from Hopedale or perhaps villages farther north sometime in the 17th century. Following this pioneer settlement, increased quantities of European goods are obtained by the inhabitants of Eskimo Island either through continued raiding and/or sporadic face-to-

¹⁷⁰ Fitzhugh, William W. (2015). The Inuit archeology of the Quebec Lower North Shore, *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 39(1), pp. 37-62, p.4.

¹⁷¹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.259.

¹⁷² Stopp, Marianne P. (2002). Reconsidering Inuit presence in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 26(2), pp. 71-106, p.13-14.

¹⁷³ Jordan, R.H. & Kaplan, S.A. (1980). An archaeological view of the Inuit / European contact period in Central Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 4(1), pp. 35-45, p.5-6.

¹⁷⁴ Woollett, James M. (2003). *An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change*. Dissertation. The City University of New York, p.91.

face contacts. Increased Inuit trade and interaction may have intensified in the late 1600's, but no real economic ties are established with Europeans (**Doc. 01_4, p. 11**)¹⁷⁵.

Inuit contacts with Europeans resulted in learning new skills and using new materials and technologies, including the use and construction of European boats even as the Inuit traditional subsistence economy and social structure remained largely intact (**Doc. 01_25, p. 4**)¹⁷⁶.

By the time Inuit settlement had reached as far south as Eskimo Island in Hamilton Inlet, the intensity, geographic breadth and frequency of contact with Europeans had increased to the point where no community was without direct access to the Europeans on the south coast and the archaeological evidence of trade with them is abundant on all sites from that time onward (**Doc. 01_6, p. 27**)¹⁷⁷.

The arrival of Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle provided a stable source of iron, which may have enticed the Inuit to participate in trade and/or theft from Europeans and their fishing stations. Analysis of European documents from the contact period leaves no doubt that relations between the Inuit and Europeans were hostile and frequently violent, but they sought each other for trade (**Doc. 01_13, pp. 39-40**)¹⁷⁸.

Once Europeans were in the Strait of Belle Isle, the Inuit moved south. Inuit families moved into areas previously unoccupied by Inuit and tried to acquire European goods, necessitating more contact with Europeans (**Doc. 01_13, p. 45**)¹⁷⁹.

During the 17th century, the acquisition of European goods by the Inuit along the south-central coast did not significantly impact their traditional values, activities, or technology. The Inuit mainly sought metal scraps, iron nails, and spikes, which they used as raw materials to make traditional tools that would have been created from natural materials like slate. Despite possibly acquiring firearms and other implements, their activities and ways of life remained largely unchanged. The increasing inter-community trade along the Labrador coast was likely more due to the geographical distribution of Inuit settlements and European camps, rather than the influence of European goods (**Doc. 06, p. 205**)¹⁸⁰.

Inuit culture has long been centered around trade, focusing on acquiring valuable European metal goods in exchange for whale, walrus, seal products, and other items.

¹⁷⁵ Jordan, R.H. & Kaplan, S.A. (1980). An archaeological view of the Inuit / European contact period in Central Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 4(1), pp. 35-45, p.11.

¹⁷⁶ Fitzhugh, William W. (2015). The Inuit archeology of the Quebec Lower North Shore, *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 39(1), pp. 37-62, p.4.

¹⁷⁷ Rankin, Lisa K. (2009). An Archeological View of the Thule/Inuit Occupation of Labrador. Memorial University. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-52, p.27.

¹⁷⁸ Brewster, Natalie (2005). The Inuit in Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Master's Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-152, p.39-40.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p.45.

¹⁸⁰ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.205.

The benefits of this trade were both economic, such as surpluses and access to superior materials, and social, offering individuals prestige, knowledge, high status, and access to important ritual activities. This mercantile system has been a fundamental aspect of Inuit society, always involving interactions with Europeans (**Doc. 06, p. 208**)¹⁸¹.

Brice-Bennett states, that following the termination of Basque whaling operations in about the 1620s, Inuit evidently continued to occupy the area and also extended westward towards Mingan on the lower North Shore principally due to the abundant marine species found along the coast (**Doc. 05_1, p. 4**)¹⁸².

Champlain was the first official of New France to document Inuit presence in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, noting their hostility toward French interests. From the mid-17th century to Jolliet's 1694 expedition, the main sources of information about the Inuit in New France came from the Jesuit Relations, starting in 1632 and continuing into the 1670s. These records include a few entries about Inuit from the North Shore and Acadia missions. One 1632 account described a Mi'kmaq expedition near Cape Charles, where an Inuk girl was taken as a hostage, and another from 1652 noted Inuit inhabiting the northern shores below Anticosti Island. Overall, there was limited territorial or demographic information on the Inuit, as New France's boundaries did not extend beyond the Saguenay River until the next century (**Doc. 06, p. 106**)¹⁸³.

In the 1660s, Inuit resorted to pillaging French settlements to acquire European goods, leading to a cycle of violence and revenge. This tension, which began during the Basque period, made peaceful contact difficult. As a result, extensive mixing or peaceful interactions between Inuit and Europeans didn't occur until the 19th century, as shown by the morphological analysis of bone samples (**Doc. 06, p. 72**)¹⁸⁴.

By the late 1600s, southern Inuit communities had become well-versed in European trade, practicing a combined trade and harvest economy. While still maintaining their Inuit identity, they had adopted European goods, mastered certain European technologies, and learned some European words (**Doc. 06, p. 19**)¹⁸⁵.

Trade was a key aspect of Inuit culture at the time of European contact and has remained so. Pre-contact Inuit engaged in extensive trade networks along the coast and to Newfoundland. Through interactions with the Norse, the Thule became familiar with European material culture, especially metals, making trade with Europeans a natural extension of their established practice (**Doc. 06, p. 32**)¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p.208.

¹⁸² Brice-Bennett, Carol (1997). The Inuit legacy in southern Labrador. Submitted to Fisheries and Oceans Canada, pp. 1-29, p.4.

¹⁸³ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, .106.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 72.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, p.19.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.32.

Inuit showed early interest in European goods, but they often modified these items to fit their traditional lifestyle and subsistence patterns. As Natalie Brewster's thesis illustrates, European metals and ceramics were repurposed for Inuit cultural uses, such as iron nail tips being reshaped into Inuit-style end blades, as seen at the Snack Cove site (**Doc. 06, p. 32**)¹⁸⁷.

The first centuries of European contact with the Inuit, largely indirect or hostile, did not result in a significant exchange of ideas or beliefs from Europeans. Instead, the Inuit continued their cultural practices, incorporating European materials into their technology to improve traditional ways of life (**Doc. 06, p. 32**)¹⁸⁸.

In response to European incursions, the Inuit would either hide, attack, or engage in trade, depending on the situation. When hostilities escalated, they could retreat into the Labrador hinterland, where they had the advantage of familiarity with the land. As a result, significant cultural changes in Inuit society did not occur before 1765, and in many southern/central Labrador areas, they happened much later (**Doc. 06, p. 35**)¹⁸⁹.

Many Inuit appear to have settled even further south than Sandwich Bay by the mid to late 17th century to take advantage of the growing trade with the French, but following the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, many Inuit appear to have moved further north. In 1763, the Treaty of Paris ceded southern Labrador to the English making it even more difficult for Inuit to remain in the south. Because English exploitation of the Labrador coast had not yet reached Sandwich Bay, many Inuit chose to stay and continue efforts to trade among the European ships instead of converting to Christianity in the north (**Doc. 03_3, pp. 5-6**)¹⁹⁰.

Eyewitness accounts suggest that the Inuit encountered in the south during the French colonization period (1690-1760) were merely temporary visitors from the north coast, attracted by the prospect of trade and plunder (**Doc. 01_2, p. 3**)¹⁹¹.

Jolliet's 1694 encounters highlight the widespread nature of trade among early-contact Inuit, the presence of Inuit communities in many areas, and their rapid adaptation to European boating technology (**Doc. 06, p. 18**)¹⁹².

Jolliet, renowned as the first Frenchman to sail the northern Labrador coast beyond Belle Isle in 1694, provided the first detailed locational and demographic data on

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p.32.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p.32.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p.35.

¹⁹⁰ Rankin, Lisa K. (2010). A People for All Seasons: Expressions of Inuit Identity over the past 500 Years in Southern Labrador. In L.A. Meyer et al., Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity (pp. 332-340). University of Calgary: Calgary, p.5-6.

¹⁹¹ Taylor, J.G. (1980). The Inuit of southern Quebec-Labrador: Reviewing the evidence. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 4(1), pp. 185-194, p.3.

¹⁹² NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.18.

Labrador Inuit along the Atlantic coast. He documented peaceful trade encounters with the Inuit from Cape Charles to what is presumed to be Zoar. Jolliet also noted the recent withdrawal of Inuit from the North Shore, attributing their movement north to the predations by St. Malo fishermen in the region (**Doc. 06, p. 106**)¹⁹³.

The early success of Inuit trade is evident in the encounters of Jolliet (1694) and Swaine (1753). When Jolliet rounded Cape Charles on July 11, 1694, he found an Inuit sod house with evidence of long-term occupation by over twenty people. Three days later, he met an Inuit trading party traveling in a 40-foot, two-masted boat and engaged in trade. The Inuit followed a classic trade protocol, which included landing, laying down weapons at a distance, concealing the rest of the community, and negotiating trade with careful attention to value (**Doc. 06, p. 18**)¹⁹⁴.

In the early 1700s, Pierre Constantin and Sieur Augustin de Courtemanche documented Inuit settlements at various locations, including Baie des Haha, St. Paul's River, Brador, Blanc Sablon, and Forteau. Father Camille de Rochemonteix described Inuit in the Strait of Belle Isle in letters from 1700 to 1710. Courtemanche's successor, Francois Martel de Brouage, recorded numerous encounters between the Inuit and the French from Cape Degrat to Mecatina in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (**Doc. 06, p. 107**)¹⁹⁵.

Lawrence Jackson states, "thirty to forty families of Montagnais attached themselves to Courtemanche's enterprise at Bradmore soon after it was founded in 1704." Since "it lasted more than 40 years, with the Indians integrated into the sealing as well as the trapping activity, contact must have been close and some intermarriage with the Montagnais undoubtedly took place." In later years, "whites would have been in contact with Indians migrating seasonally out to the coast by way of the Eagle, Paradise, Alexis and Lewis Rivers, all draining the caribou habitat of the interior" (**Doc. 04_2, p. 22**)¹⁹⁶.

Brice-Bennett notes in her report that regarding "the period from 1714-1760 Trudel concluded in his doctoral dissertation that Inuit were permanent residents on the southern Labrador coast and only seasonal visitors to the North Shore of the Saint Lawrence..." (**Doc. 05_1, p. 4**)¹⁹⁷.

The French engaged in limited trade with the Inuit, with Quebec merchant Pierre Constantin establishing a fortified trading post in Red Bay, Labrador. This post was burned by the Inuit in 1718 but rebuilt in 1719 and operated until the 1730s. Stopp notes that few French merchants conducted business beyond the Strait of Belle Isle, with Courtemanche's activities mainly limited to the Bay of Brador. By the 1740s, however,

¹⁹³ Ibid, p.106.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p.18.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, p.107.

¹⁹⁶ Jackson, Lawrence (1982). Bounty of a Barren Coast: Resource Harvest and Settlement in Southern Labrador. Prepared for Petro Canada Explorations Ltd, p.22.

¹⁹⁷ Brice-Bennett, Carol (1997). The Inuit legacy in southern Labrador. Submitted to Fisheries and Oceans Canada, pp. 1-29, p.4.

more trading posts were established along the coast, including at Chateau Bay, Cape Charles, and Hamilton Inlet (**Doc. 06, p. 72**)¹⁹⁸.

The Inuit remained hostile to European activities in Southern Labrador, and tensions persisted throughout the French period. They burned Pierre Constantin's post in Red Bay in 1718 and attacked Marsal's post at Cape Charles in 1742, repeatedly working to exclude Europeans from the region. Notably, in 1752, the first Moravian missionaries at Cape Nisbet were killed by the Inuit. This hostility dates back to 1586, when Arctic explorer John Davis faced attacks from the Inuit in Sandwich Bay, demonstrating nearly two centuries of Inuit territorial protection on the Labrador coast from early contact to the British assertion of sovereignty (**Doc. 06, p. 299**)¹⁹⁹.

The Inuit were hostile to European activities in Southern Labrador, with tensions remaining high throughout the French period. They burned Pierre Constantin's post in Red Bay in 1718 and attacked Marsal's post at Cape Charles in 1742, among others. This violence began to subside only after the Treaty of 1765 (**Doc. 06, p. 329**)²⁰⁰.

Labrador Inuit society was egalitarian and lacked a centralized leadership. There were two primary leadership roles: the angajurqaq (secular headman) and the angakuk (shaman). While some scholars view this structure as limiting, instances like Jolliet's meeting with Inuit leader Quignac in 1743, the Labrador Treaty negotiations in 1765, and the 1770 encounter with the shaman Serlek suggest that leadership within Inuit society could be more flexible, varying based on personality or context (**Doc. 06, p. 31**)²⁰¹.

By the mid 1700's, Inuit had been largely supplanted from the Gulf and the Straits region by European enterprise and settlement and had settled in the Island of Ponds area, Sandwich Bay, Hamilton Inlet and northwards (**Doc. 01_8, p. 6**)²⁰².

Maps from the 18th century indicate that southern Labrador was "Esquimaux country". By the late 18th century, however, a combination of violence and disease had weakened the Inuit. Some members of the group retreated north to areas around Nain and others accommodated themselves to Europeans' presence in more southerly locales (**Doc. 01_5, p. 7**)²⁰³.

Inuit occupations in southern Labrador during the early contact period reflect a continuity with pre-established subsistence and settlement patterns, social organization,

¹⁹⁸ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.72.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, p.299.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, p.329.

²⁰¹ Ibid, p.31.

²⁰² Stopp, Marianne P. (2002). Reconsidering Inuit presence in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 26(2), pp. 71-106, p.6.

²⁰³ Korneski, Kurt (2016). Planters, Eskimos, and Indians: Race and the Organization of Trade under the Hudson's Bay Company in Labrador, 1830-50. *Journal of Social History*, 50(2), pp. 307-335, p.7.

architecture, interaction patterns and tool forms developed during the early phase of Thule/Inuit pre-history. This is a pattern that does not appear to alter until the 18th century and the settlement of Europeans on the coast on a permanent basis (**Doc. 01_13, pp. 130-131**)²⁰⁴.

When permanent French posts were established in the Belle Isle region toward the turn of the 18th century, conflict between Inuit and French became commonplace (**Doc. 01_2, p. 3**)²⁰⁵.

The relationship between Inuit and Europeans during the early contact period consisted of scavenging and raiding by the Inuit and sporadic face-to-face trade. Contacts were primarily indirect. During the 18th century, the French and later the English began to develop permanent settlements along the coast which prevented the Inuit from continuing to pursue indirect contacts (**Doc. 01_13, pp. 129-130**)²⁰⁶.

In initial contacts, the Inuit tended to opt for indirect contact and scavenged European goods where possible. This pattern changed as Europeans began to settle along the coast during the latter half of the 18th century. The year-round occupation of Europeans made it increasingly difficult to maintain a pattern of indirect contact (**Doc. 01_13, p. 131**)²⁰⁷.

Captain Charles Swaine's 1753 experiences closely resembled those of Jolliet 50 years earlier. Sailing from Philadelphia in search of the Northwest Passage and the lost Moravian missionaries, Swaine encountered numerous Inuit traders along the coast. The trade protocols were similar to those observed by Jolliet, including the use of smoke signals, sending a few males to trade while keeping others at a safe distance, speaking French words, using iron tools, wearing some European clothing, and showing appreciation for the value of traded items (**Doc. 06, p. 19**)²⁰⁸.

Captain Galiot managed during 1756-1758 to establish what he hoped would be a lasting truce with the Inuit congregated at Chateau Bay (**Doc. 01_1, p. 16**)²⁰⁹.

Europeans had frequented the southern Labrador coast since the 16th century. Initially, Basque and French crews came there to fish and established seasonally-occupied stations. During this time, the Europeans engaged in occasional trade with the Inuit now resident in southern Labrador. French permanent settlement along the south Labrador coast began in the early 18th century, for the purposes of fishing, sealing, furring and

²⁰⁴ Brewster, Natalie (2005). The Inuit in Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Master's Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-152, p.130-131.

²⁰⁵ Taylor, J.G. (1980). The Inuit of southern Quebec-Labrador: Reviewing the evidence. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 4(1), pp. 185-194, p.3.

²⁰⁶ Brewster, Natalie (2005). The Inuit in Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Master's Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland, pp. 1-152, p.129-130.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 131.

²⁰⁸ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.19.

²⁰⁹ Martjin, Charles A. (2009). Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, Circa 1550-1800 CE, p.16.

trading with the Inuit. After 1763, when the Treaty of Paris excluded the French from the area, British fishermen and merchants began to populate it. From the late 18th century, European men who came to Labrador married Inuit women, forming the ancestral population of today's Labrador Metis (**Doc. 01_7, pp. 2-3**)²¹⁰.

In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, France ceded control of Labrador to Britain. Northern Labrador was opened to Moravian missionaries, in hopes of quelling conflicts by drawing Inuit traders to the north (**Doc. 03_4, p. 7**)²¹¹.

After Newfoundland and Labrador came under British rule in 1763, government authorities sought to ensure the safety of the cod fishery by restricting the Inuit as much as possible to northern Labrador. With this in mind, the Moravian brethren were allowed to establish missions there and to open storehouses, which furnished the Inuit with needed goods (**Doc. 01_1, p. 25**)²¹².

After 1763, British merchants moved into southern Labrador and Quebec's Lower North Shore, a region that Inuit occupied and used year-round (**Doc. 01_18, p. 12**)²¹³.

For a few years after the 1763 Treaty of Paris, Inuit presence in the south was still substantial. Hundreds of Inuit stationed themselves between Cape Charles and Chateau Bay to trade with merchants and French fishing crews and conflicts formed a constant part of these proceedings (**Doc. 01_9, p. 2**)²¹⁴.

Labrador's settlement lagged behind Newfoundland by about a century, with year-round settlement occurring much later. Settlement accelerated after Labrador was placed under Newfoundland's administration by the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The British succeeded in settling Labrador where the French and Basques had failed, partly due to their focus on peaceful relations with the Inuit. The 1765 Treaty facilitated British settlement and increased inter-marriage between British settlers and the Inuit, leading to the creation of the Inuit-Labradorian community (**Doc. 06, p. 73**)²¹⁵.

When representatives of the Moravian Church informed Palliser in 1764 that they wished to evangelize the Inuit, he concluded that the only way to ensure the safety of the cod fishery would be to prevent the Inuit from crossing over to Newfoundland and indeed from frequenting southern Labrador altogether, by confining them to Moravian

²¹⁰ Rankin, Lisa & Crompton, Amanda (2013). The Labrador Metis and the politics of identity: understanding the archaeological past to negotiate a sustainable future. *International Journal of Heritage and Sustainable Development*, 3(1), pp. 71-79, p.2-3.

²¹¹ Rankin, Lisa K. (2013). The Role of the Inuit in the European Settlement of Sandwich Bay, Labrador. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.), *Exploring Atlantic Transitions. Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 310-319). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.7.

²¹² Martjin, Charles A. (2009). Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, Circa 1550-1800 CE, p.25.

²¹³ Hay, Stephen (2017). How to Win Friends and Trade with People: Southern Inuit, George Cartwright, and Labrador Households, 1763 to 1809. *Acadiensis*, 46(2), pp. 35-58, p.12.

²¹⁴ Stopp, Marianne P. (2009). Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England. *Arctic*. 62(1), pp. 45-64, p.2.

²¹⁵ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.73.

missions further north (**Doc 01_1, p. 18**)²¹⁶. This containment policy was not fully successful. The Inuit continued to maintain contact with European traders along the southern Labrador coast (**Doc. 01_1, p. 20**)²¹⁷.

The Moravians' 1765 trip aimed to explore the feasibility of establishing a settlement near a concentration of Inuit, while maintaining a safe distance from European activity. Their religious motivation aligned with Governor Palliser's goal to establish a ship fishery in Labrador and engage in peaceful trade with the Inuit (**Doc. 06, p. 42**)²¹⁸.

Around 1765-1770, expanded English and American fishing presence and permanent fishing communities along the Strait of Belle Isle impeded Inuit movement south of St. Lewis Inlet and Chateau Bay. Around 1770, fewer Inuit settled south of Hamilton Inlet due to vastly expanded British resource enterprises. British measures were introduced to prevent Inuit from travelling along the coast south of Hamilton Inlet (**Doc. 01_10, p. 8**)²¹⁹.

Violent clashes between Inuit and European fishers and whalers were frequent along the coast between the Strait of Belle Isle and Groswater Bay. By 1765, a pattern of attacks and counter-attacks had been ongoing for at least 50 years (**Doc. 01_9, p. 1**)²²⁰.

In 1765, Governor Hugh Palliser visited southern Labrador to establish and sign a peace treaty in the hopes of promoting peaceful relations between the British and the Inuit (**Doc. 03_1, p. 2**)²²¹.

In August 1765, the Southern Inuit gathered at Cape Charles with Governor Palliser and negotiated the Labrador Inuit Treaty, a peace and friendship treaty (**Doc. 01_18, p. 8**)²²².

On August 21, 1765, Palliser met at Chateau Bay with almost 500 Eskimos assembled by the Moravian missionaries. The natives agreed to live in peace and friendship under the protection of the British Crown and a profitable trade was subsequently carried on with them (**Doc. 01_26, p. 15**)²²³.

²¹⁶ Martjin, Charles A. (2009). *Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, Circa 1550-1800 CE*, p.18.

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.20.

²¹⁸ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.42.

²¹⁹ Stopp, Marianne P. (2015). *Faceted Inuit-European contact in southern Labrador*. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 39(1), pp. 63-89, p.8.

²²⁰ Stopp, Marianne P. (2009). *Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England*. *Arctic*. 62(1), pp. 45-64, p.1.

²²¹ Fay, Amelia (2013). *Finding Mikak: The Search for a Late 18th-Century Inuit Trader in the Archeological Record*. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.) *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 341-349). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.2.

²²² Hay, Stephen (2017). *How to Win Friends and Trade with People: Southern Inuit, George Cartwright, and Labrador Households, 1763 to 1809*. *Acadiensis*, 46(2), pp. 35-58, p.8.

²²³ Whiteley, William H. (1969). *Governor Hugh Palliser and the Newfoundland and Labrador Fishery, 1764-1768*. *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 141-163, p.15.

After the Treaty of 1765 and the intervention of the Moravians, Europeans began to settle along the Labrador coast. They learned Inuit sealing techniques and, with the help of nets introduced by the Moravians, developed a profitable sealing industry that supported a year-round presence in the region **(Doc. 06, pp. 81-82)**²²⁴.

In August 1765, Governor Sir Hugh Palliser of Newfoundland negotiated a treaty with the Inuit of south and central Labrador. Hundreds of Inuit gathered at Chateau Bay after receiving a request from the British via a Moravian missionary. The Inuit met with Governor Palliser and his team, with Moravian translators assisting, during several days of Treaty discussions **(Doc. 06, p. 33)**²²⁵.

By 1765, the Inuit were increasingly aware of European material goods and had adopted some European technologies, such as sailing shallops. However, violence from Europeans against the Inuit remained frequent. The Treaty negotiations focused on peace and trade, and while the Inuit had incorporated some European tools, they maintained their cultural identity. This pattern of material cultural absorption was common across Canada among Indigenous peoples **(Doc. 06, p. 35)**²²⁶.

The 1765 Inuit Treaty helped, but it did not end hostilities between the Inuit and Europeans. British fishermen encounters with the Inuit were similar to those of the French, with the English attempting to expel the Inuit from the Strait of Belle Isle between 1763 and 1770. Despite the treaty, conflicts continued, and in August 1765, Captain Hamilton received complaints from the Inuit about English fishermen stealing from them. Palliser's writings from this period also document brutal atrocities committed by English, French, and American forces against Inuit men, women, and children **(Doc. 06, p. 35)**²²⁷.

In August 1765, after a year of preparations, Sir Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland, signed a treaty with the Inuit of south and central Labrador. Hundreds of Inuit gathered at Chateau Bay in response to a request sent by the British the previous year through a Moravian missionary. The Inuit met with Governor Palliser, assisted by Moravian translators, for a series of treaty discussions over several days **(Doc. 06, p. 37)**²²⁸.

The Labrador Inuit Treaty of 1765 was formally reported to the Privy Council of Britain in May 1769. It is now protected under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982. The current holders and beneficiaries of this Treaty Right are the member communities of NunatuKavut **(Doc. 06, p. 37)**²²⁹.

²²⁴ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.81-82.

²²⁵ Ibid, p.33.

²²⁶ Ibid, p.35.

²²⁷ Ibid, p.35.

²²⁸ Ibid, p.37.

²²⁹ Ibid, p.37.

The 1765 Treaty protects the rights of Inuit and their descendants to harvest wildlife and use natural resources within their territory. It acknowledges their Aboriginal Title and right to self-governance. These rights, now held by the NunatuKavut communities, are considered a gift from the Creator and their ancestors, meant to be passed down for future generations. The significance of this Treaty must be recognized by the government, and processes should be implemented to uphold these rights (**Doc. 06, p. 62**)²³⁰.

Although no battles were fought on its land, Labrador was a valuable prize due to its whaling, sealing, and fishing industries. British control over Labrador and the adjacent sea provided access to these resources and served as a strategic bargaining tool in future negotiations with the French and Americans. Peaceful relations with the Inuit in Southern Labrador after the 1765 Treaty were crucial in ensuring effective British control (**Doc. 06, p. 63**)²³¹.

To establish sovereignty over Labrador and access its resources, the British needed to accomplish what the French had failed to do: create permanent settlements. Achieving peaceful relations with the Inuit was crucial to this goal, and the Treaty of 1765 was key in paving the way for these relations and the establishment of British settlements (**Doc. 06, p. 73**)²³².

At the time of the 1765 Treaty, there was little permanent European presence in Southern Labrador. The French had only established seasonal trading posts and fishing or sealing stations, which were often manned by settlers from New France. Relations with the Inuit were generally hostile, and these limited posts were frequently raided and burned during the off-season (**Doc. 06, p. 82**)²³³.

The 1765 Treaty was crucial for the British in gaining access to the lands and resources of coastal Labrador with minimal conflict. After the French ceded Labrador to the British in 1763, it consisted mainly of seasonal fishing, sealing, and trading stations, with few European settlers south of Cape Charles and none along the Atlantic Coast. Conflict with the Inuit had hindered European settlement and prevented the French from establishing a permanent population necessary to fully exploit Labrador's abundant fishing and sealing resources (**Doc. 06, p. 82**)²³⁴.

This report confirms that the Inuit had established use and occupation of south and central Labrador up to the Treaty of 1765, which gave rise to Aboriginal Title at the time of British sovereignty. It also clarifies that the Treaty of 1765 did not involve a land surrender (**Doc. 06, pp. 85-86**)²³⁵.

²³⁰ Ibid, p.62

²³¹ Ibid, p.63.

²³² Ibid, p.73.

²³³ Ibid, p.82.

²³⁴ Ibid, p.82.

²³⁵ Ibid, p.85-86.

After the Treaty of 1765, the British gained access to Labrador's abundant resources and began settling in Southern Labrador alongside the Inuit. They adopted the Inuit's sealing and fishing techniques, which had been used for millennia **(Doc. 06, p. 330)**²³⁶.

Inuit sought more consistent and reliable access to European trade goods, aiming to stabilize the supply of these items **(Doc. 06, p. 42)**²³⁷.

The Moravian missions were European-created initiatives aimed at trade and religious conversion, not indigenous Inuit social constructs. Britain utilized the Moravians to "civilize" the Inuit and draw them north from their traditional territory by offering trade goods **(Doc. 06, p. 83)**²³⁸.

The Moravians initially struggled because they required the Inuit to abandon their traditional lifestyles and land use patterns. The missions were trade-focused and could only thrive if Inuit provided enough valuable trade goods to sustain the mission. This shifted the Inuit's focus to species with mercantile value, reducing their usual food harvest opportunities and increasing their dependence on European-style food supplies purchased with credits from traded animal products **(Doc. 06, p. 83)**²³⁹.

When pressured in 1767 to accept British rule over them, Inuit spokesmen replied that the Labrador coast belonged to them and that they intended to chase away the British garrison at Chateau Bay **(Doc. 01_1, p. 6)**²⁴⁰.

The Moravians determined that Esquimeaux Bay, with its high concentration of Inuit and distance from competing Europeans, was ideal for their mission. In February 1769, they requested a 100,000-acre land grant from Britain to establish their mission trading post in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville area **(Doc. 06, p. 51)**²⁴¹.

In response to the Moravians' request, an Order in Council was issued on May 3, 1769, granting James Hutton, Benjamin La Trobe, and others the authority to hold 100,000 acres of land in Esquimaux Bay, Labrador, in trust for the Unitas Fratrum. This grant allowed the Moravians to establish a mission and settlement in the area, at the discretion of the British crown **(Doc. 06, p. 51)**²⁴².

The Royal Commission on Seals and the Sealing Industry in Canada noted that the Moravians were the first Europeans to settle in Labrador, arriving in 1771. They established settlements from Killinek to Makkovik, joining about 2,000 Inuit already living in the area. The Moravians adopted Inuit sealing techniques and introduced the

²³⁶ Ibid, p.330.

²³⁷ Ibid, p.42.

²³⁸ Ibid, p.83.

²³⁹ Ibid, p.83.

²⁴⁰ Martjin, Charles A. (2009). Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, Circa 1550-1800 CE, p.6.

²⁴¹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.51.

²⁴² Ibid, p.51.

use of nets for harvesting harp seals. By the 19th century, they held a monopoly on the seal trade, exporting products worth over \$25,000 annually (**Doc. 06, p. 81**)²⁴³.

In 1770, Captain George Cartwright became one of the first of many British merchants to settle permanently on the southern coast and to engage in cod and seal fisheries while establishing friendly trade relations with the Inuit (**Doc. 03_1, p. 2**)²⁴⁴.

Marianne Stopp notes that “the establishment of Moravian missions, the earliest Protestant mission in Labrador starting in 1770 at Nain, also pulled Inuit northwards” (**Doc. 04_3 p. 10**)²⁴⁵.

The Minaskuat Limited Partnership report notes “the earliest miscegenation between European males and Inuit females within the study area occurred during Capt. George Cartwright’s Labrador tenure (1770-86)” and goes on to state, “the fact that Europeans observed and recorded a population of mixed ancestry documents its existence, even if we know little about how these persons viewed themselves...historic ethnogenesis, assuming it occurred, was the result of relationships between persons of mixed ancestry and transient fishers or other groups” (**Doc. 05_3, p. 68**)²⁴⁶.

Reddekopp states, “in the case of a mixed society it is more appropriate to view first contact as the point not at which a society had to be in existence but instead as the point at which it had the opportunity to come into existence as an entity which was distinct from both of the societies which meet at the time of contact” (**Doc. 05_4, p. 15**)²⁴⁷.

By the 1770s, Inuit had shifted entirely out of the Chateau Bay and the Strait of Belle Isle area, primarily due to an edict issued by Governor Hugh Palliser forbidding their presence there. The establishment of Moravian missions, starting in 1770 at Nain, also pulled Inuit northwards. The missions were intended to shift Inuit settlement away from British enterprises in the south, and away from the ongoing altercations between Europeans and Inuit in the Strait of Belle Isle (**Doc. 03_5, pp. 9-10**)²⁴⁸.

Roger Curtis observed that by 1772, the Moravians had successfully reduced the seasonal mobility of the Nonynoke Inuit. He hoped that the Ogbucktoke, who still

²⁴³ Ibid, p.81.

²⁴⁴ Fay, Amelia (2013). Finding Mikak: The Search for a Late 18th-Century Inuit Trader in the Archeological Record. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.) Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands (pp. 341-349). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.2.

²⁴⁵ Stopp, Marianne (2008). The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright. McGill-Queen’s University Press, p.10.

²⁴⁶ Minaskuat Limited Partnership (2005). A Historical Profile of the Labrador Coast Area's Mixed European-Indian or Mixed European-Inuit Ancestry Community. Prepared for Department of Justice Canada, p.68.

²⁴⁷ Reddekopp, Neil (1996). A Review of Genealogical Aspects of the Supplemental Research Submission of the Labrador Metis Association. Prepared for Claims and Historical Research Centre, pp. 1-56, p.15.

²⁴⁸ Stopp, Marianne (2008). The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright. McGill-Queen’s University Press, p.9-10.

maintained their traditional transhumance lifestyle, might also benefit from trade by reducing their presence in the south **(Doc. 06, p. 88)**²⁴⁹.

In 1772, Inuit were present in significant numbers at Camp Islands, prompting Captain Morris of the Man of War Otter to order that they should not go south of the islands. However, this order was largely ignored by the Inuit. In 1773, Lieutenant Curtis asked the Moravians to intervene and stop the Inuit from traveling to Newfoundland for wood, but this request also proved unsuccessful **(Doc. 06, p. 88)**²⁵⁰.

A Proclamation of Governor Shuldham dated May 4, 1772 required the Unitas Fratrum “to use every fair and gentle means in their power” to prevent the Esquimaux inhabiting the part of the Labrador coast where the United Fratrum had a settlement “from going to the southward” without permission. The Esquimaux had “lately strolled” south from the settlement to trade with “shipping” **(Doc. 02_5, p. 1)**²⁵¹.

In 1774 Captain George Cartwright established several fishing and trading premises in Sandwich Bay. He befriended the local Inuit and traded with them **(Doc. 03_3, p. 6)**²⁵².

By 1775, when Cartwright set up shop in Sandwich Bay, both he and the Inuit of the region were happy to entertain one another. Cartwright’s arrival highlights another shift in Inuit-European relations: the importance of Inuit women to British permanent settlement. British settlers took Inuit wives and soon established mixed households in Sandwich Bay **(Doc. 03_4, p. 7)**²⁵³.

Cartwright and other permanent European residents attracted Inuit to the south in the late 18th and 19th centuries. Those who were not employed at European posts usually returned as least as far north as Hamilton Inlet for the winter **(Doc. 01_2, p. 3)**²⁵⁴.

The Inuit experience during this time of growing colonial presence included increasing access to European goods, with the settlement of traders along the coast south of Hamilton Inlet from 1773 to the 1780’s and missionary traders in Nain by 1771 **(Doc. 01_9, p. 15)**²⁵⁵.

²⁴⁹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.88.

²⁵⁰ Ibid, p.88.

²⁵¹ Bragge, Edward (1772). [Proclamation of Governor Shuldham to Keep Esquimaux within Moravian Settlement dated May 4, 1772]. The Rooms Provincial Archives, Labrador Boundary Dispute Documents, No. 423, p.1.

²⁵² Rankin, Lisa K. (2010). A People for All Seasons: Expressions of Inuit Identity over the past 500 Years in Southern Labrador. In L.A. Meyer et al., Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity (pp. 332-340). University of Calgary: Calgary, p.6.

²⁵³ Rankin, Lisa K. (2013). The Role of the Inuit in the European Settlement of Sandwich Bay, Labrador. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.), Exploring Atlantic Transitions. Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands (pp. 310-319). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.7.

²⁵⁴ Taylor, J.G. (1980). The Inuit of southern Quebec-Labrador: Reviewing the evidence. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 4(1), pp. 185-194, p.3.

²⁵⁵ Stopp, Marianne P. (2009). Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England. *Arctic*. 62(1), pp. 45-64, p.15.

In 1782, a third Moravian mission was established at Hopedale to retain Inuit in the northern region, but in 1783, many missionized Inuit left for the south to reunite with family and gain access to European trade goods and opportunities. Later Moravian communities were created, after much debate, to primarily serve the needs of European settlers **(Doc. 06, p. 85)**²⁵⁶.

Inuit in the south were drawn to European goods like guns, boats, food, and alcohol, and preferred a less restrictive lifestyle compared to the Moravian settlements. They valued the freedom to live a more traditional lifestyle, which contrasted with the demands of the Moravian missions **(Doc. 06, p. 173)**²⁵⁷.

The first permanent Inuit dwellings in Nain were built by the Moravians in 1783, designed in an Inuit style to encourage Inuit settlement. However, only Christianized Inuit were permitted to use them. Since no specific Inuit group viewed Nain as significant, the Moravians had little success in attracting Inuit to stay until the spiritual "Awakening" of 1803-1805 **(Doc. 06, p. 85)**²⁵⁸.

The Moravian influence helped preserve the Inuit language and introduced a written form of Inuktitut, but it also fostered a dependent "company store" lifestyle, requiring Inuit to abandon some of their traditional transhumance land use patterns. In contrast, the Inuit of south/central Labrador maintained their traditional land use practices, blending trade with subsistence harvesting as they had for at least a century **(Doc. 06, p. 85)**²⁵⁹.

In July 1785, the Moravians noted ongoing Inuit movement patterns and reported that few Inuit had died in the south. They mentioned that the Inuit were urged to leave Chateau Bay and move north to join the Moravians, as it was believed to be a better option for them **(Doc. 06, p. 180)**²⁶⁰.

By the time Cartwright left Labrador forever, in 1786, fewer and fewer Inuit were traveling south of Groswater Bay. Fear of European attacks was still a factor, but European stations had also spread northwards and trade goods could be had at these small northerly stations as well as at the Moravian missions **(Doc. 01_9, p. 13)**²⁶¹.

²⁵⁶ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.85.

²⁵⁷ Ibid, p.173.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p.85.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p.85.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p.180.

²⁶¹ Stopp, Marianne P. (2009). Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England. Arctic. 62(1), pp. 45-64, p.13.

In 1786, reports continued to highlight the mobility of the Inuit across their territory and the challenges the Moravians faced in trying to discourage them from maintaining their traditional way of life (**Doc. 06, p. 180**)²⁶².

Despite the construction of forts and trading posts, the Inuit did not abandon south and central Labrador. In 1791, Captain Ambrose Crofton encountered an Inuit group at Pitts Harbour who were unfamiliar with the Moravians but had already become "Europeanized" (**Doc. 06, p. 89**)²⁶³.

At Eskimo Bay, Rev. Knight observed 70 people attending a service, half of whom were Inuit living in wigwams. Two could read Inuktitut and sing Moravian hymns. These Inuit had been part of the Moravian missions but later returned to Hamilton Inlet. The Moravians expressed concern that some baptized Inuit, particularly from Hopedale, had been led to the south, where they bought firearms, associated with non-Christians, and fell into both spiritual and temporal ruin (**Doc. 06, p. 93**)²⁶⁴.

Some Inuit never visited a Moravian mission, while others tried but left after finding it unsuitable. Some stayed for a time before returning to their families in the south. The Moravians were concerned about reaching Inuit in south/central Labrador who resisted their influence and about missionized Inuit who left the posts. The migration of families back to the south was a constant challenge for the Moravians and sometimes jeopardized the viability of the missions (**Doc. 06, p. 98**)²⁶⁵.

The Moravians felt a spiritual responsibility for the Inuit living in Eskimo Bay (Hamilton Inlet), especially for the families southwest of Rigolet in Snook's Cove and Karawalla (**Doc. 06, p. 98**)²⁶⁶.

By the late 1700s, the Moravian missionaries brought significant social and economic benefits but also caused considerable disruption. They undermined traditional Inuit social and spiritual institutions by ridiculing shamans, attempting to weaken the influence of successful hunters, and isolating Christianized Inuit from those who remained un-Christianized. Despite the economic prosperity, this period was marked by great social, spiritual, and emotional stress (**Doc. 06, p. 19**)²⁶⁷.

By the 18th century, an extensive coastal trade network had developed in which European goods from the south were being traded by Inuit middlemen for baleen, oil and furs from Inuit in the north. Part of the more restrictive economic regime established by the British in 1763 included the aim of containing the Inuit in the north, to prevent them from interfering with the fishery in the south. Moravian missionaries sought to

²⁶² NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.180.

²⁶³ Ibid, p.89.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, p.93.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, p.98.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, p.98.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p.19.

establish a mission station among the Labrador Inuit. To do so, they agreed to work with the British towards limiting Inuit activities in the south, in exchange for land to set up their mission stations. In 1771 the Moravians established their first mission station, in Nain, with the goal of converting the Inuit population, making them the first 206) European group to visit Labrador with specific intentions to alter the Inuit way of life. The Moravians continued their expansion during the 18th century, both to the north and the south. Direct European influence in the north continued well into the 19th century, with more mission stations established, so that the entire coast of Labrador was the scene of some form of contact or colonization **(Doc. 03_1, p. 2)**²⁶⁸.

By the 18th century, the Labrador Inuit lived in a relatively mild and stable environment, providing economic security. Trade with Europeans and among Inuit groups led to greater economic complexity and new social roles. As early as the Basque period in the 1500s, some Inuit families lived alongside Basque whalers. By 1700, Inuit increasingly engaged with Europeans through service employment, collaboration, and social reciprocity as safe and strategic ways to interact with growing European presence **(Doc. 06, pp. 17-18)**²⁶⁹.

With the arrival of the Moravians, the Inuit tended to remain close to the mission for supplies, while attempting to maintain their traditional seasonal harvesting patterns **(Doc. 03_1, p. 3)**²⁷⁰.

The Nain mission reduced but did not stop Inuit travel in their southern territories **(Doc. 01_18, p. 23)**²⁷¹.

Britain's plan for moving Inuit off the coast was chiefly effected through an arrangement with the Moravian Church, which established missions-cum-trade stations north of Hamilton Inlet that succeeded in bringing an end to significant Inuit presence in the southern region **(Doc. 01_9, p. 3)**²⁷².

With the introduction of new technologies through contact with Europeans came changes in the seasonal round. With these technologies and through direct relationships with trading establishments, Inuit became involved in a cash economy focused on fur trapping and fishing **(Doc. 01_3, pp. 89-90)**²⁷³.

²⁶⁸ Fay, Amelia (2013). Finding Mikak: The Search for a Late 18th-Century Inuit Trader in the Archeological Record. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.) Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands (pp. 341-349). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.2.

²⁶⁹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.17-18.

²⁷⁰ Fay, Amelia (2013). Finding Mikak: The Search for a Late 18th-Century Inuit Trader in the Archeological Record. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.) Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands (pp. 341-349). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.3.

²⁷¹ Hay, Stephen (2017). How to Win Friends and Trade with People: Southern Inuit, George Cartwright, and Labrador Households, 1763 to 1809. *Acadiensis*, 46(2), pp. 35-58, p.23.

²⁷² Stopp, Marianne P. (2009). Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England. *Arctic*. 62(1), pp. 45-64, p.3.

²⁷³ Woollett, James M. (2003). An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change. Dissertation. The City University of New York, p.89-90.

Independent traders had been residing in Hamilton Inlet from the 18th century, when they began to integrate themselves permanently into the landscape with the Inuit (**Doc. 03_2, p. 4**)²⁷⁴.

The 1790's marked the end of Inuit interregional traders, at least in southern Labrador. Once Europeans occupied Hamilton Inlet, it was only a matter of time before they also moved to more northerly harbours. Within a short time, traders with cheaper goods began to populate the coast north of Hamilton Inlet, bringing an end to Inuit entrepreneurs (**Doc. 01_9, p. 16**)²⁷⁵.

Disparity between the northern and southern branches of the Inuit was especially marked in their material culture and population distribution. At the end of the 18th century, the northern people still used the traditional material for the manufacture of household items. In contrast, the Inuit to the south through frequent contacts with Europeans had acquired a large amount of European-made goods. In 1772-73, at least one third of the Labrador Inuit were living in the two southernmost posts of Hopedale and Nain (**Doc. 01_15, p. 95**)²⁷⁶.

Policies such as the 1765 treaty between Governor Palliser and Inuit at Chateau Bay, the establishment of the first Moravian post at Nain in 1771 and the positive influences of George Cartwright, who arrived in Labrador in 1770, all reduced violence and made permanent European settlement possible (**Doc. 03_8, p. 3**)²⁷⁷.

In Labrador, Inuit were hunting fur-bearing animals to trade for European goods, with women playing a key role in processing skins for this trade, similar to practices on Baffin Island. Archaeological evidence suggests that Inuit women gained access to European goods for household tasks, which may have enhanced their prestige, as European items were considered prestigious during the 18th century (**Doc. 06, p. 234**)²⁷⁸.

Inuit women in Labrador played a crucial role as cultural intermediaries, particularly with the Moravians, but this was common throughout the region. They were instrumental in incorporating European goods into Inuit life, engaging in trade, seeking wage economy opportunities, forming relationships with European men, and adopting Christian spiritual practices (**Doc. 06, p. 248**)²⁷⁹.

²⁷⁴ Brandy, Eliza (2013). Inuit Animal Use and the Impact of European Settlement and Trade in Snooks Cove, Labrador. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.) *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 331-340). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.4.

²⁷⁵ Stopp, Marianne P. (2009). Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England. *Arctic*. 62(1), pp. 45-64, p.16.

²⁷⁶ Auger, Réginald. (1989). Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: From the Written Sources to the Archeological Evidence. *Collection Nordicana*. Centre d'études nordiques. Université Laval, p.95.

²⁷⁷ Way, Patricia (2014). The Story of William Phippard. In John C. Kennedy (ed.), *History and Renewal of Labrador's Inuit-Métis* (pp. 149-168). ISER: St. John's, pp. 135-154, p.3.

²⁷⁸ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.234.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.248.

Neilsen suggests that the raids on European stations were not only about acquiring European goods but also about protecting the Inuit's whaling practices, which were central to their way of life. These raids aimed to disrupt European industries and Innu involvement, ensuring the Inuit's cultural autonomy and continued access to vital resources **(Doc. 06, p. 299)**²⁸⁰.

Jackson notes that, “families of Inuit began dealing regularly with Cartwright and other traders in the late 1700’s” **(Doc. 04_2, p. 22)**.

Jackson notes that much “has been written of the disappearance of the Inuit from southern Labrador. Though it is true that disease and brutality must have taken a heavy toll, it seems likely that many of the remainder were simply absorbed into the early white population” **(Doc. 04_2, p. 22)**²⁸¹.

Marianne Stopp states “for both Labrador’s Innu of Amerindian ancestry and the Inuit of Thule Eskimo ancestry the turn of the seventeenth century marked the end of many aspects of their old ways of life because of the significant control that Europeans began to exert over traditional coastal settlement areas, increasing dependence on European material goods, and altered social structures that came about through trade, European diseases, and/or conflict” **(Doc. 04_3, p. 9)**²⁸².

By the 19th century European settlers, Inuit groups and mixed ethnicity (or Metis) families were constructing and occupying similar-looking dwellings throughout central and southern Labrador **(Doc. 03_2, p. 2)**²⁸³.

In 1818, Chappel noted that the whole southern coast of Labrador, bordering on the Straits of Belle-isle, was originally inhabited by the Esquimaux, but that their “antipathy toward a residence near European settlements” gradually induced them to move farther north **(Doc. 02_12, p. 4)**²⁸⁴. They lived only north of Sandwich Bay **(Doc. 02_12, p. 5)**²⁸⁵. A tribe of them had been at L’Anse à Loup... **(Doc. 02_12, p. 11)**²⁸⁶.

²⁸⁰ Ibid, p.299.

²⁸¹ Jackson, Lawrence (1982). *Bounty of a Barren Coast: Resource Harvest and Settlement in Southern Labrador*. Prepared for Petro Canada Explorations Ltd, p.22.

²⁸² Stopp, Marianne (2008). *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*. McGill-Queen’s University Press, p.9.

²⁸³ Brandy, Eliza (2013). *Inuit Animal Use and the Impact of European Settlement and Trade in Snooks Cove, Labrador*. In P.E. Pope & S. Lewis-Simpson (eds.) *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands* (pp. 331-340). Boydell Press: Woodbridge, p.2.

²⁸⁴ Chappell, Edward (Lieut.) (1818). *Voyage of His Majesty’s Ship Rosamond to Newfoundland and the Southern Coast of Labrador*. London: Printed for J. Mawman, Ludgate Street, pp. 95-103, 190-193, p.4.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, p.5.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, p.11.

An August 25, 1826 letter from Nain reporting on missionary work noted that they had “no visits from the South” and that “[t]he rude and unmannerly behaviour of the Southlanders is far worse than that of the people of the North” (**Doc. 02_3, p. 5**)²⁸⁷.

In a journal of a trip from Nain to Hopedale in 1851, Freitag noted an overnight stay “several miles short of” Davis’s Inlet, at the house of an Esquimaux who was a “southlander” and “had been settled there about two years”. He was barked at by a “European dog” and when he entered the house he was struck with “its whole internal arrangement, differing greatly from that of our Esquimaux”. The “whole manner of living” of the southlanders was “far different”. The southlanders lived “almost entirely on European food”, had “lost their independence” and had become “slaves of the Europeans” (**Doc. 02_2, pp. 1-2**)²⁸⁸.

Southern migrations continued well into the 19th century (**Doc. 01_2, p. 3**)²⁸⁹.

220) Inuit winter settlement patterns became increasingly focused on European missionary and trading establishments in the 19th century. During this time, Inuit incorporated more European materials in house construction (**Doc. 01_3, p. 96**)²⁹⁰.

In 1894, the Hopedale Moravian Parish served 175 Inuit and 177 settlers, extending to Cape Harrison. A Moravian trip to Hamilton Inlet estimated a mixed white population of 200-300, with 70 Inuit who spoke limited English. Some Inuit could read Inuktitut and were given Inuktitut Bibles and hymnbooks. The Moravians preached in Inuktitut and baptized an Inuit woman named Margaret Louisa, who was preparing for a sealing expedition the next day (**Doc. 06, p. 102**)²⁹¹.

Inuit seasonal transhumance land use patterns continue to be evident in the Inuit-descendant communities of south and central Labrador. While this multi-resource lifestyle had declined in the Moravian communities, it remained strong in the south/central communities. This was documented in maps by Tony Williamson of the Labrador Institute of Northern Studies in 1977, as part of a report on the social and economic evaluation of the Labrador Coast (**Doc. 06, p. 103**)²⁹².

The Moravians struggled to establish a stable, core group of Inuit at their mission/trade posts, facing varying degrees of success. They employed a mix of threats, guilt,

²⁸⁷ Glitsch, Br. Z., Lundberg, Br. J. & Muller, Br. F.J. [Extract from Letters to the Brethren’s Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel Among the Heathen, dated year 1826]. Nain. Periodic Accounts of the Moravian Missions 10. The Rooms Provincial Archives, pp. 53-57, p.5.

²⁸⁸ Freitag, Br. A. [Extract of the Journal of Br. A. Freitag’s Visit to Hopedale, in the year 1851]. Periodic Accounts of the Moravian Missions 20. The Rooms Provincial Archives, pp. 281-285, p.1-2.

²⁸⁹ Taylor, J.G. (1980). The Inuit of southern Quebec-Labrador: Reviewing the evidence. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 4(1), pp. 185-194, p.3.

²⁹⁰ Woollett, James M. (2003). An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change. Dissertation. The City University of New York, p.96.

²⁹¹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.102.

²⁹² Ibid, p.103.

disapproval, government intervention, and trade goods to try to discourage Inuit from continuing their traditional use of their entire territory (**Doc. 06, p. 179**)²⁹³.

An argument for the hybrid nature of the Labrador Métis can be made based on a traditional gender-based division of labour. The architectural features suggest that the design of a 19th-century sod structure near the mouth of North River, about 10 km northwest of Cartwright, more closely resembles that of European houses and construction by an individual, presumably male, trained in the European tradition. The domestic artifact assemblage and faunal collection suggest that the domestic activities associated with the preparation of food and clothing were conducted by an individual, presumably a female, more familiar with Inuit traditions (**Doc. 01_12, p. 20**)²⁹⁴. The combination of persons from different cultural backgrounds, performing gender-segregated activities, produced a cultural hybrid that manifested itself in the dwelling (**Doc. 01_12, p. 21**)²⁹⁵.

Although the central and north coast archaeological record does not provide direct insight into Inuit activities in the European zone to the south, the historical stages and adaptive patterns from the central coast emerged as a response to changing interactions and materials that became available to Inuit during different stages of European use of the southern lands and waters. As the European powers and economies changed, Inuit contacts and tactics towards Basques, French, English and their subgroups gradually shifted from scavenger to raider, trader, ally, guide, employee and others (**Doc. 01_23, pp. 4-5**)²⁹⁶.

By the early 1700's, trade relations were established with Europeans on a regularized but intermittent basis. The entire Labrador coast became involved in a long-distance trade network with native products moving south and European goods flowing north. Influential middlemen emerged and residence patterns shifted to communal houses from Hamilton Inlet to the tip of the Labrador Peninsula. By the late 18th and early 19th century, this system began to collapse with the establishment of the Moravian missions on the north central coast and the presence of local trading posts and European settlers on the south central coast. The role of the middleman was undermined and the extensive inter-Inuit trade networks were discontinued (**Doc. 01_4, p. 11**).

These trends intensified in the 19th century as new economic relations were established between individual Inuit families and local trading posts. This was a period of intense acculturation as Inuit women begin to marry resident European settlers and some Inuit families begin working directly for the trading posts. Residence patterns reverted to

²⁹³ Ibid, p.179.

²⁹⁴ Beaudoin, Matthew A., Josephs, Richard L., & Rankin, Lisa K. (2010). Attributing Cultural Affiliation to Sod Structures in Labrador: A Labrador Métis Example from North River. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, 34, pp. 148-173, p.20.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, p.21.

²⁹⁶ Fitzhugh, William W. (2007). *Exploring Cultural Boundaries: The 'Invisible' Inuit of Southern Labrador and Quebec*. Smithsonian Institution. pp. 1-22, p.4-5.

the old nuclear family arrangements and the Inuit adopted new religious beliefs (**Doc. 01_4, p. 11**)²⁹⁷.

Between 1991 and 1994, the “Labrador Metis Association” was asked by Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) to submit supplementary historical and genealogical information, as part of its land claim. The “LMA worked with Labrador's leading genealogist, Patricia Way, of Cartwright, compiling 32 extensive family trees, many from within the study area.” It was noted that the 32 genealogies reveal two themes: most first generation Europeans males, men like Williams, Davis, Lucey and others listed in the 1835 Petition, married the only women available, usually either Inuit or part-Inuit. In the second and succeeding generations, persons of mixed ancestries tended to marry others of their own kind (**Doc. 05_3, p. 48**)²⁹⁸.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples claimed in its 1996 report that “Labrador Métis display the social and geographic distinctiveness, the self-consciousness and cohesiveness of a people, along with an unmistakably Aboriginal relationship to the natural environment,” therefore, a distinct culture. The Minaskuat Limited Partnership report notes “while this may be true, and while the historical documentation...shows that an historic population of mixed ancestry inhabited the study area, the historical documents we examined have little explicit to say about issues of identity and culture” (**Doc. 05_3, p. 52**)²⁹⁹.

Conclusion

The often-violent clashes that marked the earliest period of direct contact were driven by suspicion, misunderstanding and hostility. The greater familiarity that accompanied an increasingly shared space led to more trust and a clear understanding of the mutual benefits to be derived from trading and social relationships, including inter-marriage.

4. Please provide historical/anthropological perspective on how or whether European settler presence/integration influenced the characteristics of the Inuit ancestry population inhabiting the territory claimed by NunatuKavut.

Summary: *This question overlaps to some extent with the previous one. As several of the above entries indicate, increased contact with Europeans influenced Inuit locations, habits and culture (and indeed this went both ways) and led to intermarriage. With respect to particularly the latter and the development of a group that may have rights to the claimed territory. See below details drawn from the documents.*

²⁹⁷ Jordan, R.H. & Kaplan, S.A. (1980). An archaeological view of the Inuit / European contact period in Central Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 4(1), pp. 35-45, p.11.

²⁹⁸ Minaskuat Limited Partnership (2005). A Historical Profile of the Labrador Coast Area's Mixed European-Indian or Mixed European-Inuit Ancestry Community. Prepared for Department of Justice Canada, p.48.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.52.

Key Takeaways (European Influence on Inuit Ancestry Population)

1. **Inter-marriage:** Inuit-European inter-marriage on the Labrador coast led to the development of a group that may have rights to the claimed territory.
2. **Continued Distinctiveness of Inuit Communities:** The Inuit communities into which European men married continued to be distinct.

As British men began permanently inhabiting the Labrador coast in large numbers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, they married local Inuit women. Over time, ethnically mixed adults often intermarried with others like themselves, beginning the process of ethnogenesis that reinforced their distinctiveness as a separate group and resulted in the Labrador Metis identity (**Doc 01_12, p. 3**)³⁰⁰.

Following 1763, men from Europe came to Labrador to work in the fishery. Unions between these men and Inuit women produced a “mixed” category of people. These “half-breeds” or “mixed breeds” living south of what is now Nunatsiavut organized as Metis in the 1980s. Today, most are members of NunatuKavut Community Council (**Doc. 03_8, p. 2**)³⁰¹.

By the mid 1770’s, Inuit mothers in southern Labrador gave birth to children with English and Irish fathers. The early families of southeastern Labrador continued to grow when more Inuit mother gave birth to children with European fathers (**Doc. 01_18, p. 5**)³⁰².

The English and Irish men who partnered with Inuit women in Labrador had children who became Labrador Métis or Southern Inuit (**Doc. 01_18, p. 24**)³⁰³.

Inuit presence along the south-central coast did not disappear altogether after the influx of early European merchants, even making a resurgence in the early 19th century with the growth of mixed households. Early families such as these constitute the ancestors of today’s population along the south-central coast (**Doc. 03_5, p. 15**)³⁰⁴.

A sustained European fishery had existed in Newfoundland and Labrador since at least the 16th century. The era of mass settlement in the later 18th century expanded the

³⁰⁰ Beaudoin, Matthew A., Josephs, Richard L., & Rankin, Lisa K. (2010). Attributing Cultural Affiliation to Sod Structures in Labrador: A Labrador Métis Example from North River. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, 34, pp. 148-173, p.3.

³⁰¹ Way, Patricia (2014). The Story of William Phippard. In John C. Kennedy (ed.), *History and Renewal of Labrador’s Inuit-Métis* (pp. 149-168). ISER: St. John’s, pp. 135-154, p.2.

³⁰² Hay, Stephen (2017). How to Win Friends and Trade with People: Southern Inuit, George Cartwright, and Labrador Households, 1763 to 1809. *Acadiensis*, 46(2), pp. 35-58, p.5.

³⁰³ Ibid, p.24.

³⁰⁴ Stopp, Marianne (2008). *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*. McGill-Queen’s University Press, p.15.

group known as “planters” (mixed heritage families) in especially the southernmost parts of the mainland immediately north of the island (**Doc. 01_5, p. 13**)³⁰⁵.

That a large number of people who identified as Inuit were of mixed heritage, and that an increasing number of planter families were “second generation” by the time the Hudson Bay Company entered Hamilton Inlet, meant that there was often little phenotypical difference to distinguish the two groups (**Doc. 01_5, p. 15**)³⁰⁶.

In Labrador, Hudson Bay Company traders embraced “mixed-blood” planter families and encouraged their servants to intermarry with planter and Inuit women. This explains the decline of southern Inuit groups, for as Inuit women became integrated into planter families, the number of individuals identified as “Eskimos” around Hamilton Inlet and Sandwich Bay dropped significantly (**Doc. 01_5, p. 17**)³⁰⁷.

As planters in the Hamilton Inlet area became further distanced from their indigenous ancestors and disavowed any connection to an “Indian past”, the term “settler” replaced “planter” as the typical way to refer to the descendants of this group (**Doc. 01_5, pp. 17-18**)³⁰⁸.

Clear evidence shows that the Inuit (both full and mixed-blooded) who remained in south/central Labrador after 1763 continued to demonstrate traits of inventiveness and adaptability. They maintained a seasonal transhumant lifestyle, at least until disrupted by government actions such as resettlement, game laws, the cod moratorium, and other external displacements. Research by Dr. Hanrahan and the archaeology of the Williams home confirm that the Inuit continued their traditional food practices and engaged in the intentional creation of surpluses of local resources for trade purposes (**Doc. 06, p. 310**)³⁰⁹.

The power and influence of Inuit women are evident in the archaeology of the Charles and Mary Williams house in North River. The occupants, including Charles, adopted a subsistence Inuit lifestyle, following the practices of his Inuit wife rather than a typical European lifestyle in Labrador. Inuit wives, including those married to European men, played a crucial role in directing not only the domestic affairs of the household but also the overall economy of the household (**Doc. 06, p. 313**)³¹⁰.

The 18th-century Labrador Inuit lived in a relatively mild climate and benign environment, which provided them with considerable economic security. The development of trade with Europeans and between local Inuit groups introduced a new

³⁰⁵ Korneski, Kurt (2016). Planters, Eskimos, and Indians: Race and the Organization of Trade under the Hudson’s Bay Company in Labrador, 1830-50. *Journal of Social History*, 50(2), pp. 307-335, p.13.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p.15.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p.17.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.17-18.

³⁰⁹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.310.

³¹⁰ *Ibid*, 313.

level of economic complexity, fostering the emergence of new social and economic roles within the community (**Doc. 06, p. 17**)³¹¹.

The Inuit, whether male or female, typically brought an extended family into the marriage. The European men were often single, with their families remaining in England. Thus, when they married an Inuk woman, they were not just marrying an individual, but entering into an association with her extended family and being absorbed into Inuit culture. Similarly, the children from these marriages were primarily influenced by their Inuit mothers, with the European fathers contributing through their acculturation into the Inuit way of life (**Doc. 06, p. 136**)³¹².

There are no examples to support the theory that Inuit who married Europeans were "ostracized" by their Inuit families, or that the mixed-ancestry children of these relationships were excluded from Inuit communities. In fact, the southern Inuit maintained strong family connections with relatives in the north, often encouraging them to relocate south. They also played key roles as traders and intermediaries, facilitating interactions between northern Inuit and European traders and acting as important links for European outreach along the Labrador coast (**Doc. 06, p. 173**)³¹³.

Stopp states that by "the late 1700s small numbers of British men had made Labrador their home and had begun families with Inuit women, blending Inuit food, clothing, technology, and environmental knowledge with European religion, language, and economy" (**Doc. 04_3, p. 14**)³¹⁴.

Brice-Bennett states that "in addition to European colonists, several Inuit families also decided to become permanent residents in the late 1700s around Battle Harbor and in other areas neighboring fishing stations located South of Groswater Bay," Some researchers have cited "a variety of accounts referring to the presence of households composed by people of Inuit and mixed Inuit European ancestry throughout the region during the 19th century" (**Doc. 05_1, p. 14**)³¹⁵.

Stopp notes that "In 1783 Cartwright recorded two of the southernmost Inuit communities of that time, at Spotted Islands and Huntington Island" and states, "Inuit presence along the south-central coast did not disappear altogether after the influx of early English merchants, even making a resurgence in the early nineteenth century with the growth of mixed households" (**Doc. 04_3, p. 15**)³¹⁶.

³¹¹ Ibid, p.17.

³¹² Ibid, p.136.

³¹³ Ibid, p.173.

³¹⁴ Stopp, Marianne (2008). The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright. McGill-Queen's University Press, p.14.

³¹⁵ Brice-Bennett, Carol (1997). The Inuit legacy in southern Labrador. Submitted to Fisheries and Oceans Canada, pp. 1-29, p.14.

³¹⁶ Stopp, Marianne (2008). The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright. McGill-Queen's University Press, p.15.

Inuit families, bands, and multi-band groupings continued to thrive in central and southern Labrador. The presence of several dozen permanent European men who married Inuit women or children of mixed unions helped sustain Inuit cultural practices. By the early 19th century, the emergence of the NunatuKavut communities and their demographic dominance by mid-century reflected the continuity of traditional Inuit society and its land use. This process parallels the acculturation of the Moravian-influenced Inuit in Northern Labrador, who transformed during the same period into what is now recognized as today's northern Labrador Inuit and Kablunangajuit (**Doc. 06, p. 201**)³¹⁷.

There are numerous examples of the continuity of Inuit culture in the Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador. Starting in the 1800s, some individuals with European ancestry began to integrate into these communities. Despite this, they lived as part of Inuit communities, raised children within Inuit kinship structures, and participated in shared social and economic activities. While these communities may not have been identical, uniformity is not an anthropological or legal requirement for cultural or communal membership. Inuit culture has long been open to outsiders who were willing to accept its norms and values (**Doc. 06, p. 215**)³¹⁸.

Inuit customs included the practice of regulating what children could eat based on their names (**Doc. 06, p. 216**)³¹⁹.

Inuit customs did not distinguish between the ancestry of the male in the household, meaning that even if the father was originally European, the family continued to follow the Inuit ways of the mother and the surrounding community. These traditions, including cultural practices, values, and knowledge, were passed on to all children within the community, whether they were of mixed ancestry or not. This highlights the strong influence of Inuit maternal lineage and community in shaping the cultural identity of the family (**Doc. 06, p. 217**)³²⁰.

The evidence clearly refutes the claim that inter-marriage with Europeans led to the “extinction” of the Inuit in Southern Labrador. Given the relatively small number of Europeans living year-round in Labrador during the late 1700s and 1800s, and the absence of European women, European men who married Inuit women and stayed in Labrador integrated into Inuit communities. They adopted Inuit ways of life, and were effectively absorbed into Inuit descendant communities. The idea that a single European man in a small Inuit community could transform the community into a “European” one is both unsupported by evidence and lacks logical basis (**Doc. 06, p. 306**)³²¹.

³¹⁷ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.201.

³¹⁸ Ibid, p.215.

³¹⁹ Ibid, p.216.

³²⁰ Ibid, p.217.

³²¹ Ibid, p.306.

When relationships resulted in children, the children typically married within their own cultural group, either to others of mixed descent or back to individuals of pure Inuit ancestry, reinforcing the Inuit bloodline. Males, in particular, tended to choose partners who were either of mixed or full Inuit ancestry. These Inuit communities, whether of full or mixed heritage, maintained their distinctiveness from outsiders, such as merchants and seasonal fishermen. They preserved their Inuit culture, traditions, and land-use patterns, which continued despite the presence of non-Indigenous influences. This cultural continuity is crucial in understanding the resilience of Inuit society in southern Labrador **(Doc. 06, p. 306)**³²².

The European men and non-Inuit Aboriginals who arrived in Labrador were absorbed into Inuit society, adopting Inuit ways of life. Their children, whether of mixed ancestry or not, were treated as kin and lived according to Inuit customs, integrating seamlessly into the community. This evidence shows that Inuit culture endured, thriving through these mixed and full-blooded Inuit families, and remains an essential part of the region's heritage **(Doc. 06, p. 313)**³²³.

The practice of assigning European names, particularly Christian names like "Sarah," to Inuit women in the early 19th century, was influenced by colonial and missionary practices. This was consistent with the broader trend of missionaries attempting to "Christianize" Indigenous peoples by adopting European naming conventions. These names were not necessarily chosen by the individuals themselves but were often imposed by the missionaries **(Doc. 06, p. 136)**³²⁴.

Records from the nineteenth century in Labrador show that several Aboriginal men acquired European surnames. These names may have been adopted from an Aboriginal name, given at birth, or inherited through adoption by a family with an existing English surname **(Doc. 06, p. 140)**³²⁵.

The first half of the 19th century witnessed the dissolution of distinct traditional Inuit social units in southern Labrador. Their members were absorbed into a growing Euro-Canadian settler population through intermarriage **(Doc. 01_1, p. 25)**³²⁶.

Labrador Métis families became a majority of the population in southern Labrador in the 19th century **(Doc. 01_18, p. 24)**³²⁷.

The earliest Inuit to reside in Sandwich Bay had much in common with their northern ancestors. Over time, the Inuit of Sandwich Bay acquired their own regional identity as traders of European goods desired by other Inuit populations to the north. By the

³²² Ibid, p.306.

³²³ Ibid, p.313.

³²⁴ Ibid, p.136.

³²⁵ Ibid, p.140.

³²⁶ Martjin, Charles A. (2009). Historic Inuit Presence in Northern Newfoundland, Circa 1550-1800 CE, p.25.

³²⁷ Hay, Stephen (2017). How to Win Friends and Trade with People: Southern Inuit, George Cartwright, and Labrador Households, 1763 to 1809. *Acadiensis*, 46(2), pp. 35-58, p.24.

nineteenth century Inuit identity shifts again as Inuit women marry and raise families with European settlers (**Doc. 03_3, pp. 6-7**)³²⁸.

Aboriginal women, particularly in the contact period, often acted as cultural mediators between their communities and incoming Europeans. Beverly Diamond noted that colonialism was experienced differently by men and women, with women serving as key intermediaries from the seventeenth century onward. By the nineteenth century, women had gained specific economic power, such as through basket making or beadwork. In Labrador, Inuit women played a significantly higher role economically, contributing essential skills such as cleaning and processing skins, making winter clothing and footwear, and teaching their husbands survival techniques necessary for thriving in the harsh environment (**Doc. 06, p. 233**)³²⁹.

In the nineteenth century, an Inuit woman entering a marriage with a European man not only acted as a "cultural mediator" but also brought valuable gender-specific skills and trade knowledge to the relationship. She carried with her the relationships and survival skills from her family, which the European male could learn from to adapt and survive. Rather than being a passive recipient of the foreign male's cultural influence, the Inuit woman played a leading role in shaping the evolving Inuit society around her, guiding both domestic and cultural adaptation (**Doc. 06, p. 234**)³³⁰.

Upon marriage, the Inuit woman maintained her traditional gender roles, work responsibilities, and cultural values, while the European male had to adapt to Inuit survival practices. Charles Williams, for example, embraced Inuit hunting methods and ate traditional foods like seal, caribou, and porpoise, contrasting with European diets of beef, pork, and farmed vegetables. His household relied on these foods and skills, which were likely taught to him by his Inuit wife, Mary, and her extended family. These culturally rooted practices were passed down to their Inuit descendants well into the twentieth century (**Doc. 06, p. 235**)³³¹.

The occasional European male's presence did not alter Inuit culture. To survive the Labrador winter, the European man had to learn vital Inuit skills, which he would acquire from his wife and her male relatives. His survival—and the preservation of his marriage—depended on his integration into Inuit lifeways and survival methods. Without his Inuit wife and her extended kin, he would not have been able to survive (**Doc. 06, p. 312**)³³².

³²⁸ Rankin, Lisa K. (2010). A People for All Seasons: Expressions of Inuit Identity over the past 500 Years in Southern Labrador. In L.A. Meyer et al., *Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity* (pp. 332-340). University of Calgary: Calgary, p.6-7.

³²⁹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.233.

³³⁰ *Ibid*, p.234.

³³¹ *Ibid*, p.235.

³³² *Ibid*, p.312.

Inuit women were not passive recipients of European men's advances in marriage; rather, they chose their marriage partners (as Cartwright discovered to his frustration) and significantly influenced the household economy. They also served as cultural intermediaries, playing a vital role in bridging European and Inuit cultures. Given the necessity of collaboration with Inuit women for survival, these women often controlled or complemented their European husbands' activities, placing them in powerful positions within the evolving cultural dynamics of South/Central Labrador during the nineteenth century (**Doc. 06, p. 313**)³³³.

Outsiders have labeled the land a "barren" coast, viewing survival as challenging. However, the Inuit, with their proven ability to thrive in some of the harshest climates on Earth, saw central and southern Labrador as a land of relative abundance (**Doc. 06, p. 325**)³³⁴.

The adoption of English names by Inuit in early nineteenth-century South/Central Labrador reflects their adaptability, resilience, and ability to adjust to changing economic and social circumstances. There was little reluctance to adopting these names, as it was a natural response to the evolving conditions in Labrador and the broader North (**Doc. 06, p. 147**)³³⁵.

Government efforts to dismantle Inuit communities, including trade missions, forced resettlement, and the creation of Nunatsiavut, have failed. Despite these attempts, the Inuit's resilience, adaptability, and determination have ensured the survival and continuity of their communities (**Doc. 06, p. 314**)³³⁶.

In the summer of 1824, Rev. Thomas Hickson recorded the population at Esquimaux Bay, noting 100 Inuit adults, 60 Inuit children, and 60 people of mixed Inuit descent. Additionally, there were 90 European settlers and 16 Canadians. He observed that the Inuit maintained a migratory, transhumant lifestyle (**Doc. 06, p. 91**)³³⁷.

In 1824, Rev. Thomas Hickson documented further details about the Inuit and European presence in Esquimaux Bay in his *Labrador Journal*. He noted that many Inuit were away and difficult to meet. At Tub Harbour and Cuff Harbour, he found Inuit women living with European partners. At Cullingham's Tickle, he encountered a community of 40 Inuit, including a woman married to an Englishman with six children. Some Inuit had connections to Moravian missions, while others did not. He also met Englishmen who had families with Inuit women from different parts of the Bay (**Doc. 06, p. 92**)³³⁸.

In 1824, Rev. Thomas Hickson estimated around 100 Inuit living between Cape Charles and Sandwich Bay, alongside approximately 149 year-round settlers. At Cape North,

³³³ Ibid, p.313.

³³⁴ Ibid, p.325.

³³⁵ Ibid, p.147.

³³⁶ Ibid, p.314.

³³⁷ Ibid, p.91.

³³⁸ Ibid, p.92.

there were 30 Inuit living near 30 European settlers. Spotted Island was entirely inhabited by Inuit. Seal Island had a small Inuit community of 10–12 people, while Square Island had 23 "real" Inuit, as well as several Europeans married to Inuit women **(Doc. 06, p. 93)**³³⁹.

Rev. Thomas Hickson, the first Methodist missionary to visit Labrador in 1824, estimated the Inuit population of Hamilton Inlet, Esquimaux Bay, or Ivucktoke at 220 individuals but provided no estimate for Sandwich Bay or other southern coastal areas. In 1825, Rev. Richard Knight estimated 192 Inuit and mixed-Inuit at Esquimaux Bay, 50–60 in the Sandwich Bay region (Aiviktome), and 80–100 south to Square Islands. This suggests a total Inuit population of 322–352 in the traditional territory at that time **(Doc. 06, p. 124)**³⁴⁰.

In 1824, Rev. Thomas Hickson recorded 220 people at Hamilton Inlet (Aivektoke) but documented only one name. The following year, in 1825, Rev. Richard Knight recorded 352 people of full and mixed Inuit ancestry between Hamilton Inlet and Square Islands (Ikkarisarsuk). Despite extensive research, only six names from this population have been found **(Doc. 06, p. 172)**³⁴¹.

Rev. Thomas Hickson's *Labrador Journal* (1824) includes a description of Inuit clothing, hairstyles, tattoos, and boots. He noted that an Inuit woman at Mullins Cove, living with her English husband and three children, maintained these cultural traits. Hickson observed that the Inuit had a confused belief in a devil, attempting to chase it from their wigwams, sitting in silence for long periods, or making sacrifices to appease it **(Doc. 06, p. 216)**³⁴².

Brice-Bennett notes that, "Thomas Hickson, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary, visited Grosswater Bay during the summer of 1824 and held services with families of Inuit, European, Canadian and mixed ancestry dispersed in the area," and states "his estimate of the composition of population, amounting to a total of 326 inhabitants...included 160 'real Esquimaux' adults and children, 60 'half Esquimaux' and 106 European and Canadian settlers." Brice-Bennett also states that "while these figures indicate that Inuit were still the majority of residents, they also allude to a considerable degree of intermarriage since the foreign settlers likely had adult Inuit spouses to account for half Eskimo children" **(Doc. 05_1, p. 16)**³⁴³.

Brice-Bennett notes that "language was certainly the most obvious feature distinguishing Inuit from people of European origin and mixed ancestry residing along the Labrador coast during and after the 19th century. The first male settlers marrying Inuit women apparently did not learn the difficult Inuit language, and they even gave

³³⁹ Ibid, p.93.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, p.124.

³⁴¹ Ibid, p.172.

³⁴² Ibid, p.216.

³⁴³ Brice-Bennett, Carol (1997). The Inuit legacy in southern Labrador. Submitted to Fisheries and Oceans Canada, pp. 1-29, p.16.

their wives English personal names because they could not pronounce or disliked native terms; some women had Christian names if they were baptized at a Moravian station. When the first couple of dual cultural ancestry were baptized at Hopedale in 1853, the Moravians held the service in Inuktitut for the wife named Jane, followed by English for the husband John Reed, who could not comprehend the native language" (**Doc. 05_1, p. 19**)³⁴⁴.

Rev. Richard Knight's 1825 journal provides evidence of cultural continuity among the Inuit in Labrador. He described a community of 12 Inuit and 9 half-Inuit individuals living together without distinction based on ancestry. The women played key roles in making essential items like boots and moccasins. Knight also predicted an increase in the Inuit population, noting that two-thirds of married women were under 30, a prediction that proved accurate and contradicts theories of "Inuit extinction" (**Doc. 06, p. 217**)³⁴⁵.

Rev. George Ellidge's journeys in 1826-27 highlight the continued presence of Inuit occupation and culture in Labrador. Despite his apparent dislike for the region, Ellidge spent significant time in Lake Melville and with the Inuit community at Snooks Cove (**Doc. 06, p. 95**)³⁴⁶.

Visits to other Labrador communities revealed a consistent Inuit presence. While not frequently visited, each Inuit community showed continuity with the past, with both in- and out-migration ensuring their persistence, unless displaced by European forces (**Doc. 06, p. 97**)³⁴⁷.

Stopp notes, "Bishop Field who visited Sandwich Bay in 1848, found a largely Anglican population there "many pure Esquimaux, but the majority Anglo-Esquimaux," and remarked that they were well versed in the Anglican catechism, despite never having had a visit from a representative of that church, and many could read and write English...early families such as these constitute the ancestors of today's population along the south-central Coast" (**Doc. 04_3, p. 15**)³⁴⁸.

The recent excavation of Charles and Mary Williams' home highlights the continuation of Inuit culture in mixed-ancestry households. Matthew A. Beaudoin was involved in excavating the house, where Charles Williams, born in England in 1808, moved to Labrador around 1840. He first married Mary, an Inuk woman who passed away in the late 1840s, and later remarried Mary MacPherson, the mixed-ancestry daughter of a Hudson's Bay trader and an Inuit woman. Charles had two children with his first wife and possibly three with his second. The excavation provides valuable insights into Mary MacPherson's life, showing that, despite her mixed ancestry, she lived and raised her

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p.19.

³⁴⁵ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.217.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, p.95.

³⁴⁷ Ibid, p.97.

³⁴⁸ Stopp, Marianne (2008). The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright. McGill-Queen's University Press, p.15.

family in ways indistinguishable from other Inuit women of the same period. The evidence suggests that their home operated in a distinctly Inuit manner (**Doc. 06, pp. 218-219**)³⁴⁹.

Recent excavation at North River revealed that the subsistence survival of the household was heavily reliant on hunting, particularly seals and caribou—key food sources for the Labrador Inuit during that time. This contrasts with the faunal assemblages found in typical European households of the period. The evidence suggests that Charles Williams, the occupant of North River, adopted a subsistence lifestyle based on Inuit traditions, likely influenced by his Inuit wife, rather than following a typical European lifestyle in Labrador (Beaudoin, 2008). The Inuit wife played a central role in not only managing the household's domestic affairs but also guiding its economic direction. Far from being passive in these cross-cultural marriages, Inuit women actively chose their marriage partners and significantly shaped the household's economy (**Doc. 06, pp. 229-230**).

Before the mid-1800s, both Inuit and European men typically married from the resident Inuit population, which was transitioning from a nomadic to a more settled lifestyle. Inuit families were also adapting to Christianity, learning English, and incorporating new family members. Inuit men were changing their names, using firearms, and adjusting to the evolving economic landscape (**Doc. 06, p. 172**)³⁵⁰.

The Inuit who moved south discarded their baptismal names, so much so that they were no longer recognized by these Christian names even by their fellow Inuit (**Doc. 06, p. 181**)³⁵¹.

Labrador Inuit were not required to adopt surnames until the late 19th century. At the beginning of the century, Inuit people were typically given Inuktitut names. However, by the turn of the 20th century, although they were still considered aboriginal, most Inuit had adopted English names (**Doc. 06, p. 308**)³⁵².

A review of the 1945 nominal demographics for the Labrador coast provides a clear picture of the region's long-established population before many families relocated to Goose Bay due to the Air Base. The census data for the study area (Cap Tikerak, north side of Groswater Bay to Caractucchuac, Belle Isle) indicates that at least 90% of surnames belong to members of today's NunatuKavut or, in the North, Nunatsiavut. Despite many European surnames, the demographic makeup does not reflect a dominant European genotypic population. Genealogical records of NunatuKavut suggest that in the 19th century, around 53 (likely fewer) European men married into a

³⁴⁹ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador, p.218-219.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, p.172.

³⁵¹ Ibid, p.181.

³⁵² Ibid, .308.

primarily Inuit and Inuit-Labradorian population, which ranged from 400 to 600 individuals (**Doc. 06, p. 199**)³⁵³.

The 1945 census for the study area (Cap Tikerak, north side of Groswater Bay to Caractucchuac, Belle Isle) shows that at least 90% of surnames belong to members of today's NunatuKavut or, in the North, Nunatsiavut. This does not indicate European ancestry dominance but rather the adoption of European surnames. Genealogical records suggest that approximately 35 European men married into an Inuit population of around 600–700 individuals (**Doc. 06, p. 308**)³⁵⁴.

In the area from Cap Tikerak, North side of Groswater Bay to Caractucchuac, Belle Isle, the 1945 census reveals that 90% of surnames are those associated with today's NunatuKavut or Nunatsiavut members. This suggests the adoption of European surnames rather than a dominance of European ancestry in the population (**Doc. 06, p. 308**)³⁵⁵.

Cultural features were passed down through generations by grandparents and parents, both through explicit teaching and everyday actions. This generational transmission is crucial for maintaining customs, traditions, and practices, ensuring strong cultural persistence despite external influences (**Doc. 06, p. 245**)³⁵⁶.

Today's descendants of Lydia Campbell can be found among both the Labrador Inuit population of northern Labrador (Nunatsiavut Government) and the Labrador Métis of southern Labrador (NunatuKavut Community Council) (**Doc. 03_6, p. 5**)³⁵⁷.

Inuit women have been the key culture carriers from the time of sovereignty to the present. The survival skills they imparted—such as hunting techniques, high-speed sled travel, and the making of warm, dry clothing—were crucial for the survival and success of the few English men in the harsh Labrador environment. The British Navy's over a century of Arctic exploration ultimately demonstrated the immense survival value of Inuit lifestyles, which were key to thriving in the region's challenging conditions (**Doc. 06, p. 137**)³⁵⁸.

Historically, Inuit viewed name adoption as essential for maintaining connections with the deceased. In the first year of life, a child could receive five or six names, each tied to individuals who had passed away in the community. By the time a child was around one year old, one name would often emerge as fitting. This naming practice helped establish

³⁵³ Ibid, p.199.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, p.308.

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p.308.

³⁵⁶ Ibid, p.245.

³⁵⁷ Stopp, Marianne P. (2014). "I, Old Lydia Campbell": A Labrador Woman of National Historic Significance. In John C. Kennedy (ed.), *History and Renewal of Labrador's Inuit-Métis* (pp. 149-168). ISER Books: St. John's, pp. 155-179, p.5.

³⁵⁸ NunatuKavut Community Council (2010). *Unveiling NunatuKavut: Document in Pursuit of Reclaiming a Homeland: Describing the Lands and People of South/Central Labrador*, p.137.

a sense of belonging to the larger community, functioning as a survival mechanism. According to Dorais, while it could create divisions, it also fostered "an ecocentric identity," where a person's role within the universe was inseparable from their relationships with the community, nature, and the material world (**Doc. 06, p. 147**)³⁵⁹.

As seen in the 1796 Moravian example, it became increasingly common for incoming European men to marry Inuit women. Historically, sex-role identity played a crucial role in the inter-cultural interactions in the Eastern Arctic. The gender dynamics of these relationships significantly shaped the social and cultural exchanges between European settlers and Inuit communities, influencing not only family structures but also broader societal interactions and adaptations (**Doc. 06, p. 227**)³⁶⁰.

Inuit women brought essential task-specific skills and attributes to their mixed marriages with European men, which were crucial for survival in the harsh conditions of Labrador. These women played a significant role in the cultural survival and adaptation of the evolving Inuit population in Southern Labrador, passing down crucial knowledge on survival techniques, such as hunting, sled travel, and clothing-making. Their contributions were vital in helping their families and communities navigate the challenges of the region and thrive in a changing world (**Doc. 06, p. 227**)³⁶¹.

For the European men, the economic necessity of learning Inuit survival skills—such as dog team control, hunting, fishing, and house-building techniques—was crucial for enduring a Labrador winter. Through their Inuit wives, these men gained access to the vital skills and knowledge of Inuit male relationships, which were essential for their survival. By choosing to settle in Labrador, these European men were effectively absorbed into Inuit aboriginal lifeways, relying on Inuit traditions and methods to navigate the challenges of the environment and ensure their survival (**Doc. 06, p. 229**)³⁶².

Dr. Lisa Rankin's report, "Current State of Knowledge – Interim Report, March 2009," and her final draft provide an excellent summary of the academic understanding of Inuit occupation in south and central Labrador. Her findings clarify that Thule Inuit were not isolated middlemen traders or occasional visitors to European settlements for purposes of "raiding or trading." Instead, the evidence suggests a more integrated and established presence in the region (**Doc. 06, p. 15**)³⁶³.

The continuity of Inuit culture is powerfully demonstrated by the unchanging use of sealing harpoons over a span of 210 years, from Attiock in 1773 to Wilson Williams in 1983. This traditional Inuit technology, still used in NunatuKavut today, highlights the persistence of Inuit life-ways. The Beaudoin dig at North River, uncovering the lifestyle of Charles and Mary Williams, and the subsequent connection to their great-grandson in

³⁵⁹ Ibid, p.147.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, p.227.

³⁶¹ Ibid, p.227.

³⁶² Ibid, p.229.

³⁶³ Ibid, p.15.

1983, visually and empirically showcases the enduring continuity of Inuit culture (**Doc. 06, p. 237**)³⁶⁴.

Dr. Hanrahan's work, "*Salmon at the Centre*," explores Indigenous Knowledge (IK) in south and central Labrador, emphasizing how many cultural patterns persist, deeply rooted in Inuit heritage, and continue to reflect Inuit cultural continuity in the region (**Doc. 06, p. 239**)³⁶⁵.

Cultural continuity in the Inuit descendants of south and central Labrador is evident through both material and non-material cultural aspects. Primary analysis of this continuity has only been conducted in the last decade (**Doc. 06, p. 258**)³⁶⁶.

Inuit culture has continued in the Inuit descendant communities of south and central Labrador, where Inuit, occasional European men, non-Inuit Aboriginals, and children of mixed descent lived together as part of the same communities. European men and non-Inuit Aboriginals were integrated into Inuit communities, and children, regardless of parentage, were raised and treated as kin (**Doc. 06, p. 313**)³⁶⁷.

Conclusion

European men on the Labrador coast began marrying local Inuit women in the late 18th century and the children of these unions often married similar others. These early families were the ancestors of today's population along the coast, many of which are members of the NunatuKavut Community Council. European men integrated into and lived as part of Inuit communities, which maintained their distinctiveness. Inuit women directed the overall household economy, taught the European men survival skills and bridged the two cultures in a way that ensured the continuity of the Inuit one.

- 5. Is there evidence to support the establishment of a second distinct Inuit collective, other than the collective that is now represented by the Nunatsiavut Government, located within NunatuKavut's asserted territory, wholly or in part?**
 - a. If so, at what time in history would the development of a second collective have occurred?**
 - b. Was there one historic collective that split into two modern successor groups? Or**
 - c. Was there two historic collectives of which NCC is the modern successor of one and Nunatsiavut Government the modern successor of the other?**

³⁶⁴ Ibid, p.237.

³⁶⁵ Ibid, p.239.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, p.258.

³⁶⁷ Ibid, p.313.

Summary: One Historic Inuit Collective: *There is evidence that supports the existence of a single Inuit collective within Labrador represented by the Nunatsiavut Government and that the 1765 Treaty could not itself create a distinct Inuit collective. There is evidence that, before the Treaty of Paris (1763), the Inuit in southern Labrador were similar in many respects to those in the north. Both groups had a similar way of life, settlement and interaction patterns, social and economic organizations and similar architecture, tool forms, and settlement demographics. There is also evidence that the Inuit in the south may have been drawn there from more northerly locations by the prospect of trade with Europeans. The similarities between the northern and southern groups at sovereignty, and the fact that both were initially in the north, suggests that there was one historic Inuit collective.*

Two Distinct Inuit Collectives: *There is also evidence that supports the existence of two distinct Inuit collectives within Labrador, with the development of these groups occurring well before the 18th century. The distinctions in language, toponyms, and social interactions indicate that NunatuKavut and Nunatsiavut are modern successors to historically separate Inuit groups. By 1765, the Inuit of south and central Labrador appeared unfamiliar with toponyms (place names) for areas north of Groswater Bay, indicating a separation in the knowledge and use of land between the northern and southern Inuit groups. The Inuit in southern and central Labrador also had a different language system compared to those in northern Labrador, further supporting the existence of distinct groups. Historical records indicate that there was little social interaction and even hostility between the southern Inuit and those in northern Labrador. This hostility and lack of interaction point to the existence of separate cultural and social groups. There were also two different Inuit toponymic systems in the 1700s, indicating distinct groups with separate naming conventions for places within their respective territories. The distinction between the two groups was evident by the mid-18th century. Specifically, by 1765, the differences in place names and territories were already clear, suggesting the development of these distinct collectives occurred well before this date. While language and naming conventions are only one aspect of what makes a collective identity, they are often important indicators of how groups separate themselves from others. See below details drawn from the documents.*

Key Takeaways (One Historic Inuit Collective)

1. **Single Historic Inuit Collective:** Evidence indicates that the Inuit of Labrador-both north and south-formed one unified collective historically.
2. **Pre-Treaty Similarities:** Before the 1763 Treaty of Paris, Inuit in southern and northern Labrador shared similar lifestyles, social and economic structures, architecture, tools and settlement patterns.
3. **1765 Treaty Limitations:** The 1765 Treaty did not create a distinct southern Inuit group; instead, it engaged with an already existing collective.

4. **Southern Movement Driven by Trade:** Inuit in the south may have migrated from the north in pursuit of European trade opportunities.
5. **Common Origins:** The initial northern location and cultural similarities suggests a shared origin and continuity between and southern Inuit groups.

Key Takeaways (Two Distinct Inuit Collectives)

1. **Two Distinct Inuit Groups:** Evidence supports the existence of two separate Inuit collectives in Labrador-NunatuKavut in the south/central region and Nunatsiavut in the north-developing well before the 18th century.
2. **Linguistic and Toponymic Differences:** The groups had distinct languages and place-naming systems, indicating cultural and territorial separation.
3. **Limited Interaction and Hostility:** Historical records show little social contact and even hostility between the northern and southern Inuit, reinforcing their distinct identities.
4. **Territorial Knowledge Divide:** By 1765, Southern Inuit were unfamiliar with northern territories, such as those beyond Groswater Bay, highlighting a clear division in land use and knowledge.
5. **Pre-1765 Development:** These distinctions were well established by the mid-18th century, suggesting two groups had been development separately long before 1765.

One Historic Inuit Collective

NunatuKavut's claim to the asserted territory is based on aboriginal title as Inuit (not Métis) and the Treaty that British Governor Hugh Palliser negotiated with Inuit at Chateau Bay in 1765. The time for the identification of Inuit aboriginal title is the time at which the Crown asserted sovereignty. NunatuKavut does not dispute that sovereignty in this case would be at or around 1763, when the Treaty of Paris was signed. There is evidence that, before then, the Inuit in southern Labrador were similar in many respects to those in the north. Both groups had a "modified-maritime way of life" and similar subsistence, settlement and interaction patterns; social and economic organizations; architecture; tool forms; and settlement demographics.

There is also evidence that, whatever the extent of Inuit residence in the south, they may have been drawn there from more northerly locations by the prospect of trade with Europeans. The similarities between the northern and southern groups at sovereignty, and the fact that both were initially in the north, suggests that there was one historic Inuit collective, for purposes of any claim based on Inuit aboriginal title. Even in the early post-sovereignty period, there was considerable "back and forth" travel between north and south. Of note, however, Moravian diaries noted that Inuit who lived in Esquimaux Bay said in September 1765 that there were Inuit north of Davis's Inlet "with whom they were not in friendship". There is no evidence as to why this was, how widespread the rift was, whether there was a previous relationship that might point to

the existence of a single collective or, if so, when it fractured. On the other hand, there is also evidence that families visited and intermarried all along the coast.

In any event, significant differences between the northern and southern groups began to emerge only after sovereignty. In 1770, Cartwright settled on the south coast and the relations, both trade and social, that he and other British merchants had with the Inuit there altered their identity. By the end of the 18th century, the northern and southern Inuit differed in their material culture, as the latter now had numerous European-made goods instead of using traditional material for the manufacture of household items. The dwellings of the southern Inuit and Europeans started to look similar. An 1826 letter from Nain reporting on missionary work noted, negatively, the behaviour of the “Southlanders” in comparison with the northern Inuit. Freitag’s journal of a trip from Nain to Hopedale in 1851 noted that the “whole manner of living” of the southlanders was “far different”. Marriages between British men and Inuit women in the south, and between the “mixed” children born of those marriages, led eventually to the Labrador Metis identity and the formation of the Labrador Metis Nation, the predecessor to NunatuKavut. In short, the key cultural and other changes that came to differentiate the southern Inuit from the northern Inuit appear to have occurred after the relevant date for the establishment of Inuit aboriginal title and were influenced by a comparatively greater contact with Europeans. Put more succinctly, any second collective was Inuit-European.

The 1765 Treaty was negotiated two years after sovereignty, in the presence of about 500 Inuit at Chateau Bay. This group was the one “not in friendship” with Inuit north of Davis’s Inlet, although as noted above there is no further detail that would allow a proper conclusion as to whether it had truly become distinct. However, whatever the precise content of and obligations imposed by the Treaty and whoever the beneficiaries were, it could not itself “create” a distinct Inuit collective. The Treaty was a “peace and friendship” treaty, motivated by a British desire to have peaceful relations with the Inuit then living in the area and, in particular, to protect British fishing interests there. During the same period, British policies sought, with limited success, to draw Inuit to the north, for the same reason. Further, while the British intended to and did treat only with the southern Inuit -- the northern Inuit never entered into any Treaty prior to the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement concluded in 2003 -- the Treaty did not advance a claim to the asserted territory; in fact, it aided British settlement of the area, by allowing the parties to peacefully co-exist and trade.

Two Separate Inuit Collectives

In prehistoric Labrador, Inuit groups identified both shared commonalities and distinct differences from other Inuit communities. These distinctions did not negate their Inuit identity but highlighted the diversity within the larger Inuit population. These groups were flexible, with migration and integration between them being common and accepted **(Doc. 06, p. 211)**³⁶⁸.

³⁶⁸ Ibid, p.211.

Inuit identity in Labrador was not defined by artificial political structures or government policies, but by their extended family networks across the region. Despite European distinctions between northern and southern Labrador, Inuit families maintained strong connections through visits and intermarriage, creating a vast web of interrelated communities throughout Labrador (**Doc. 06, p. 253**)³⁶⁹.

Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador recognized political differences from those in northern Labrador, but these distinctions were adaptations to their respective political environments. These differences were similar to the historical distinctions between various Inuit groups. Each population, regardless of these distinctions, represents a legitimate and valid manifestation of "Inuitness" (**Doc. 06, p. 257**)³⁷⁰.

Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador maintained a strong connection to their land, proudly identifying as "of" Labrador. They emphasized their distinctiveness from newcomers and Newfoundlanders, while also recognizing political differences with the Inuit descendant population in northern Labrador. These differences were adaptations to their respective environments, similar to historical distinctions between Inuit groups. Ultimately, each population represents a legitimate and valid manifestation of "Inuitness" (**Doc. 06, p. 314**)³⁷¹.

The Inuit population of Labrador has historically consisted of sub-groupings, which explains the differences in dialect and the inter-group hostility observed by early European visitors (**Doc. 06, p. 11**)³⁷².

There is strong evidence supporting the existence of two separate Inuit populations in Labrador, such as:

- Two different Inuit toponymic systems in the 1700s.
- By 1765, the Inuit of south and central Labrador were unfamiliar with northern toponyms.
- Inuit recognized cultural differences and limited social interaction, with some hostility, between the groups.
- The language systems of the two populations were distinct.
- Inuit meeting Moravian missionaries in 1765 denied ownership of Davis Inlet but accepted Esquimaux Bay as their territory.
- Davis Inlet may have acted as a buffer zone between the groups, with no signs of Inuit occupation noted by early explorers.
- The southern Inuit traded with northern Inuit for certain goods, indicating they did not have direct access to northern areas (**Doc. 06, p. 12**)³⁷³.

Hostility between groups persisted into the modern period, as demonstrated by Brother Elsner's report. His Inuit guide, Christian, was afraid to visit Innu at North West River,

³⁶⁹ Ibid, p.253.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, p.257.

³⁷¹ Ibid, p.314.

³⁷² Ibid, p.11.

³⁷³ Ibid, p.12.

fearing them. The Innu had only recently started seal hunting and were present in greater numbers in an otherwise uninhabited bay (**Doc. 06, p. 297**)³⁷⁴.

There were two different Inuit toponymic systems in the 1700's indicating distinct groups with separate naming conventions for places within their respective territories (**Doc. 06, p. 12**)³⁷⁵.

The Inuit had a system of toponyms for places along the coast, reflecting a deep knowledge and control of the territory, with an intention to revisit and communicate about it. However, they did not provide toponyms for the northern coastal area, suggesting it was a less-used buffer zone between the southern and northern Inuit populations (**Doc. 06, p. 51**)³⁷⁶.

The Inuit in Labrador viewed themselves as organized by distinct districts (**Doc. 06, p. 41**)³⁷⁷.

Inuit in south and central Labrador viewed themselves as a unified group, sharing common interests, language, and goals (**Doc. 06, p. 41**)³⁷⁸.

Inuit in south and central Labrador regarded themselves as distinct from the Inuit communities of northern Labrador and Greenland (**Doc. 06, p. 41**)³⁷⁹.

The Inuit in southern Labrador had poor relations with the Inuit in the north, with the two populations being distinct and hostile towards each other (**Doc. 06, p. 51**)³⁸⁰.

The Inuit in southern Labrador were highly aware of and interested in the dialect and language differences between themselves and the Greenland Inuktitut (**Doc. 06, p. 51**)³⁸¹.

The separation between the southern Labrador Inuit and those further north (around 57°N) is believed to have existed for centuries (**Doc. 06, p. 51**)³⁸².

The members of NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. are descendants of the Inuit of central and southern Labrador, holding Aboriginal title to their traditional territory of

³⁷⁴ Ibid, p.297.

³⁷⁵ Ibid, p.12.

³⁷⁶ Ibid, p.51.

³⁷⁷ Ibid, p.41.

³⁷⁸ Ibid, p.41.

³⁷⁹ Ibid, p.41.

³⁸⁰ Ibid, p.51.

³⁸¹ Ibid, p.51.

³⁸² Ibid, p.51.

NunatuKavut and benefiting from the Treaty of 1765. They maintain a strong ancestral and cultural connection to the historic Inuit community of the region **(Doc. 06, p. 301)**³⁸³.

The Inuit of central and southern Labrador were a distinct cultural group with exclusive use and occupation of the region at the time of British sovereignty in 1763. They maintained this exclusive occupation, as shown by their physical presence, strong relationship to their territory, and ability to exclude others from it **(Doc. 06, p. 301)**³⁸⁴.

At the 1765 Treaty Conference, the Inuit of south and central Labrador viewed themselves as a unified group with shared interests, language, and goals. They considered their communities interconnected and distinct from those in northern Labrador and Greenland, clearly identifying central and southern Labrador as their homeland **(Doc. 06, p. 305)**³⁸⁵.

The Inuit were a distinct Aboriginal society that used and occupied southern and central Labrador, forming a historic rights-bearing community **(Doc. 06, p. 305)**³⁸⁶.

Tracing the ethnic continuity of Inuit descendants in South/Central Labrador is complicated by factors such as observer inabilities to determine ethnicity, complex geography, inaccessibility, seasonal relocations of communities, and the influx of itinerant Newfoundland fishing families in the summer, which often confused population numbers **(Doc. 06, p. 306)**³⁸⁷.

There are different populations of Inuit, both across the world and within Labrador, and "Inuitness" does not describe a homogeneous group. Inuit identity has always encompassed a spectrum of people, sometimes identifying with different regions of their traditional territories. As such, generalizations about Inuit culture should be made with caution, considering differences in time and place **(Doc. 06, p. 308)**³⁸⁸.

The communities of NunatuKavut assert their status as the successors of the original Treaty-party of Inuit in south/central Labrador. As descendants of those Inuit, they have remained on the same lands and maintained societal continuity with the Treaty-party **(Doc. 06, p. 319)**³⁸⁹.

Inuit families, bands, and multi-band groupings maintained their presence in central and southern Labrador. With the integration of a small number of European men who intermarried with Inuit women, Inuit cultural emphasis persisted. The emergence of NunatuKavut communities in the early 19th century, and their demographic dominance by mid-century, represents the cultural continuation of traditional Inuit society,

³⁸³ Ibid, p.301.

³⁸⁴ Ibid, p.301.

³⁸⁵ Ibid, p.305.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, p.305.

³⁸⁷ Ibid, p.306.

³⁸⁸ Ibid, p.308.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, p.319.

paralleling the transformation of northern Labrador Inuit and Kablunangajuit under Moravian influence (**Doc. 06, p. 201**)³⁹⁰.

Modern Successor Groups

NunatuKavut (NuntuKavut Community Council – NCC)

NunatuKavut members have been described as Métis or Inuit-Métis at times, but they do not base their claim on constitutional Métis rights. Instead, they assert their Inuit Aboriginal Title and rights under the Treaty of 1765, which remain unextinguished (**Doc. 06, p. 304**)³⁹¹.

The evidence supports that NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. members are a modern Aboriginal continuation of the pre-sovereignty Inuit of central and southern Labrador, demonstrated through demographics, shared customs, traditions, collective identity, and continuous land use (**Doc. 06, p. 304**)³⁹².

NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. represents the descendant communities of the Inuit of South/Central Labrador (**Doc. 06, p. 305**)³⁹³.

The NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. constitution allows full membership only to individuals of Inuit descent who reside in the land claim area, belong to a recognized community, and have community acceptance. Members cannot belong to another Aboriginal organization (**Doc. 06, p. 305**)³⁹⁴.

The Inuit were a historic rights-bearing community, and the NunatuKavut communities have continuously lived with distinctive customs, traditions, and identity. Their status is supported by demographic evidence, shared traditions, collective identity, and genealogy (**Doc. 06, p. 305**)³⁹⁵.

Names can help trace ancestry, as certain distinctive names indicate Aboriginal heritage, even though most NunatuKavut members now have European names (**Doc. 06, p. 307**)³⁹⁶.

The 1945 census shows that at least 90% of surnames in the study area match those of today's NunatuKavut or Nunatsiavut members, indicating the adoption of European surnames rather than dominance of European ancestry (**Doc. 06, p. 308**)³⁹⁷.

³⁹⁰ Ibid, p.201.

³⁹¹ Ibid, p.304.

³⁹² Ibid, p.304.

³⁹³ Ibid, p.305.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, p.305.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, p.305.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, p.307.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, p.308.

Dr. Maura Hanrahan found clear evidence of indigenous knowledge in NunatuKavut communities, exclusively traceable to Inuit culture. This indigenous knowledge includes extensive knowledge of animals, plants, and the landscape, passed down through generations **(Doc. 06, p. 311)**³⁹⁸.

The historic Inuit of central and southern Labrador were an organized aboriginal society that exercised rights and title over their territory before European arrival. Evidence indicates that members of NunatuKavut are descendants of this community and have preserved their ancestral and cultural connections. Instead of becoming "extinct" through inter-marriage, these Inuit communities adopted and integrated Europeans who married into their families **(Doc. 06, p. 316)**³⁹⁹.

Inuit Labradorian communities have adapted to changing circumstances while preserving key aspects of their way of life and unique identity. Despite government interference and the necessity to "pass" to avoid discrimination from Euro-Canadians, members of NunatuKavut have recently reclaimed their Inuit heritage and are actively seeking recognition of their ancestral title and rights **(Doc. 06, p. 316)**⁴⁰⁰.

The Inuit of central and southern Labrador identified their traditional homeland as Esquimaux Bay and southern Labrador, as stated at the Treaty Conference. They recognized other groups to the north but had no interactions with them. Their activities were centered in their settlements and within their traditional territory of NunatuKavut **(Doc. 06, p. 326)**⁴⁰¹.

Members of NunatuKavut continue to inhabit their ancestral lands in central and southern Labrador, maintaining a strong connection to their traditional territory. While they do not solely rely on current occupation as proof of pre-sovereignty occupation, their ongoing use of these lands demonstrates that their communities have preserved this connection despite significant societal and economic changes and consistent efforts to disrupt or displace them **(Doc. 06, p. 330)**⁴⁰².

At the time of sovereignty, the Inuit of central and southern Labrador were a distinct group with long-term occupation and use of their territory, actively excluding both the Innu and Europeans when necessary. The members of the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. have continued this pattern of continuous use and occupation of their territory to the present day **(Doc. 06, p. 333)**⁴⁰³.

The communities of NunatuKavut claim to be the rightful successors of the original Treaty-party of Inuit in south and central Labrador, as they are descendants of those

³⁹⁸ Ibid, p.311.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, p.316.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, p.316.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, p.326.

⁴⁰² Ibid, p.330.

⁴⁰³ Ibid, p.333.

Inuit and have consistently occupied the same lands, demonstrating continuity with the historical Treaty-party (**Doc. 06, p. 339**)⁴⁰⁴.

Nunatsiavut (Nunatsiavut Government – formerly Labrador Inuit Association)

Nunatsiavut has granted beneficiary status to some members of the NunatuKavut community, allowing them to access programs and services they otherwise wouldn't qualify for. While these individuals have changed their membership to Nunatsiavut, they still identify as members of NunatuKavut. Many of them, including original founding members, are awaiting NunatuKavut's acceptance for the provision of similar programs, rights, and services so they can return to their original membership (**Doc. 06, p. 253**)⁴⁰⁵.

Stigma surrounding Inuit heritage hindered Inuit descendants from regions like Cape Charles to Cape Harrison from participating in the Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador or the Labrador Inuit Association. John Kennedy suggested that if this stigma hadn't excluded individuals from places like Cartwright, Fox Harbour, and Spotted Islands, the boundaries of Nunatsiavut could have been significantly larger than they currently are (**Doc. 06, p. 254**)⁴⁰⁶.

The government has exclusively supported Inuit communities in northern Labrador, which include both Inuit and non-Inuit members, leaving Inuit Labradorians in their traditional homelands to fend for themselves as they historically have. Membership in the Labrador Inuit Association (now Nunatsiavut) was based on geographic criteria rather than ancestry or ethnicity, excluding many Inuit Labradorians from participating (**Doc. 06, p. 314**)⁴⁰⁷.

Inuit descendants in south and central Labrador maintain a strong connection to their land, proudly identifying as “of” Labrador and demonstrating their commitment to the region. They recognize their distinctiveness from newcomers and Newfoundlanders, as well as the political differences with the Inuit populations of northern Labrador. These differences are seen as adaptations to their unique political environments, similar to historical distinctions within Inuit society. Ultimately, each population represents a legitimate and valid expression of “Inuitness” (**Doc. 06, p. 314**)⁴⁰⁸.

The Supreme Court of Canada, in the Bernard and Marshall case, affirmed that even nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples can establish a claim for Aboriginal Title based on sufficient evidence. The evidence presented indicates a comparable type, frequency, and intensity of land use in Southern Labrador, similar to that recognized in Nunatsiavut (**Doc. 06, p. 324**)⁴⁰⁹.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, p.339.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, p.253.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, p.254.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, p.314.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid, p.314.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, p.324.

In conclusion, the evidence supports the existence of two distinct Inuit collectives within Labrador, with the development of these groups occurring well before the 18th century. The distinctions in language, toponyms, and social interactions indicate that NunatuKavut and Nunatsiavut are modern successors to historically separate Inuit groups.

Conclusion (One Historic Inuit Collective)

Evidence suggests that the Inuit of northern and southern Labrador historically formed a single collective, represented today by the Nunatsiavut Government. Before the 1763 Treaty of Paris, both groups shared similar lifestyles, social structures, tools, and settlement patterns. Southern Inuit may have migrated from the north seeking trade with Europeans. These cultural and geographic connections indicate that the 1765 Treaty did not create a new group but engaged with an already unified Inuit collective.

Conclusion Takeaways (Two Distinct Inuit Collectives)

Evidence indicates that two distinct Inuit collectives-NunatuKavut in the south/central Labrador and Nunatsiavut in the north-existed well before the 18th century. Differences in language, place names, and limited social interaction (including hostility) suggests these groups were culturally and geographically separate. By 1765, southern Inuit lacked knowledge of northern territories and used different toponymic systems, reinforcing the conclusion that these were historically distinct groups that had developed independently over time.

If the response to Question 5⁴¹⁰ is yes:

- 6. Is the NunatuKavut Community Council membership (or a subset of) considered a modern successor of a historic Inuit collective identified in Question 2 or 3?**
 - a. What evidence is there to demonstrate a connection between a historic collective identified in Question 2 or 3 and the NunatuKavut Community Council (eg. culture, language, traditions, governance, ancestry)?**

Summary: *The evidence supports that NunatuKavut Community Council (NCC) members are a modern continuation of the Inuit of central and southern Labrador, and this is confirmed through demographics, shared customs, traditions, collective identity, and continuous land use. The NCC members assert their status as the successors of the original Treaty-party of Inuit in south/central Labrador. As descendants of those Inuit, they have remained on the same lands and maintained societal continuity. They have continuously lived with distinctive customs, traditions, and identity. Their status is supported by demographic evidence, shared traditions, collective identity, and genealogy. Members of the NCC continue to inhabit their ancestral lands in central and*

⁴¹⁰ The question as originally provided to the researchers referred to “Question 4 or 5”, but they inquired and received confirmation that only Question 5 should have been referenced.

southern Labrador, maintaining a strong connection to their traditional territory. While they do not solely rely on current occupation, their ongoing use of these lands shows that their communities have preserved this connection despite significant social and economic changes. See below details drawn from the documents.

Key Takeaways

1. **Inuit Continuity:** The NunatuKavut Community Council (NCC) members are recognized as a modern continuation of the Inuit of central and southern Labrador.
2. **Culture and Societal Preservation:** NCC members have maintained distinctive customs, traditions, and a collective identity over time, despite social and economic changes.
3. **Land Connection:** They have continuously used and inhabited their ancestral lands in central and southern Labrador, demonstrating an enduring connection to the territory.
4. **Geographical and Demographic Evidence:** Their claims are supported by demographics, genealogy, and historical continuity of land use and cultural practices.
5. **Treaty Successors:** The NCC asserts its members are the descendants of the original Treaty-party Inuit of the region.

This question overlaps to some extent with the previous one, as several of the above entries indicate that NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. members are a modern Aboriginal continuation of the pre-sovereignty Inuit of central and southern Labrador, demonstrated through demographics, shared customs, traditions, collective identity, and continuous land use.

The communities of NunatuKavut assert their status as the successors of the original Treaty-party of Inuit in south/central Labrador. As descendants of those Inuit, they have remained on the same lands and maintained societal continuity with the Treaty-party **(Doc. 06, p. 319)**⁴¹¹.

Inuit families, bands, and multi-band groupings maintained their presence in central and southern Labrador. The emergence of NunatuKavut communities in the early 19th century, and their demographic dominance by mid-century, represents the cultural continuation of traditional Inuit society, paralleling the transformation of northern Labrador Inuit and Kablunangajuit under Moravian influence **(Doc. 06, p. 201)**⁴¹².

The evidence supports that NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. members are a modern Aboriginal continuation of the pre-sovereignty Inuit of central and southern

⁴¹¹ Ibid, p.319.

⁴¹² Ibid, p.201.

Labrador, demonstrated through demographics, shared customs, traditions, collective identity, and continuous land use (**Doc. 06, p. 304**)⁴¹³.

NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. represents the descendant communities of the Inuit of South/Central Labrador (**Doc. 06, p. 305**)⁴¹⁴.

The NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. constitution allows full membership only to individuals of Inuit descent who reside in the land claim area, belong to a recognized community, and have community acceptance. Members cannot belong to another Aboriginal organization (**Doc. 06, p. 305**)⁴¹⁵.

The Inuit were a historic rights-bearing community, and the NunatuKavut communities have continuously lived with distinctive customs, traditions, and identity. Their status is supported by demographic evidence, shared traditions, collective identity, and genealogy (**Doc. 06, p. 305**)⁴¹⁶.

Names can help trace ancestry, as certain distinctive names indicate Aboriginal heritage, even though most NunatuKavut members now have European names (**Doc. 06, p. 307**)⁴¹⁷.

A review of the 1945 census for the Labrador coast indicates a clear demographic profile of the settled population, showing that at least 90% of the surnames in the study area (from Cap Tikerak to Caractucchuac) match those of current members of NunatuKavut and Nunatsiavut (**Doc. 06, p. 199**)⁴¹⁸.

Dr. Maura Hanrahan found clear evidence of indigenous knowledge in NunatuKavut communities, exclusively traceable to Inuit culture. This indigenous knowledge includes extensive knowledge of animals, plants, and the landscape, passed down through generations (**Doc. 06, p. 311**)⁴¹⁹.

The historic Inuit of central and southern Labrador were an organized aboriginal society that exercised rights and title over their territory before European arrival. Evidence indicates that members of NunatuKavut are descendants of this community and have preserved their ancestral and cultural connections. Instead of becoming "extinct" through inter-marriage, these Inuit communities adopted and integrated Europeans who married into their families (**Doc. 06, p. 316**)⁴²⁰.

⁴¹³ Ibid, p.304.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, p.305.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, p.305.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, p.305.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, p.307.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, p.199.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, p.311.

⁴²⁰ Ibid, p.316.

Inuit Labradorian communities have adapted to changing circumstances while preserving key aspects of their way of life and unique identity. Despite government interference and the necessity to "pass" to avoid discrimination from Euro-Canadians, members of NunatuKavut have recently reclaimed their Inuit heritage and are actively seeking recognition of their ancestral title and rights **(Doc. 06, p. 316)**⁴²¹.

Members of NunatuKavut continue to inhabit their ancestral lands in central and southern Labrador, maintaining a strong connection to their traditional territory. While they do not solely rely on current occupation as proof of pre-sovereignty occupation, their ongoing use of these lands demonstrates that their communities have preserved this connection despite significant societal and economic changes and consistent efforts to disrupt or displace them **(Doc. 06, p. 330)**⁴²².

At the time of sovereignty, the Inuit of central and southern Labrador were a distinct group with long-term occupation and use of their territory, actively excluding both the Innu and Europeans when necessary. The members of the NunatuKavut Community Council Inc. have continued this pattern of continuous use and occupation of their territory to the present day **(Doc. 06, p. 333)**⁴²³.

The communities of NunatuKavut claim to be the rightful successors of the original Treaty-party of Inuit in south and central Labrador, as they are descendants of those Inuit and have consistently occupied the same lands, demonstrating continuity with the historical Treaty-party **(Doc. 06, p. 339)**⁴²⁴.

Conclusion

The NunatuKavut Community Council members are recognized as the modern descendants of the Inuit of central and southern Labrador. Their identity is supported by demographic data, genealogy, shared customs and traditions, and continued land use. They assert their role as successors to the original Treaty-party Inuit and have maintained a continuous connection to their ancestral lands and culture despite historical and social changes.

⁴²¹ Ibid, p.316.

⁴²² Ibid, p.330.

⁴²³ Ibid, p.333.

⁴²⁴ Ibid, p.339.