INUIT LAND USE AND OCCUPATION IN THE QUÉBEC-LABRADOR PENINSULA

A REPORT PREPARED ON BEHALF OF THE MAKIVIK CORPORATION

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INUIT LAND USE AND OCCUPATION IN THE QUÉBEC-LABRADOR PENINSULA

REPORT SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of ethno-historical research into the use and occupation of the Québec-Labrador peninsula by the recent and more distant ancestors of Nunavik Inuit. These are people who today reside to the west of the boundary line that divides this peninsula between two provincial jurisdictions: Québec in the west, and Newfoundland and Labrador in the east. The findings are arranged in four main sections, each intended to answer one or more questions that, in sum, comprise the terms of reference under which the report was prepared.

Part One: What does the pre-1763 evidence indicate generally with respect to the forms of Inuit use and occupation of present-day Labrador? What does this evidence indicate with respect to the relation between those activities in Labrador and Inuit use and occupation of Ungava Bay?

Part Two: Does historical evidence, prior to and particularly since 1763, support viewing Nunavik Inuit as descendants of Inuit who were using and occupying Labrador as at 1763?

Part Three: Does the historical evidence support viewing the ancestors of the Nunavik Inuit and the ancestors of the Labrador Inuit as distinct peoples as of 1763? If not as of 1763, by what process did the two populations become distinct and at what time?

Part Four: Does evidence exist to show that the ancestors of Inuit communities in present-day Québec were engaged in use and occupation of lands and waters in present-day Labrador? If so, what did this use and occupation on either side of the Torngat Mountains consist of? How, if at all, did it change over time? In particular, how did the creation of colonial institutions and colonial and provincial boundaries affect the use and occupation, if at all?

In regard of this last set of questions, special emphasis is placed on the history of two communities: Killiniq, the easternmost settlement in Nunavik territory, and Hebron, until 1959 the largest and most important settlement in the far-north of Labrador's Atlantic coastline.

In Part One, the report reviews a substantial body of mainly archaeological literature in order to sketch out the main lines of Inuit culture history in Québec-Labrador to the time of Britain's assertion of sovereignty in Labrador. It concludes that a succession of related, arctic-adapted populations has occupied the region and used its maritime and inland resources for upwards of 4,000 years. The most recent of these populations, known to archaeologists as Thule Eskimos, inhabited the peninsula at the time of first contact with Europeans. They are directly ancestral to the modern-day Inuit in both Nunavik and Labrador.

Part Two of the report draws on a combination of unpublished, 18th and early 19th century materials and on secondary ethno-historical and ethnological studies, to examine the social and environmental bases of post-contact Inuit land use and occupancy patterns. It reaches two main conclusions. First, the traditional territories which different Inuit bands, or local groups, used and occupied on either side of the peninsula were not exclusive preserves whose boundaries were defended by well-defined polities; rather, they were open for use and

occupation by members of other bands. Second, the ancestors of Nunavik and Labrador Inuit customarily made use of the lands and waters on either side of the peninsula, and were certainly doing so in 1763.

Part Three asserts that the ancestors of modern-day Nunavik and Labrador Inuit did not comprise distinct peoples in 1763. Furthermore, it asserts that nothing about their respective post-contact experiences with Euro-Canadians and Euro-Canadian institutions warrants considering them as having become distinct peoples at any point after 1763.

Finally, Part Four reviews a substantial body of primary documentation pertaining to patterns of use and occupation in Québec-Labrador from the late 18th to the middle of the 20th century. Divided chronologically into three sections, the first section (1763-1830) examines the rise of the Moravian mission and the impact of its religious and mercantile activities on Inuit settlement and subsistence adaptations south of the Torngat Mountains. The second (1830-1866) treats changes that followed from the mission's northward expansion into the Torngat coast region, and from the establishment of Hudson's Bay Company trade across the peninsula in Ungava Bay. The last section (1866-1942) considers further modifications of land use and occupation as Euro-Canadian activities intensified, and then slowly declined, bringing the period of fur trade and mission to an end. The main findings here further substantiate those reached in Part Two: namely, that the ancestors of contemporary Nunavik Inuit continued to use and occupy lands on the Labrador side of the Québec-Labrador peninsula into the middle of the twentieth century.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT

BPJ	Port Burwell Post Journal
CPJ	Fort Chimo Post Journal
CRD	Fort Chimo, Report on District
HD	Hebron Diary
H/MD	Correspondence, Hebron-Mission Department
JFR	Report on St. John's Factory
KAR	Killinek Annual Report
LPJ	Lampson Fort Post Journal
MBS	Minutes, Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel
ND	Nain Diary
NPR	Nachvak Post Report
OD	Okak Diary
PA	Periodical Accounts

INUIT LAND USE AND OCCUPATION IN THE QUÉBEC-LABRADOR PENINSULA

INTRODUCTION

This report examines several issues bearing on the use and occupation of the Québec-Labrador peninsula by the Inuit of Nunavik. It draws on two main sources of information: published literature, principally the findings of professional archaeologists, ethnologists, and ethno-historians; and unpublished archival documents: namely, records of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the Labrador mission of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian) Church. Constraints of time and resources have necessitated principal reliance on microfilm copies of original documents held in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, and in two of the Moravians' three main repositories: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and London, England. Material from the latter collection has also been consulted in the pages of the *Periodical Accounts,* a publication—begun in 1790—which disseminated current news from Moravian missions around the world. Access to information from the third collection, housed in Herrnhut, Germany, has only been possible through a handful of secondary sources. Numerous passages excerpted from the Moravians' Hebron and Killinek mission records appear in this report. The majority were written in German. Dr. Jutta Dayle translated them into English.

Though dealing with historical subjects, this report is not a history of the Inuit of Nunavik. Its purpose is far too specific: examining how, and by whom, the lands and waters and natural wealth of the Québec-Labrador peninsula were used over time, and the consequences for that use of the development of Euro-Canadian interests in the region during the past few centuries. In this regard, it is also important to note that research into the questions at issue did

not include obtaining oral evidence either from Nunavik Inuit or Labrador Inuit, although some evidence of this type is represented in a small portion of the published literature. The Native point of view is always of intrinsic value, central to ethnographic or historical inquiry. It may also have methodological significance, casting in sharp relief what sometimes prove to be unreliable and/or biassed representations of Native life made by non-natives. This is especially so with respect to the writings of explorers and missionaries and fur traders of centuries past, all staples of ethno-historical research, though the problem is hardly unknown in the analyses and interpretations of contemporary scholars.

The geographic region referred to here as the Québec-Labrador peninsula makes up the northeastern extremity of continental North America. Over the centuries, Inuit have lived primarily along its extensive coastlines, coastlines fronting Ungava Bay and the Atlantic Ocean (Labrador Sea). Since the Privy Council of Great Britain issued its finding on the matter in 1927, the territory has been officially divided between two political jurisdictions: Québec in the west, and Newfoundland in the east. The geo-political boundary separating them approximates the height of land, a line running along a roughly north-south axis from Cape Chidley, on the eastern shore of Killiniq Island, through the peninsula's interior and on to the Strait of Belle Isle. In contemporary usage, the name Labrador refers to the Newfoundland side. The remainder has generally been known as Nouveau Québec, and of late, as Nunavik by the 8,000 or so Inuit who presently inhabit upwards of a dozen communities spread out along the coast of Ungava Bay and around the adjacent Ungava Peninsula nearly to the mouth of James Bay. Their near-neighbours and compatriots, residents of seven communities across the line in Labrador— some 4,000 in number— have no separate Inuktitut name for their part of the country, though the Inuit

here have recently adopted the term Sikumiut —"people of the sea ice"—to identify themselves (Labrador Inuit Association, 1999).[1]

Subarctic by virtue of latitude, the Québec-Labrador peninsula has an arctic-like climate nonetheless, a climate that is dominated by the cold ocean currents which flow past its shores. Yet in other respects the region is far less uniform, the glacier-carved landscape, and the waters surrounding it, comprising several distinct geographic and corresponding environmental-biotic zones. Facing the Atlantic, the coastline is marked by myriad bays and fjords and clusters of offshore islands, and northward from Nain it is backed by steep mountain ranges, the highest of which, the Torngats, reach elevations of 1,500 metres. The tree line runs in a northwesterly direction from the area of the former mission settlement of Okak to the lower course of the George River. Lichen-heath tundra predominates above the line, much as it does in exposed portions of the Atlantic coast below it. By contrast, the peninsula's western precincts are mostly low-lying, though here, too, the coast is deeply indented and dotted with islands. In addition, a number of major rivers (including the George) empty into Ungava Bay from the vast interior plateau. The torrents of fresh water they deliver, in conjunction with the Bay's powerful tides, affect the timing of yearly transitions between periods of open and ice-covered sea, usually a span of seven months (December-June). Sea-ice environments around the peninsula also vary in accordance with local topographical features such as the presence of ice-anchoring islands in the mouths of bays and fjords, and of narrows whose strong tides or currents inhibit the formation

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[1] Wherever possible, the spelling of Québec-Labrador place names and topographical features follows the Royal Geographic Society (RGSII) standard used in E.P. Wheeler's *List of Labrador Eskimo Place Names* (1953). The names of modern communities in Nunavik are rendered in accordance with the spelling appearing on maps contained in *The Inuit of Nunavik Statement of Claim to Labrador* (1992). Many places in Québec-Labrador also have English or French names. These are given in parentheses after the first use of the Inuktitut name.

of ice. In concert with wind, these conditions influence the extent and stability of the land-fast floes (Kaplan, 1983:58-70; Plumet and Gangloff, 1991:13-15). Taken together, these various features define a multi-faceted physical and natural environment, one in which local factors determine local potentials for sustaining the plant and animal populations necessary to human occupation.

PART ONE - INUIT CULTURE HISTORY IN QUÉBEC-LABRADOR TO 1763

What does the pre-1763 evidence indicate generally with respect to the forms of Inuit use and occupation of present-day Labrador? What does this evidence indicate with respect to the relation between those activities in Labrador and Inuit use and occupation of Ungava Bay?

The Inuit of Nunavik and Labrador, and indeed all Canadian Inuit, are the direct descendants of an indigenous people whose homeland lay across the continent on the shores of northern Alaska. Known to archaeologists as Thule Eskimos, theirs was originally a maritime culture largely based on the exploitation of seals and walrus and small whales. About a thousand years ago small migratory bands—that is, loosely-organized, family based social groupings—began spreading eastward, a comparatively rapid movement made possible by their use of large skin boats—the umiak—during seasons of open water, and of dog-drawn sleds in winter. An entirely opportunistic development, what eventually proved to be a long-distance migration is most easily explained in terms of environmental changes brought on by a pan-arctic warming trend, the "Neo-Atlantic-warming period," which lasted from about 900 to 1200 AD (Schledermann, 1976:39; Yorga, 1979: 288). As the climate grew milder than it is at present, the extent of pack ice in the summer months declined. This, in turn, made it possible for large

whales, particularly the bowhead (or Greenland whale, *Balaena mysticetus)*, to expand summer feeding ranges through many of the straits and channels surrounding Canada's vast polar archipelago. By most accounts, the spread of Thule population into unfamiliar yet highly productive territory followed this expansion, their seaborne pursuit of such prized quarry eventually leading them into many parts of the Canadian Arctic, into Greenland, and by some time in the 1200s, to the Québec-Labrador Peninsula (Fitzhugh, 1994: 242; Kaplan,1983: 333-34; McGhee, 1984: 371-74; Plumet, 1979:111).

Archaeologists have established that the course the Thule followed during this concluding phase of their migrations necessitated crossing the treacherous waters of Hudson Strait from the opposite shores of Baffin Island. Less certain is the precise route, or routes, taken, and whether the journey was made over the winter ice or by means of umiaks in summer. While it is possible that these travellers initially traversed the Strait's western end and then migrated to the Ungava Bay and Labrador coasts via the adjacent Ungava Peninsula (Makivik Corporation, 1992: 25), the weight of available evidence makes an eastern route more likely. This would have taken them from a starting place in Baffin's eastern precincts, probably in the vicinity of Cumberland Sound, to Killiniq by way of Resolution and the Button islands, dubbed "Tutjat", "the stepping stones," by Inuit on the Québec-Labrador side (Fitzhugh 1977:31; Hawkes, 1970:142-43; *cf* Kaplan, 1980:648).[2] Such a crossing doubtless demanded the use of boats since powerful currents in this portion of the Strait typically prevent the formation of solid ice even during the depths of winter. From Killiniq, subsequent explorations would eventually

[2] As it happens, Inuit on the Ungava Peninsula refer to the three islands which lie along the other route—Mills, Salisbury and Nottingham—by the same name (Hawkes 1970:143).

have led some members of the founding population southeastward down the Atlantic coast, others along a southwestern course toward the bottom of Ungava Bay.

Evocative toponymy aside, comparative studies of blood type frequencies and skeletal morphology, as well as of Thule artifact forms, all point in the direction of eastern Baffin Island as the probable starting-point of this migration. Moreover, they also appear to demonstrate comparatively closer affinities between the populations of these two regions than between Inuit in the Québec-Labrador peninsula and their neighbours in the western districts of Nunavik (Fitzhugh 1977:31-2). This finding accords reasonably well with the long-standing practice among ethnologists of dividing the entire Inuit population of Nunavik-Labrador into three main groupings, again on the basis of evident similarities. Following the terminology which American naturalist Lucien Turner (Turner, 1972:12-16; *cf* Saladin D'Anglure, 1984: 476-77) recorded during a two year sojourn (1882-84) at Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo), these sub-divisions include:

1. Siqinirmuit - Inuit of the Atlantic coastline and of Ungava Bay to the region of Tasiujaq (Leaf Bay);
2. Tarramuit - Inuit living along the shore from Aupaluk (Hopes Advance Bay), in western Ungava Bay to Akulivik (Cape Smith), in northeastern Hudson Bay; and
3. Itivimuit - Inuit of Hudson Bay from Akulivik to Kuujjuaraapik (Great Whale River), near the mouth of James Bay.[3]

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[3] The spellings of these names follow the standardized orthography used by Saladin d'Anglure; in Turner, the names are given as Suhinimyut, Tahagmiut, and Itivimyut, respectively.

Turner reported that these "subtribal" divisions reflect distinctions "which [the Inuit] maintain among themselves." According to ethnologist Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, today they are properly thought of as "regional bands," each consisting of "several local bands [see Part II] whose members intermarry and share linguistic and cultural characteristics" (Saladin D'Anglure, 1984: 477; Turner, 1972:12).

While the timing of their spread into Ungava Bay is not well established, within three centuries of gaining a foothold at Killiniq Thule pioneers reached the Strait of Belle Isle, the most southerly extent of their settlement (Jordan and Kaplan,1980: 37-38; Martijn, 1980:106ff). This corresponds to the period when Europeans began taking their own tentative first steps toward establishing colonial enterprises in the region. It is at this point, then, that aboriginal Thule Eskimo culture began its inexorable transformation into post-contact (or historic) Inuit culture. As discussed in later pages, however, the actual timing of that transformation varied, the contact frontier opening at different times in different places over the span of several hundred years. No less importantly, the contexts and results of contact varied as well, a situation attributable to a host of often-competing (and occasionally contradictory) human interests in a social landscape undergoing a steady and ever-quicker pace of change.

What we know of the earliest stages of this process, and indeed of the aboriginal way of life before the contact era began, exists primarily in the form of material remains recovered from archaeological sites. On the peninsula's eastern side, practically all of these are located well to the north of Hamilton Inlet, the dominant geographic feature of Labrador's central coast (e.g., Kaplan, 1983:216-30). Across the boundary, the majority of information comes from sites on

the far shore of Ungava Bay, especially in the area from the Arnaud River to Tuvaaluk (Diana Bay) (Plumet, 1977:189-91). After contact, archaeological data are supplemented by a sizeable written record produced in several European languages, principally Basque, Dutch, English, French, and German (e.g., Martijn and Clermont, 1980), as well as by Inuit oral traditions (e.g., Brice-Bennett, 1977; Vezinet, 1982). This rich record contains valuable descriptive detail bearing on many aspects of aboriginal society and culture throughout the peninsula.

Eskimo-Inuit culture history in Québec-Labrador has been the subject of wide-ranging studies since the 1960s. Since then, archaeologists and ethno-historians have made considerable headway in piecing together the strands of that history, identifying where people were at particular times in the past, estimating population size, reconstructing how they lived, describing the tools they used and houses they built, speculating about other groups they may have interacted with, identifying factors influencing changes to their use and occupation of the land and sea, and fitting the resulting picture into a much larger composite of human occupation in adjacent portions of the eastern Arctic, and ultimately the Arctic as a whole. After all this time, however, there are questions—big and small— still lacking definitive answers. For example, certain portions of the peninsula are still imperfectly known to archaeologists. This is especially the case in the great sweep of Ungava Bay shoreline lying between Abloviak fjord in the east, and the Leaf River in the west. Yet on the strength of the limited investigations already carried out here it is clear that this region was hardly devoid of any Aboriginal inhabitants whatsoever (Makivik Corp., 1992: 20; cf. Plumet and Gangloff, 1991:201-21). And even in areas where intensive research has been under way for some time, the ground continually shifts as new evidence comes to light, and new techniques for analysing it become available. James

Tuck's recent discovery of pre-contact Thule remains in the region of Red Bay, on the Strait of Belle Isle, is an illustrative case in point, most archaeologists assuming that the original appearance of Inuit in this southern area of Labrador was strictly a post-contact development (Fitzhugh, 1994:242; *cf.* Kaplan, 1985; JG Taylor, 1980). And then there are some questions that may simply defy answer altogether, among them, determining how, if at all, Thule Eskimos were related (genetically, linguistically, culturally) to other archaeologically-known Eskimo peoples who preceded them in the Québec-Labrador peninsula, and elsewhere in Canada's north.

I. Palaeo-Eskimo Tradition, c. 2,000 BC -1,400 AD

When the first Thule families crossed Hudson Strait, the country they entered was far from empty, large sections of the Atlantic and western Ungava coasts, as well as portions of the interior, having long been home to peoples belonging to two culturally and racially distinct aboriginal populations: Indian and Eskimo. In Labrador, Indian roots run much deeper, the earliest vestiges of their presence, the so-called Maritime Archaic tradition, dating to about 8,000 years before the present (hereafter shortened to BP). Entering the territory from the south and west just as the great glaciers of the last ice age were receding from the land, the peninsula's first inhabitants tended to live below the tree line (ie, south of Okak), although there is evidence that they ranged as far north as Nullatartokh (Ramah Bay). The modern Innu Nation— the Montagnais and Naskapi of ethnographic literature— trace their lineage to what is known as the Point Revenge complex, the last in a sequence of indigenous cultures in Labrador which first shows up in the archaeological record around 1,500 BP (Fitzhugh,1977:14). The interior

hunting grounds of some Innu bands extended as far north as the bottom of Ungava Bay, scarcely a negligible factor in the development of Eskimo and Inuit patterns of use and occupation in this part of the peninsula (Plumet, 1977:189; Speck, 1931: 594-5).

By comparison, the history of Eskimo occupation in Québec-Labrador reaches back only half as long, remains of the earliest bearers of an arctic-derived and adapted way of life here dating to just under 4,000 BP. Like the Thule, these ancient pioneers originally came from further north (Fitzhugh,1980: 23-4; Plumet and Gangloff, 1987:73-5). Again, it is generally assumed that their migration entailed crossing Hudson Strait from Baffin Island, most probably by way of the eastern route to Killiniq. The peopling of the Ungava Peninsula—effectively the coastline west from Cap Nouvelle-France and down the eastern side of Hudson Bay—likely occurred by way of the western "Tutjat" at around the same time (Plumet, 1994:104-05, 139; W.E. Taylor, 1964: 195).

A. Pre-Dorset Culture

Some three millennia before the Thule began trekking and paddling eastward from Alaska, the Arctic's first human inhabitants did much the same thing, similarly encouraged by a climate comparatively warmer than today. In this instance, though, land rather than marine game provided the incentive, their dispersal across the terrain tracking seasonal migrations of musk-oxen and caribou, both far more abundant then than now. Archaeologists refer to these ancient people as Palaeo-Eskimos, a term that encompasses not only the very first pioneers to explore and settle these new territories, but generation after generation of their heirs who gradually modified elements of the original culture—the Siberian-derived Arctic Small Tool Tradition —to meet the challenges of surviving in a changeable and often unforgiving environment. In the

eastern Arctic, this succession of archaeological cultures has been divided into two large groupings on the basis of relative age and of certain diacritical traits (e.g., tool types, house forms, subsistence patterns, etc), though the boundaries delimiting one from the next are far from precise. The older of these is commonly referred to as Early Palaeo-Eskimo, and sometimes Pre-Dorset, the more recent as Late Palaeo-Eskimo, or Dorset (e.g, McGhee, 1996; Maxwell, 1985). Tangible evidence associated with the Pre-Dorset grouping in Québec-Labrador spans the period from approximately 3,800 BP to 2,200 BP. Investigators working in the peninsula's eastern precincts usually sub-divide this cultural tradition into four phases, again on the basis of chronological and typological criteria: Early, Late, and Transitional Pre-Dorset, and a terminal stage called Groswater Dorset. Corresponding terminology is generally used to describe developments on the Ungava Bay side (Cox, 1978:97-98; Fitzhugh, 1980a: 597-601; Plumet, 1994: 133; Plumet and Gangloff, 1987: 74; *cf* Plumet, 1986: 159; Tuck, 1982: 212). William Fitzhugh has argued that these phases are "essentially sequential and are part of a single technological tradition, sharing, in addition, sequences of house forms, subsistence, and settlement patterns" (Fitzhugh,1980:23; *cf* Plumet, 1994:133-5).

The Québec-Labrador Pre-Dorset tradition is reasonably well-known from over one hundred surveyed and/or excavated sites. Most of these, including the oldest which appear to date from 3,800 to 3,300 BP, are situated along the northern Labrador coast between the modern-day village of Hopedale and Killiniq, and on the western side of Ungava Bay, primarily around Quartaq, in Tuvaaluk (Plumet and Gangloff, 1991: 208-09). For some time it was thought that only Groswater Dorset people had established themselves outside this northern zone, occupying Labrador's central coast in the vicinity of Hamilton Inlet, the lower Québec North Shore, and

parts of Newfoundland starting around 2,700 BP. (Fitzhugh, 1977:23; 1980:23-4; Renouf, 1993:188-89). According to more recent research, however, it now seems plausible that earlier Pre-Dorsets had also migrated further afield, reaching Newfoundland perhaps as long ago as 3,000 BP (Wright, 1995:440). The commencement of a corresponding period of climatic cooling—the first to affect the north after the protracted warm spell that followed the end of the last ice age—must have contributed to this southward push. As conditions deteriorated, resulting changes in winter ice cover would have favoured the growth of non-migratory ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) populations in northern areas, while forcing migratory harp seals (*P. groenlandica*) to find refuge further south where the effects of cooling would have been less severe (Renouf, 1993:206; Schledermann, 1976: 40). Like those who came after them, Palaeo-Eskimos utilized these all-important species for meat, oil, skins, bone, and other essentials. The chance to exploit new areas of Labrador's inshore waters, and to do so profitably and more reliably, surely proved a powerful incentive for expanding their territory beyond its original bounds. In turn, it must also have influenced some degree of technological change, enabling hunters to make more efficient use of these abundant resources.

James Tuck has suggested that compared to its ostensibly meagre beginnings, the Early Palaeo-Eskimo tradition experienced something of a "fluorescence" during its final centuries in Labrador. One conspicuous measure of this success is found in the relatively rapid pace of southward expansion, an expansion presumed to have occurred at the expense of Maritime Archaic Indians whose former territory ranged over the coast as far north as Nullatartokh.[4]

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[4] It remains to be determined whether there was a corresponding Indian presence anywhere along the Ungava Bay coast during the Palaeo-Eskimo period (Plumet, 1977: 189; Wright, 1979: 39-46).

Another is the increased number of sites—especially along the north coast—which date to this time, a likely indication of a comparatively small yet perceptibly growing population being sustained by greater harvests of seals (Tuck,1982: 213). Though no specific, comparable data exist for Québec- Labrador, very early Palaeo-Eskimo groups in the eastern Arctic—a culture known as Independence I— are thought to have been characterized by extremely low population densities, well under one person per 100 kms^2. According to Eric Alden Smith (1991:101), such highly dispersed populations "would have been subject to frequent local or even regional extinction." This may help explain temporal discontinuity and spotty evidence in the archaeological record from Labrador's north coast for the centuries preceding Tuck's fluorescence, notably from 3,500 to 3,200 BP (Fitzhugh, 1980a:597; Renouf, 1993:188).

Up to this point, fewer details of the Pre-Dorset occupation of Ungava Bay have been reported than is the case for northern Labrador. Yet even in the latter case, the forces of erosion and conditions harmful to the preservation of organic material have conspired to limit the number of sites from which any but limited evidence could be recovered or described. What evidence there is mainly takes the form of stone implements, hearths, and the like. Still, investigations carried out in the 1970s at a few locations for which radio-carbon dates have been established — namely around Nain, Okak, and in Saglekh Bay—have yielded sufficient detail to enable archaeologists to draw inferences about the main features of Pre-Dorset settlement and subsistence patterns. Most important of these is that Early Palaeo-Eskimos did not have a highly developed maritime adaptation. Instead, they appear to have alternated between primary reliance on marine resources (seals, walrus) in spring and fall, and terrestrial ones (caribou, birds, fish) in summer and winter. Settlement and settlement size varied with the seasons as well. Locations

near the heads of bays are typically associated with inland phases of the annual round, sites on the inner islands with the marine ones. Existing evidence indicates that summer encampments were probably occupied by only a few families at once, those in other seasons sometimes by no more than a single family (Cox, 1978:102).

Following Fitzhugh's terminology, this subsistence-settlement pattern is referred to as an Interior-Maritime system of adaptation (Fitzhugh, 1977: 2; *cf* Plumet and Gangloff, 1991:208). As discussed below, it contrasts with the Modified Maritime system associated with both Dorset and Thule cultures, an adaptation making comparatively less use of interior resources, and concentrating settlement in a zone encompassing both inner and outer island locations. Their more specialized technologies, moreover, especially the gear which allowed them to kill sea mammals in the rich hunting grounds off the coast's outer islands, meant that later Québec-Labrador Eskimo populations were larger, higher density, and more stable than were those of their predecessors.

B. Dorset Culture

At one time archaeologists speculated that Dorset origins might lay with Indian progenitors, but it is now widely held that it evolved from a base in eastern Arctic Palaeo-Eskimo culture some time after 3,000 BP (Maxwell, 1984:363; W.E. Taylor, 1964: 197-203). Faced with a polar climate that was undergoing a period of rapid cooling, Dorset Eskimos managed to survive, even to thrive by developing more efficient means to exploit sea mammals, including narwhal whales and belugas (or white whales, *Delphinapterus leucas*), than their forebears had done. Capitalizing on the excellent hunting conditions offered by expanded and reasonably stable sea ice environments, they were not long in spreading from a presumed core in

the Hudson Strait-southwestern Baffin Island area westward to Victoria Island, eastward into Greenland, and of course south to the Québec-Labrador Peninsula (McGhee, 1996:117-18).

Some researchers take the view that the emergence of Dorset culture in Québec-Labrador disrupted what had been a long process of *in situ* development here, its initial appearance being the product of a fresh wave of migration across Hudson Strait beginning around 2,500 BP (Cox, 1978:106; Fitzhugh,1980a: 598). Others have their doubts, leaving open the possibility that late Palaeo-Eskimo culture evolved directly from its regional antecedents (Plumet and Gangloff, 1991:210-11). Whatever the case, when compared with what is known about Groswater Dorset, evidence of Early Dorset suggests that a "radical change" had occurred, a change seen in the kinds of tools they used and houses they built, in their patterns of settlement and subsistence, and in other diagnostic traits. Combined with the fact that initial Dorset occupation of Labrador's northern coast overlaps by several hundred years the presence of a more or less unchanged Groswater Dorset component on the central coast and in Newfoundland, Steven Cox has concluded that the end of the Early Palaeo-Eskimo period in Labrador was signalled by the "entrance of a new population and population replacement in the north rather than rapid in-place cultural evolution" (Cox, 1978:106; *cf* Renouf, 1993:202).

Over the next 1,500 or so years, this culture also evolved through a sequence of stages. These have been classified as Early, Middle, and Late Dorset. The identification of certain parallels between these stages and corresponding Dorset stages outside of Labrador, however, raises the strong possibility that lines of communication with other regions remained open, thus supplementing local cultural developments with new ideas (and maybe even new blood) originating in what is now western Nunavik, in northern Hudson Bay, Baffin Island, and perhaps

areas even further away (Cox, 1978: 107; Fitzhugh 1980a:598-99). Indeed, this was doubtless the case for Pre-Dorset culture as well; writing with both in mind, Moreau Maxwell observed that "there appears to have been a regularity of interaction among ... geographically distant groups. This is marked by exchange of technological information to the degree that minor discrete style differences on artifacts appear to emerge almost simultaneously throughout the core area" (Maxwell, 1985:82; *cf* McGhee, 1996:174-75).

By the late 1970s, only a decade after commencing systematic investigations, archaeologists had already identified numerous Dorset sites in Québec-Labrador, several containing large numbers of artifacts and other remains, including some fairly well-preserved organic material (Fitzhugh, 1977:23, 25; Plumet 1977: 189-93). A good many other sites have come to light since then (e.g., Fitzhugh, 1981; 1994; Plumet, 1994; Plumet and Gangloff, 1987; Renouf, 1993; Tuck, 1982). As with the Pre-Dorset, the oldest of these are relatively few in number and appear to be confined to the coast north of Nain, and in the region from the Arnaud River to Tuvaaluk. However, by Middle Dorset times—that is, from about 2,000 to 1,400 BP—both their number and distribution increase dramatically, sites of various description being found in western Ungava Bay, from Killiniq to the Strait of Belle Isle, and around nearly the whole of Newfoundland's extensive coastline. Only the eastern and southern shores of Ungava Bay appear to contain little trace of occupation (Cox, 1978: 107; Fitzhugh, 1980a: 598-600; Plumet and Gangloff, 1988:70-71). Judging by such evidence as the presence of substantial winter dwellings designed to house more than a single family and the appreciable depths of midden accumulations (ie. refuse piles), it seems reasonable to conclude that overall population size (if not density), despite some measure of variation by region, had undergone a marked increase in the period as

well (Renouf, 1993:202). Taken together, these traits provide good indication of the extent to which Dorset Eskimos were better equipped than earlier Eskimos to adapt to a climate that was at its peak of cold around 2,000 BP. (Fitzhugh 1977a:495). Within a century or so of reaching Newfoundland they had all but replaced the Groswater Dorset everywhere, a process still imperfectly understood but whose outcome is unmistakable in the archaeological record.

There appears to be a considerable degree of consistency in the way Dorset Eskimos lived throughout their 1,500+ year tenure here (Fitzhugh, 1977:31). As mentioned earlier, archaeologists agree that their subsistence-settlement adaptation is best described as a Modified Maritime system. This means that they relied heavily on sea mammals—walrus, seals, probably belugas and small whales—practically all year round, and, to a lesser extent, on fish, birds, caribou, and other land animals in certain seasons only (e.g., Cox and Speiss, 1980:667; Plumet and Gangloff, 1991: 209). Despite variations attributable to localized conditions affecting game distributions — the presence or absence of ice-anchoring islands off the mouth of a bay, for example (e.g., Kaplan, 1983: 66-80) —the general pattern of settlement favoured seaward locations. In Labrador, settlements consisting of one or two sod houses were typically established on inner islands in fall and winter, a situation which afforded ready access to the feeding grounds of migrating species such as harp seals and, following freeze-up, to the sina (floe edge) for hunting seals and walrus. Ringed seals were also taken at breathing holes on the winter ice. Springtime brought a shift to tent encampments on outlying islands where basking seals could be stalked and, after break-up, walrus and harp seals hunted from boats. Finally, Dorset Eskimos appear to have resorted to landward locations primarily in summer, utilizing sites on inner islands or on the mainland which allowed access to caribou and other land game, and to brooks and rivers for

fishing (Cox, 1978: 111,113; Cox and Speiss, 1980: 666-67; Fitzhugh, 1977: 31; 1981: 206). A cluster of sites near Tasirjuaq (Payne Lake), situated some 250 kilometres inland along the Arnaud River, stands as a potentially important exception to the typical seasonal adaptation. Here, the remains of semi-subterranean winter houses and other evidence suggest the likelihood of a more or less permanent interior way of life, one based entirely on caribou and fishing (Plumet, 1977: 189; Saladin d'Anglure, 1984:479).

II. The Neo-Eskimo Era: c. 1200-1763 AD

The appearance of Thule Eskimos some 800 years ago marks the transition from the Palaeo-Eskimo to the Neo-Eskimo era in Québec-Labrador culture history. Once again, the change was quite pronounced, the newcomers bringing with them a more elaborate and efficient technology than the Dorsets possessed—notably dog traction, bows and arrows, the equipment for hunting large whales on the open water— and by virtue of their more recent derivation from Alaskan precursors, presumably a different (though related) language as well (Dorais, 1997:14). At least the two peoples must have resembled one another physically, fragmentary skeletal evidence recovered from sites in western Newfoundland and Nunavik being sufficient enough to convince anthropologists that the Dorset were definitely "biologically Eskimos" (Anderson and Tuck, 1974: 94). Even so, their branch was certainly at some genetic remove from that of the Thule on the Eskimo-Inuit family tree, a by-product of the considerable time and space separating their respective founding populations.

The first generations of Québec-Labrador Thule Eskimos not only coincided with late Dorset for anywhere from 250 to 400 years, depending on location, but the two peoples also

inhabited many of the same coastal areas and used them in roughly similar ways (Dorais, 1997: 14; Fitzhugh, 1977:31, 35; 1994:259; Plumet, 1979: 115-16; Plumet and Gangloff, 1991: 201). Indeed, temporal and spatial overlap occurred in many parts of the central and eastern Arctic around this time, the rapidly-advancing Alaskans attracted to areas long settled by the older population because they were situated nearby productive marine and terrestrial hunting grounds. This raises a number of interesting questions concerning the nature and extent of interactions between them, including the possibility that they exchanged information about the environment and how best to harvest its resources, borrowed tools and other elements of material culture, experimented with new beliefs and customs, and even found marriage partners in one another's camps. There is ample reason to conclude that contacts most assuredly occurred, an assertion grounded in surviving Inuit legends—from Québec-Labrador and elsewhere in the north— of the "Tunit," a quasi-mythical people who were already on the land when the first Inuit (ie Thule) arrived (e.g., Hawkes, 1970:143-44; Weyer, 1932:408-15). Even with the thinness of corroborating material evidence, archaeologists are generally inclined to concede the point, identifying the Tunit as Dorsets (e.g., McGhee , 1996:135; *cf.* Fitzhugh, 1987:147; Plumet, 1986: 159). But many of them understandably err on the side of caution when it comes to interpreting certain ethnographic details contained in the lore, especially those intimating that the two peoples shared more than territory during the centuries when discernible traces of each overlap.

How much Dorset blood courses through the veins of modern Inuit is something we are not likely ever to know. On the other hand, it appears that by the time Thule families were in the initial phases of their settlement of Québec-Labrador, they were doing so with a technology that included a number of elements of probable Dorset origin, notably the domed snow house (iglu)

and soapstone lamp. Moreover, there are aspects of intellectual culture—features of shamanistic practice, for example—that seem to have been borrowed as well (McGhee, 1996:232-33; Maxwell, 1985: 242-44; Smith, 1991:105). As for the ultimate fate of the Dorset, however, there is no single answer. Rather, a number of possibilities present themselves, everything from assimilation (McGhee, 1996:232) to forced (or voluntary) exile into isolated regions (Fitzhugh, 1977: 32; *cf* 1994: 259); from death by conflict (Hawkes, 1970: 145) to death by exposure to pathogens unwittingly introduced by the Thule (McGhee, 1996:223).

A Thule Culture

The timing of the earliest Neo-Eskimo entry into Québec-Labrador coincided with the start of the "Pacific-cooling period" (circa 1,200-1,550 AD), a reversal of the warming trend that initially spurred the spread of Thule culture eastward from Alaska (Schledermann, 1976:39; Yorga, 1979:288). As the polar climate grew colder, changing sea ice patterns adversely affected the distribution of bowhead whales, necessitating modification of the Thule subsistence adaptation. For groups remaining in more northerly locations, this meant abandonment of whaling in favour of increased reliance on seals, walrus, and smaller whales, and seasonal exploitation of caribou and fish. In the main, these are the activities that underlay the traditional economies of most of the ethnographically-known (i.e. post-contact) Inuit communities scattered across Canada's central and eastern Arctic (e.g., Damas, 1984: 391-92). By contrast, pioneers who crossed Hudson Strait and settled certain parts of the Québec-Labrador and Ungava peninsulas, as well as Neo-Eskimos living along Davis Strait, maintained this component of their traditional hunting adaptation for some time to come since the effects of climatic cooling were less pronounced in these regions. The search for new hunting grounds doubtless played a role in the

southward Thule migration, their primary zones of initial settlement—between Killiniq and Kangerdluksoak (Hebron Bay) on the Labrador side, and along the southern shores of Hudson Strait—containing a number of places which were frequented by the enormous creatures well into the contact era (Fitzhugh, 1977: 32; Saladin D'Anglure, 1984: 480). Of course, within a few centuries baleen whales fell within the sights of European merchants, intensive commercial hunting in Davis Strait, Hudson Bay, and down Labrador's Atlantic coast eventually contributing to the near-extinction of several species.

Sites associated with Québec-Labrador Neo-Eskimos total in the hundreds, although those containing evidence of "pure"—that is to say pre-contact—Thule occupation comprise only a modest portion of that number. Excepting Tuck's reported discovery on the Strait of Belle Isle, a discovery which, once verified, will call into question long-standing views of regional culture history, pre-contact settlement appears to have been confined to two main regions: the coast from Nain to Killiniq, and northwestern Ungava Bay. Of these, the coastline northward from Kangerdluksoak and the vicinity of Tuvaaluk are perhaps the best known to archaeologists. In the former area, surveys conducted in the 1970s and 1980s reported occupations dating to the fifteenth century at sites on Killiniq Island and nearby Home Island Bay. More recently, Fitzhugh's investigations at Staffe Island, in this same vicinity, have turned up dates two hundred or so years earlier (Fitzhugh, 1980a: 601; 1994: 243; Kaplan 1983: 216-19). A corresponding time-frame applies to sites in western Ungava Bay (Plumet, 1986:158; Plumet and Gangloff, 1987:74, 85).

Like the Dorset before them, Thule occupation was predicated on a Modified Maritime subsistence-settlement adaptation, differing only "in utilizing marine resources more fully and efficiently and in depending on caribou more seasonally" (Fitzhugh, 1977: 35). This difference,

however, had significant consequences for the size and scale of the newcomers' society, something that is plainly evident in the substantial remains of their semi-subterranean sod houses and other structures. Of approximately twenty fall and winter Thule village sites on the Labrador coast, most are situated near the floe edge or close to polynyas— areas that remain ice-free year round. Such spots naturally afford excellent conditions for hunting sea mammals and thus were favoured, as they were by Dorset Eskimos before them (Kaplan, 1983: 297). But it was the highly specialized technology which allowed them to hunt large whales that gave a significant material advantage, one that translated into far greater potential to support a larger, denser, and more stable population overall than could Palaeo-Eskimos.[5] While variations in these measures certainly occurred from site to site, in general the largest and densest concentrations of population on the Labrador coast tended to occur in areas such as Kangerdluksoak and Naghvakh (Nachvak Fjord) where the autumn hunt for bowheads (and other whale species) was a regular part of the annual subsistence round. The situation appears to have been much the same for the settlements scattered along the western reaches of Ungava Bay, though belugas, not large baleen whales, were the main prey here (JG Taylor, 1975: 274-75; 1979: 294-98).

B. Post-Contact Inuit

Changes in Thule use and occupation of Québec-Labrador started to unfold in the sixteenth century, a process that continued until Great Britain's assertion of sovereignty over the territory in 1763, and indeed for quite some time after that. The main driving force behind these changes is the multi-dimensional phenomenon of Aboriginal-European contact. Strictly speaking,

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[5] Moreau Maxwell has described the Thule as the "most gadget-oriented people" of the pre-contact New World (1985: 262).

the first Europeans to lay eyes on the territory and its native inhabitants were eleventh century Norse voyagers, their sporadic sojourns along the shores of a place they called "Markland" resulting in fleeting encounters with people referred to as "Skraelings" in their lore. Given the time-frame, however, these inhabitants were most likely Point Revenge Indians or Dorset Eskimos, perhaps both; the arrival of Thule Eskimos was still a century or more off in the future (McGhee, 1984: 9-10; W.E. Taylor, 1964:205-06). That said, the contact era is generally considered to begin only once trans-Atlantic voyages lay the logistical and material groundwork for a more or less continuous presence in the region. This resulted from the pioneering voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot, Jacques Cartier, Gaspar Corte Real, John Davis, Martin Frobisher, Henry Hudson, and other notables of sixteenth and seventeenth century exploration (Cooke and Holland, 1978:17-26; Oswalt, 1979: 163-67), as well as from the establishment of commercial enterprises beginning with a Basque whaling industry in the Strait of Belle Isle in the mid 1500s (Barkham, 1980:52). Other nations—principally the French and English— followed the Basques to these lucrative hunting and fishing grounds. In time, they transformed their seasonal (late spring-early fall) presence here into a permanent one, making Labrador's southern shores the geographic centre-stage of the contact frontier for another two centuries or more (Martijn and Clermont, 1980).

In the meantime, Québec-Labrador's more northerly precincts were not ignored altogether. Europeans probably knew of Ungava Bay's existence by the mid 1500s, and in subsequent centuries ships necessarily passed along its outer margins en route to Hudson Bay, or in search of the famed Northwest Passage. Yet there is precious little indication that either explorers or commercial interests were interested in the Bay itself, let alone its inhabitants or resources, much

before the nineteenth century (Cooke and Holland, 1978: 22, 133; Elton, 1942: 339; Vezinet, 1982:17). By contrast, sporadic calls from ships under the command of navigator-explorers such as John Knight, Radisson and Groseilliers, and Louis Jolliet were made at various locations from Sandwich Bay (near modern Cartwright) north to the Okak area during the 1600s (Cooke and Holland, 1978: 26, 45; J.G. Taylor, 1974: 6), and by mid-way through the next century French merchants had expanded from the Strait into Hamilton Inlet (Hiller, 1971: 79; Zimmerly, 1975: 43-49). Finally, Dutch whaling and trading vessels frequented the coast between Nain and Saglekh Bay on a more or less regular basis from the early 1600s to the mid 1700s, although their activities never evolved into year-round European settlement of the north coast (Kupp and Hart, 1976: 4-5, 12-13). That was left to United Brethren (Moravian) missionaries, Nain, the first of eight stations the German protestant church would eventually establish, being founded in 1771 at Nunaingoakh.

Needless to say, even fleeting meetings between Inuit and Europeans in the north presented opportunities for trade, excavations at sites as far north as Killiniq turning up small and often miscellaneous collections of imported wares dating from the 1500s onward (Kaplan, 1985:52). But the European presence in southern Labrador appears to have contributed to what eventually proved to be a more significant development: the gradual spread of Inuit occupation down the coast from Nunaingoakh. The first tangible evidence of this expansion comes from sod house villages at Arvertok (near present-day Hopedale) and on Eskimo Island, in Hamilton Inlet, both dating to the end of the sixteenth century. Apart from providing unmistakable evidence of a continuing pattern of customary subsistence emphasizing sea mammals, artifact assemblages at these places also contain items of Basque and French origin—bits of metal, ceramics, glass and so on. Some archaeologists regard these sites as staging areas from which periodic, seasonal forays

to European shore stations were launched (Jordan, 1978: 176; Jordan and Kaplan, 1980: 38-9, 41; Kaplan, 1983: 231; 1985:50).

Trade was doubtless a powerful motivation behind these expeditions. What passed as trade for a long while was more akin to intermittent raiding and stealth than to formalized exchange, however, a consequence of complex factors at play on both sides of the equation. Yet even with the bad blood that suffused the first generations of Inuit-European relations here, a discernible pattern of trade began to emerge by no later than the turn of the eighteenth century. Merchants were furnished with cargoes of baleen, seal oil, and other commodities—most of it originating far to the north— in return for sundry items of foreign manufacture including wooden shallops and fishing nets, iron implements, and kaolin pipes. In turn, many of these items found their way back up the coast to the remotest settlements, a small but influential cadre of Inuit "middlemen" controlling nearly the whole of this long-distance trade network (Kaplan, 1985: 61-2; J.G. Taylor, 1984: 510-11). In 1773, the Moravian missionary Jens Haven painted a less-than-flattering picture of these intermediaries, describing them as "the proudest and roughest of all the Esk." "[T]his band of robbers," he continued, referring specifically to those based at Arvertok, "furnished the whole Coast of Labrador as far as Hudson's bay with Boats, Sails, Anchors, Ropes and Nets. [T]he Boats were so plenty, which they had stolen, that they often sold a Boat for a few skins, or 12 Whalefins, or 2 or 3 dogs" (Haven, 1773: 105-06). A rising tide of change was thus in the offing, its first effects radiating outward to Inuit living hundreds of kilometres from its source. Many of these people were not to encounter directly even a single qallunaaq—white person— for another century or more.

Most archaeologists and ethno-historians agree that the movement of Inuit southward from Nunaingoakh beginning in the sixteenth century was driven by the burgeoning European presence on the Strait. Some of the more obvious consequences that flowed from this development are readily discernible in both the archaeological and written records of the period. These include incipient technological change; division of what initially was a subsistence economy into an economy with subsistence and exchange components, the latter emphasizing production of baleen; emergence of status differences largely predicated on individual prowess and success in trade and related endeavours; a steadily expanding pattern of use and occupation in southern Labrador itself; and the inevitable conflicts and tensions that rippled through society as the Inuit came to grips with so many new things in their midst (Clermont, 1980:150-51; Jordan and Kaplan, 1980:40-42; Kaplan, 1980:651; 1985:61-2; Richling, 1989:150-52; 1993: 71-74). Where they fail to agree, however, is on whether an episode of climatic cooling—the "Neo-Boreal" or "Little Ice Age," *circa* 1550-1850 (Schledermann, 1976: 39)—contributed to (or perhaps even triggered) the southward spread of population, or influenced subsequent alterations of the Modified Maritime subsistence-settlement adaptation that had been in place on the northern coast for centuries. Research on the issue is ongoing (e.g., Kaplan, 1997:184; Woollett, 1999:383). Still, it is interesting to consider, in the first case, that settlement of Arvertok, Eskimo Island, and eventually the Strait may have been motivated, at least in part, by the search for new hunting grounds as the onset of colder conditions in the north affected sea mammal distributions (Kaplan, 1983: 338-39; *cf* Trudel, 1978: 494-98). And in the second, evidence from the 1600s indicates a general shift in settlement orientation from outer to inner island locations. One view of this shift is that it was a means to accommodate a growing population (itself a contentious point) by exploiting a broader

range of food resources, both terrestrial and marine, than had been done previously. Alternatively, the reorientation may have been necessary because in a period of changing climatic conditions, large sea mammals might not have been as abundant or reliable as formerly. This, too, would explain the broadened subsistence base, one that could compensate for shortfalls in the expected catch of whales or harp seals with supplies of caribou and fish (Kaplan, 1983:298-99, 328, 357; Schledermann, 1976a:34-5). Again, the jury is still out.

PART TWO - USE AND OCCUPATION IN 1763

Does historical evidence, prior to and particularly since 1763, support viewing Nunavik Inuit as descendants of Inuit who were using and occupying Labrador as at 1763?

Up to this point, the evidence presented paints a one-sided picture of pre-contact and early contact period use and occupation of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. In short, modes of adaptation to the region's littoral and interior habitats were defined by more than food resources and the technical means to exploit them. They were also rooted in particular social arrangements governing access to land and game and other material necessities, and, more generally, organizing all manner of relations among individuals, families, and communities. Archaeological sites yield limited insight into these arrangements. For instance, inferences about seasonal variation in the size of households might be drawn from relatively simple data comparing the physical dimensions and interior features—for instance, number of sleeping platforms and hearths— of winter and summer dwellings. Yet an ancient house ruin reveals practically nothing about kinship or other ties between families that may have lived together under its roof. Likewise, it stands silent about whether its occupants regarded the surrounding territory as their exclusive reserve. That's where

first-hand observation comes in, either the kind written down by explorers and traders and missionaries and available as part of the ethno-historic record, or else the deliberate, systematic inquiries of ethnologists reported in the ethnographic literature.

In the case of Labrador, the first generation of Moravian missionaries compiled a virtual encyclopaedia of descriptive detail depicting a good many facets of social life as it existed in the mid to late eighteenth century. This has proven an invaluable resource to modern researchers (e.g., JG Taylor, 1974) interested in reconstructing the patterns of early contact-period organization here, the extent of mission-influenced change in so many components of Inuit society over the intervening centuries having left comparatively little of that earlier organization—either lived or merely remembered—for field workers to record (e.g., Hawkes 1916:108). Across the line in Nunavik, on the other hand, a different contact history (see Part Four) has meant that contemporary ethnologists (e.g., Graburn, 1969; Saladin D'Anglure, 1984) are able to rely more on the memories of their older consultants than on archival sources (e.g., Hudson's Bay Company papers) to accomplish this same purpose. Combined, the results of their respective investigations serve to flesh out an otherwise spare impression of past land use and occupation derived from archaeological investigation alone.

In 1773, a decade after Great Britain's ascendancy in the region and just two years from the founding of Nain, two independent surveys were made of the size and settlement geography of Québec-Labrador's Inuit population.[6] Lt. Roger Curtis, a British naval officer, undertook one, the Moravian Jens Haven the other. Drawing on a mix of personal observations each made during

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[6] Before this time, European estimations of the Inuit population were prone to exaggeration. The figure of 30,000 given in a 1715 French source, for instance, may have been a reflection of the author's optimism about the potential of Inuit-French trade, or else of his fear of them as formidable enemies (Great Britain, 1927: 3696 [doc 1419]).

separate cruises through northern Labrador waters and intelligence which Inuit furnished them about the territory beyond, they located and enumerated by name nineteen inhabited districts, estimated (using various means, excepting actual head-counts) the numbers of people living within each one, and briefly described other pertinent details such as local topography and game resources (JG Taylor,1974: 10-15; 1975: 269-272). Of these dwelling places—apparently all but one, Nunaingoakh, winter village sites— ten were situated between Arvertok and Killiniq, the remainder on Ungava Bay and across the shores of Hudson Strait to the entrance of Hudson Bay. This last quarter, Haven was told, "is where the innuits ... leave off, and then a little bit off the land Indians begin ..." (Haven, 1773:102). He estimated that the aggregate population of all these localities was on the order of 3,000 people, a figure that modern researchers regard as credible for the time, particularly when seen in the light of other corroborating evidence of similar vintage (Haven, 1773:103; Taylor, 1974:10-15; 1975:269-73; *cf* Saladin D'Anglure, 1984: 480). Less certain is whether this number is at all representative of the extent of population in late pre-contact times, or of earlier periods. By contrast, archaeological evidence demonstrates that many of the places Curtis and Haven listed had been inhabited more or less continuously for many centuries past, and in some cases as far back as the Early Palaeo-Eskimo era. From the late eighteenth century onward quite a few became sites of Euro-Canadian settlement as well, first the Moravians, then the Hudson's Bay Company, building establishments in the midst of traditional Inuit territories. Some are still occupied today.

In Québec-Labrador, as elsewhere in the Canadian Arctic, the inhabitants of a particular locality comprised what ethnologists refer to as a local band, a social unit consisting of several households, each of whose members form either a nuclear or extended family. Households, in

turn, were generally linked one to the next by ties of bilaterally-extended kinship, friendship, and economic cooperation. Such groups varied in size, though they typically ranged between fifty and 300 persons (Damas, 1969:123; Graburn 1969: 56-58). Assuming that each dwelling place identified in the two 1773 surveys was associated with a single band (e.g., Saladin D'Anglure, 1984: 476), Curtis' reconnaissance reported populations of only thirty at two different locations in far-northern Labrador: Nullatartokh and Komaktorvik. At the other extreme, Haven estimated that there were 300 people living at Aiviktok (the vicinity of Kangirsujuaq) on Hudson Strait, describing the area as "the most famous place in all Labrador for Whales and has the most inhabitants" (Haven, 1773:102; JG Taylor, 1974:15). Possible anomalies aside, historic records indicate that the average size of local bands along the Atlantic coast (ie, Arvertok to Killiniq) was on the order of 120 people, a figure that is fairly consistent with the norm of 100 arrived at for the Copper, Netsilik, Iglulik and other Canadian Inuit groups. By comparison, Haven's figures for the five bands scattered around Ungava Bay—Kangiva to Tuvaaluk— average out at about 175.[7] Yet even then, this number still falls comfortably below the 300 which most ethnologists regard as the upper limit of local band size (Damas, 1969:122; Taylor, 1974:79; 1979: 274).

The members of individual bands were customarily identified with the district they shared, the suffix "-miut" being added to the Inuktitut toponym to designate the "people of" such-and-such a place. These designations were not self-referential, however. As Smith has explained, "The *-miut* ... suffix is typically a geographic referent employed by Inuit when speaking of other

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[7] The name Kangiva was used to refer to that portion of Ungava Bay's eastern shore lying between Abloviak Fjord and Kangertluluaksoak , the estuary of the George River. Haven reckoned there were 170 people in this quarter, but reported no permanent habitations beyond the George or in the bottom of the Bay. Combing this figure with his and Curtis' estimates for the settlements from Arvertok to Killiniq, then, there were approximately 1,630 Inuit living in the Québec-Labrador peninsula at the outset of permanent European settlement here (Taylor, 1979: 270, 274).

(adjacent or distant, large or small) sets of spatially distinct Inuit." Furthermore, he continues, "There is no necessary implication of sociopolitical unity in using the suffix, nor is a *-miut*-label necessarily or even usually the normal term of self-reference for the group so designated by an outsider's choice of term" (Smith, 1991:139-40).

Bands themselves did not remain together as units throughout the year. Rather, their constituent households passed the seasons in a succession of variably-sized camp groups dispersed throughout the immediate territory, and sometimes, as discussed below, in territories further afield. Many factors influenced the size and composition of these semi-nomadic, co-residential groupings, not the least of which was the simple matter of the companionability of its members. In the scheme of things, however, the abundance of subsistence resources, no less the labour entailed in exploiting them, were probably of greater importance. Around Tuvaaluk in the late 1800s, for example, up to half a dozen households might form a single winter village to collaborate in the hunt for seals at breathing holes, the largest concentration of people during the annual round. Spring camps, by comparison, might be only a third as large, the work of stalking basking seals requiring much less cooperative effort (Dorais, 1997:15). A similar pattern prevailed on the Atlantic coast, eighteenth century Moravian records describing spring settlements only a fraction of the size attained by winter ones, the latter sometimes containing up to 150 people belonging to eight separate households (JG Taylor, 1974:15-18). Unlike their Nunavik counterparts, however, encampments of this magnitude were primarily associated with whale hunting in late fall, an activity requiring a large and cooperative workforce and, if successful, capable of yielding tons of meat and fat and skin, potentially enough to sustain a sizeable population for months. Indeed, an entire band might assemble, if only temporarily, in order to take part in the ceremonies and

feasting attendant to an umiak crew's good fortune. Otherwise, the only regular occasion for such large gatherings was when households gathered at favourite brooks for a week or two of communal char or salmon fishing in early summer (J.G. Taylor, 1974: 18-19, 78).

While local bands were certainly socio-territorial groupings, their organization as such was anything but rigid. On the contrary, nearly everything about them was flexible, the composition of seasonal camps, even the membership of the different bands themselves, existing in a seemingly perpetual state of flux. A crucial factor underlying this was that individual bands did not regard the regions they occupied as exclusively their own. Nor did they even possess a sufficiently well-defined mechanism of political leadership beyond the household level to muster a defence against intrusions by others (Smith, 1991: 111; JG Taylor, 1974: 80-84). In fact, "Far from being closed units," Louis-Jacques Dorais has written, "... hunting territories were ...open to everybody, provided the new arrivals behaved correctly and cooperated with the local population" (Dorais, 1997:16; *cf* Hawkes, 1970:25). More often than not, personal relationships of one type or another insured this cooperation, the Inuit customarily recognizing a wide circle of people with whom they shared friendship and/or some form of kin connection—genealogical, affinal, or fictive—and thus a good measure of solidarity (Graburn, 1969:64-5).

In practice, then, families experienced quite a bit of inter-regional mobility, taking up temporary, and sometimes longer-term residence in other band territories, usually in the company of those with whom they already had some kind of ties. Families from two or more bands might also converge for a time in what amounted to common (or intersecting) ranges, frequently interior locales where caribou were plentiful in late summer. Haven was probably the first to comment on the latter, describing a well-established pattern of east-west mobility across the peninsula that

linked the hunting grounds of "the Nagvacks and the Kangivacks" on the eastern shores of Ungava Bay (Haven, 1773: 100; *cf* Brody, 1977: 325, 330; Graburn, 1969:75; JG Taylor, 1977: 53; Taylor and Taylor, 1977:73). Whatever the particular circumstances, however, all Inuit were on equal footing in wresting a living from the country, and in participating in the numerous other activities—visiting family and friends, bartering, arranging marriages, exchanging news, sharing in the spoils of the hunt —that figured in the ordinary course of traditional social life. This accords well with Saladin D'Anglure's conception of regional bands (see page 6). The Siqinirmuit, for instance, can be distinguished from their Tarramuit compatriots to the west not only by virtue of geography, but by far more subtle measures of shared cultural, dialectical, and even demographic affinities arising from the greater density of social interactions occurring within regional band boundaries than across them (Saladin D'Anglure, 1984: 477; Smith, 1991: 111-12).

Unimpeded by explicit social or political conditions, distance appears to have constituted the main constraint on mobility. For this reason, the intensity and regularity of movement was probably greatest between neighbouring band territories. Dorais has recently described how local families around Tuvaaluk used to circulate between the Kangirsuk, area, just to the south of them, and Kangiksujuaq, on the north (1997:16). Two centuries earlier, Haven depicted much the same circumstances on the Atlantic side, mentioning in particular recurrent traffic from the winter settlements at Kangerdluksoak and Naghvakh to Saglekh Bay. Similar intelligence gleaned from other parts of the coast led him to conclude that the entire population of northern Labrador properly fell into two branches, "those of the S [who] seldom go further N than Kangertlorsoak [sic] and those from the N [who] seldom [go] lower to the S than Nagvack." (Haven 1773:103).

The explorations of Moravian missionaries Benjamin Kohlmeister and George Kmoch in 1811 added substantiating detail to the pattern which their predecessor first identified some forty years earlier. Having travelled no further than Naghvakh himself, practically everything Haven knew about the vast stretch of coast to the north and west of that immense fjord had been related to him by Inuit companions, and in particular two people, both of whom were originally from Ungava Bay and one, his pilot, who claimed to have been as far as Hudson Strait (JG Taylor, 1974: 10-11).[8] Kohlmeister and Kmoch visited this distant quarter themselves, making them the first, or certainly among the very first Europeans to explore and map Québec-Labrador's remoter parts (Holland and Cooke, 1978: 133). Their voyage took them northward from Okak, through McLelan Strait—the narrow, turbulent run separating Killiniq from the mainland—and then down the eastern Ungava shore (ie the Kangiva region) to the Koksoakh (South) River, in the bottom of the bay. This last, they wrote, forms "the outermost western boundary of the Ungava country." From here they returned to Okak, a journey consuming about three months and covering some 2,000 kilometres in total (Kohlmeister and Kmoch, 1814: 64, 83).

All along their route the voyagers encountered settlements whose members were drawn from various locations on both sides of the peninsula and, in one case, from even further afield, the summering population on the Koksoakh counting several families from the far-distant region of Aiviktok, on Hudson Strait, among their number.[9] In the expedition's early going they visited an encampment of seven tents in Saglekh Bay, five occupied by locals, the rest by Inuit from Killiniq.

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[8] Lt. Curtis, by comparison, went only as far as Kivertlok, nearby the site of the Moravian's Okak mission. Haven's voyage spanned about 200 additional kilometres of coastline (JG Taylor, 1977: 49)

[9] Kohlmeister and Kmoch were apparently the first Europeans ever seen by these Aiviktok people. Of their first meeting, the pair reported, the Inuit "...were full of astonishment, but soon took courage, and handled us, to discover whether we were made of the same materials with themselves" (1814:72).

Several days later they came upon one group camped on the west side of Killiniq whose usual winter base was Saglekh, and another hailing from Ungava Bay, probably Kangivamiut. Things were little different once they entered the bay itself, a "whole company" of Killinirmiut descending on the estuary of the George River —Kangerdlualuksoak— just a few days after the missionaries' own arrival there. They soon learned that the reportedly rich hunting grounds to be found here and to the south near the Koksoakh attracted Inuit to these places from up and down the coast, and in the case of caribou hunters, overland from the mission settlements at Nain and Okak. "All the Esquimaux declared that [the Koksoakh] was the best provision-place in the whole country, and they constantly flock to it from all parts every summer, frequently protracting their stay during the winter." Permanent occupation here was deemed out of the question, however, the people purportedly fearful of encounters with "land-Indians" who sometimes made their way out to salt water from their usual haunts deep in the interior (Kohlmeister and Kmoch, 1814: 36, 47, 53, 59, 71, 76).

Had the missionary-explorers made their reconnaissance in the colder months, they certainly would have encountered members of western Siqinirmiut bands from the Kangiva region sojourning among their eastern Siqinirmiut neighbours at localities on the Atlantic coast. As discussed more fully in Part Four, nineteenth century Moravian records make frequent mention of "heathens" from those distant parts, usually two or more families together, arriving at the stations in winter for trade and to visit friends and relatives among the congregants. While some of these people headed for home once their business was finished, others remained on the Labrador side for months, sometimes longer, in order to hunt and fish at various spots from Kangerdluksoak north to Killiniq. By way of illustration, an entry in the Hebron mission diary for 1850 contains this

interesting remark about one such party, nearly sixty people in total: "After they left here, their first stop is Saeglek where they often stay for weeks. Because they are at home everywhere, they do not have to rush. Again it was the case that after some time, they were met by our Eskimos who retrieved seals from their provisioning place there" (HD Jan 1850:47,317). Equally interesting is this observation, excerpted from the homeward correspondence (c.1850) of missionary Jonathan Mentzel:

> To visit the heathen at Kangertlualuksoak ... would be to little purpose, because from January to April, none of them would be found at home. There are at most six families, and these visit us [at Hebron] every year, either in January or February, for the purpose of traffic; scarcely one family remains at home. Hence they go to Nachvak, or to its neighbourhood, and remain there till April, after which they return home (PA 20, 1851: 188-89).

There can be little doubt that with Nain's founding in 1771, acquiring tobacco, firearms, metal implements, and other manufactures became a major incentive for this long-distance traffic across (and occasionally around, by sea) the peninsula. Yet as the preceding quotes indicate, trade with Europeans was not the lone incentive. Instead, people from the eastern shores of Ungava Bay must have been resorting to the Torngat coast on a more or less regular basis for generations, doing so to barter and because the hunting there was generally better than in the Kangiva district. Of course, all regions of northern Québec-Labrador were besieged by periodic bouts of hunger, even starvation, some owing to natural cycles affecting game, others to unfavourable weather or ice conditions.[10] But the Torngat and Kangiva coasts were differently endowed with game in the first place, several important marine species whose migration routes passed along the former region being all but absent in the latter: namely baleen whales and herds of walrus and harp seals.

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[10] Charles Elton's classic *Voles, Mice and Lemmings: Problems in Population Dynamics* (1942) remains today the standard work on the natural history of northern Québec-Labrador.

Although belugas reached the inner waters of Ungava Bay, sea mammals here were otherwise limited to bearded and ringed seals, usually hunted on the ice or at the floe edge (Vezinet, 1982:67-75). The only game distribution that appears to have favoured this part of the country was caribou, large herds passing through the Kangertluluaksoak and Koksoakh districts in both spring and fall, and smaller ones tending to be scattered around the shore at virtually any time of year. Lucien Turner observed that the fall caribou hunt in this part of Ungava Bay constituted "the most important hunt of the year." As with all game, however, bountiful harvests were sometimes followed by meagre ones, the failure to lay in sufficient supplies of venison before the onset of winter usually indicating that a desperately long season of misery and starvation lay ahead (Turner, 1979:85; Vezinet, 1982:56; *cf* CRD, 1833:3d; 1837-38:6).

Using the intelligence which Haven obtained on Inuit dwelling places back in 1773, Garth Taylor has estimated that the Kangiva area was inhabited by a fairly sizeable population, some 170 persons. This was more than twice the number at Naghvakh, and about sixty percent greater than that at Saglekh. However, his research shows that the density of population at Kangiva—calculated on the basis of the approximate length of shoreline occupied in each area—was only 2.6 persons per mile, that stretch of shore encompassing some sixty-five miles (104 kms) in total. By comparison, the eighty people residing at Naghvak were using only ten miles (16 kms) of shoreline, a ratio of eight persons per mile; at Saglekh it was 6.6 per mile. The disparity between the Kangiva district and its nearest Ungava Bay neighbour, Tasiuyak—the Leaf River area—is on much the same order, Taylor's figures indicating a population of 200 living along thirty-five miles (56 kms) of shoreline, a ratio of 5.7 persons per mile. The difference between these last is probably accounted for by more productive beluga hunting and by more extensive harvesting of caribou

herds to the west of the Koksoakh than to the east of it (Taylor, 1975:273-75). In the circumstances, then, it is highly likely that the Kangivamiut had long regarded the peninsula's opposite shores as an important extension of their territory, their wide-ranging connections with local bands from Killiniq south providing access to relatively richer coastal hunting grounds than they could find on the Ungava Bay side, and of course to trade in goods of both indigenous, and later foreign origin.

Though hardly exhaustive, these findings lend themselves to an affirmative answer to the question with which the present section of this report began. In short, the boundary that currently divides Québec-Labrador into separate political jurisdictions — Labrador and Nunavik—had no functional equivalent for the Inuit in the past, and certainly had none at the time of British sovereignty in 1763. Instead, Aboriginal values and customs all but insured that the local hunting territories which were nominally associated with individual bands were in effect open, their limits demarcated by geographic features only, not by an amalgam of geography and socio-political prerogative. Equally important, band membership itself was similarly fluid, the size and composition of co-residential groupings often changing season by season in order to accommodate the material requirements of making a living, no less the personal needs and desires of families and wider networks of kin. Viewed in this light, then, it is more than apparent that in the nineteenth century, there were Inuit living in what is now called Nunavik who were indeed descended from Inuit whose use and occupation of portions of modern-day Labrador dated at least to 1763, and doubtless for a long while before that. As discussed in subsequent pages, moreover, there is ample evidence in both Moravian and Hudson's Bay Company records to demonstrate that a corresponding pattern of use and occupation continued right into the twentieth century.

PART THREE - INUIT IDENTITY IN 1763 AND TODAY

Does the historical evidence support viewing the ancestors of the Nunavik Inuit and the ancestors of the Labrador Inuit as distinct peoples as of 1763? If not as of 1763, by what process did the two populations become distinct and at what time?

As an instructive place to start, consider the following statements contained in an Inuit Tapirisat of Canada document entitled *Our 5000 Year Heritage*. "...one of the truly amazing aspects of our culture," the piece observes, "is the extent of similarity from one group to another as you travel from the eastern shore of Greenland west across what is now Canada and Alaska to the shores of Siberia." As already discussed in Part One, this similarity derives from the legacy of their shared Taissumanialungmiut (or Thule Eskimo) past, and indeed of an even deeper past, the time of the Sivullirmiut, the "first people" (ITC, nd:2, 4, 6). Among other things, their inheritance includes a single language, a set of core values, an array of common customs and traditions, and an abiding attachment to the northern lands and seas which they and their forebears used and occupied for millennia. Over this great span of time, the statement continues,

> ...our distant and more recent ancestors carved out a homeland and established a way of life that *has retained a cultural identity, social coherence, and territorial integrity throughout each and every stage of our history*. We think that it is true to say that no other living culture has maintained such a continuous and consistent way of life for such a long period of time over such a large territory (*Ibid*, 2, emphasis added).

On their face, these general assertions speak plainly enough to the specific question at hand: in brief, the ancestors of Inuit who today live on either side of the Nunavik-Labrador boundary in the Québec-Labrador peninsula did not comprise two distinct peoples way back in 1763. Nor did they become distinct at some later point in time, knowing themselves now, as then, as Inuit. In advancing this view, however, there is no intention to ignore evident differences between them, differences stemming from the adaptations which local or regional populations made (and continue

to make) to their immediate and greater environments —natural, social, and political—as new or changing conditions warranted, or compelled them to do. (See Part Four.) Moreover, there is no intention to argue that what it means to be Inuit at the turn of the twenty-first century is precisely the same as what it meant to be so at the end of the eighteenth. In Louis-Jacques Dorais' opinion, "identity is a dynamic and creative process that is best expressed through the strategies developed to relate to one's physical, social and spiritual environments." There is no question that these environments do change, as they surely did, and with enormous consequences, once Europeans set foot in Québec-Labrador. Yet a people's collective sense of themselves "is never fixed once and for all." Rather, it tends to be malleable, individuals and entire communities selectively incorporating new ideas and experiences—Christianity, for example, or production for purposes of exchange—and endowing them with cultural relevance (Dorais, 1997:5).

Ideas of this sort contrast sharply with the all-too-common Euro-centric take on post-contact history, one that typically equates *genuine* Aboriginal identity with an inert cultural past, and the outcome of aboriginal peoples' experiences in colonial (and post-colonial) contexts with the inevitability of total (or near-total) culture loss. In refuting that view of history, the Inuit Tapirisat statement asserts that "What is remarkable about our culture is that we have always been able to incorporate change to create new adaptations and ways of living. Because of this we have been able to transform rather than abandon our traditions" and, it seems reasonable to add, their essential identity as a single Inuit people (ITC, nd:8).

PART FOUR - USE AND OCCUPATION AFTER 1763

Does evidence exist to show that the ancestors of Inuit communities in present-day Québec were engaged in use and occupation of lands and waters in present-day Labrador? If so, what did this use and occupation on either side of the Torngat Mountains consist of? How, if at all, did it change over time? In particular, how did the creation of colonial institutions and colonial and provincial boundaries affect the use and occupation, if at all?

I. The Rise of Colonial Institutions, 1763-1830

As discussed in previous pages, a singular importance attaches to the outcome of early encounters between Natives and newcomers along Labrador's southern coasts. Each desired trade with the other, but establishment of stable relations was repeatedly frustrated by outbreaks of violence, much of it attributed to Inuit raiding of Basque, and later French shore stations. Observers of the scene as far back as the opening decades of the seventeenth century were inclined to portray the people they called "Esquimaux" as treacherous and blood-thirsty, their alleged depredations impeding imperial and mercantile ambitions in a portion of the New World whose natural wealth—both on the land and in the sea—was said to rival that of Spain's Peru. Only rarely do these same sources refer to the often heedless provocations of their own compatriots— mainly fishers and whalers from both sides of the Atlantic—as a contributing factor in these stormy relations (e.g., Clermont, 1980:149; Martijn, 1980:108; *cf* Great Britain, 1927:3696 [doc. 1419]). Its putative causes aside, this enmity continued to evade resolution into the late 1700s, the primary resort to military means to secure pacification serving the British no better than it had their French predecessors (e.g., Martijn, 1980:108-09). In the end, however, a fortuitous and mutually-advantageous alliance of religion and state eventually achieved this elusive goal. By terms agreed upon in 1769, Moravian Brethren became *de facto* agents of Britain's emerging Labrador policy, a policy in which making peace with the Inuit and making profit in the fisheries were inextricably

bound together (Hiller, 1971: 75-6; Whiteley, 1964:48-9). It is probably fair to say that a great deal of what distinguishes the modern Sikumiut from their near-neighbours in Nunavik, ultimately traces back to the relationship each had with what was arguably the region's most influential colonial institution: the Moravian mission.

As Newfoundland's newly-appointed governor Sir Hugh Palliser first put the matter in 1764, prevailing conditions seemed to demand establishment of a "trucking place" located sufficiently distant from the Straits of Belle Isle "where those Savages may be stopt from coming Southward by supplying them there with what they want..." In this way, he believed, the rich fishing grounds off Labrador's southern coasts would be "open & free for our adventurers" (Great Britain, 1927: 935 [doc 215]). Within a year, representatives of the Moravian Church in London—the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel Among the Heathen — petitioned the Lords of Trade and Plantations for certain rights and privileges which they maintained would enable them to serve these ends.[11] Most importantly, they asked that they be granted territorial rights—including the right to regulate settlement— in four tracts of land, each of 40,000 hectares (100,000 acres, or about 30 km^2), for building missions (Great Britain, 1927: 1312-13 [doc 429]).[12] In addition, they asked to be delegated quasi-legal authority in order to control the activities of outsiders who might enter these lands. Finally, they requested "full Liberty" to send vessels of "English Bottom & under English Colours" between British overseas ports and harbours

[11] This was not the Brethren's first attempt to gain a foothold in Labrador. An expedition aimed at establishing a mission field in the Hopedale region in 1752 ended in disaster when seven members of the party died, presumably at the hands of Inuit attackers (United Brethren 1871: 8-9; JG Taylor, 1974:6).

[12] In subsequent negotiations over this concession, Moravian officials John Hill and James Hutton explained to Governor Palliser that "as the land belonged in reality to the Esquimaux, and we desired it for their sakes only, and not for our own...why... make any difficulty as to the quantity..." (cited in Benham, 1856:404).

in Labrador. This would not only enable them to maintain annual communication with their missions, but to defray the costs of their activities by carrying on trade with the Native population in baleen and train (sea mammal) oil and other commodities. If home interests "ever wish to see the Fishery on that Coast Secure from the Depredations of those barbarous People by their becoming Civilized," the petitioners argued, they "will not only do all in their power to prevent our Mission among them from being disturbed or molested in any wise, but will also ...readily grant us all needful & proper protection & assistance" (*Ibid.*, 1311).

In spite of lingering concerns that the Moravians knowingly meant to establish a "prejudicial [trade] monopoly" over a large portion of its newly-won colony, the Crown had little alternative but to accede to the proposal, commercial interests and all. In May 1769 a special order of the Privy Council gave the Brethren's Society permission to occupy and possess 40,000 hectares of land on the northern Labrador coast. So done, Nain was founded two years later. A second order containing similar terms was issued in 1774 (Benham, 1856:402; Great Britain, 1927: 1321-24 [doc 434]; 1331 [doc 443]; Hiller, 1977:83-87). This led to the establishment of Okak in 1776, and of Hopedale a half dozen years later. Five more stations would eventually be founded. By the time the first of them, Hebron, opened its doors in 1830, however, the Brethren had already made steady progress toward accomplishing their leading objectives: converting the entire Inuit population of Québec-Labrador to Christianity, and cornering the region's trade in sundry products of the hunt.

The Inuit who met the first missionaries at Nunaingoakh are said to have extended a friendly reception, welcoming the newcomers to "...build, dwell & do in our Land as we do, & have the same freedom & Liberty to do and act therein as any of us..." (Haven and Drachardt, 1770:Aug.3 1770). But the Brethren had no intention of living as the Inuit did. Nor were they

prepared to allow them to hold on to much of their old way of life, either. True, they actively encouraged the people to maintain customary diet and dress, their stock of trade items, at least in the early years, consisting of little more than hardware. And as a matter of official policy, they adopted Inuktitut, not English (or German), as the language of both religious and everyday affairs, teaching both children and adults to read and write using Latin script. In virtually every other respect, though, they came as "conscious agents of change," their purpose, to separate the Inuit nation from its past in order to inculcate in each and every person the morals and values and norms fundamental to *civilized*, Christian society (Hiller, 1971: 95; United Brethren, 1784: 16-17, 24-5). Along with instilling an abiding faith in Jesus, this meant promoting new ideas and practices bearing on practically every facet of indigenous culture and society: from marriage customs and communal domestic arrangements to the means and ends of wresting a livelihood from the land and sea. In this way, the Brethren sought to shift the nexus of day to day life away from what they saw as the indeterminancy and profligacy of the people's semi-nomadic existence. In its place, they offered a new life, one built around precisely-ordered communities, each with its church, trade store, and school, and predicated on a constellation of values—personal discipline, self-reliance, regular work habits, thrift—consonant with their own conception of "'white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism'" (Jaenen, 1977:6; Spangenberg, 1788:102-03).

At first, the Moravians' project was not an easy sell. Resistance to it emanated from various quarters, perhaps most importantly from those who continued to risk all by venturing off to the fishing stations and trading posts of central and southern Labrador where they exchanged their produce for firearms, alcoholic drink, tobacco, and sundry other imports. Its impact on their own fledgling business interests aside, the Brethren despaired at the demoralizing influences stemming

from this activity, influences that were even felt among the majority of Inuit who never left the north but nonetheless were in periodic contact—either direct or indirect— with those who did (eg, JG Taylor, 1974:8-9). This traffic eventually petered out in the late 1700s. But it was replaced almost immediately by a new source of acculturative competition much closer to home: a mix of Europeans and Canadians who began filtering into the lower reaches of the northern Atlantic coast. Some were attached to mercantile houses while others came as itinerant free traders, justification enough for local missionaries to perceive them as a threat to the spiritual and material well being of the Inuit, converts and non-converts alike. Many who chose to stay on married into Inuit families, thus spawning a permanent métis (i.e. bio-culturally mixed) population styled Southlanders in mission records, Qallunaangajut ("half-whites") by the Inuit, and Settlers by the group's own members. Largely cut off from the secular and spiritual life of the stations, Settlers developed a distinctive existence at the margins of the Moravian sphere. Occupying highly dispersed homesteads scattered about the coastline as far north as Nain, they hunted, trapped and fished much in the way their Inuit neighbours did, but found alternate outlets for their furs and other trade items. Later in the century their once-contentious relations with the mission finally gave way to guarded rapprochement, the Brethren establishing separate congregations and schools for them at Hopedale, Zoar (est. 1865) and Nain, and in 1896, opening Makkovik principally for their benefit (Kleivan, 1966: 90-94; Richling, 1989a:5-9).

Even with these challenges, the Brethren's dogged persistence began to pay dividends by the turn of the nineteenth century, a combination of social and material pressures culminating in a popular wave of conversions—the so-called "Great Awakening"—which quickly spread from Hopedale northward to Nain and Okak beginning in the winter of 1803-04. By the mission's fiftieth

anniversary seventeen years later the congregations at the three stations boasted a combined membership of nearly six hundred adults and children (United Brethren, 1871: 31-33, 37). Success was no less evident on the commercial front, a substantial mercantile operation developing despite intermittent organizational problems,[13] competition from free traders, and the sporadic discontent of its own clientele. Moravian stores supplied a growing range of imported goods— including firearms and select foodstuffs, both concessions to the presence of rivals whose business practices were often less scrupulous than their own—in exchange for furs, seal oil, and other country products. They also employed male and female labour in netting seals, rendering fat into exportable oils, hauling and splitting firewood, and in sundry other occupations. Finally, and almost unheard of among ordinary merchants of the day, the Moravians redistributed a portion of their profits to parishioners through poor relief, periodic remission of store debt, and other charitable practices (eg, MBS 2, Nov.1 1802:364-67). Potent inducements to conversion, the society that developed under the mission's tutelage not only offered salvation in the next life, but a good measure of material security in this one (e.g., Hiller, 1971: 92-95; Richling, 1989:155-57).

This first phase of the mission's development was accompanied by several changes to long-standing patterns of land use and occupancy among Inuit affiliated with the congregations. Doubtless the most far-reaching of these, and the one from which a good many other changes, and problems, ultimately stemmed, was the increasing concentration of population in and around the

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[13] With Church officials frowning on their missionaries getting involved in commercial dealings, the Brethren's Society initially organized a separate ship's company to look after trade with the Inuit. A share of the revenues from this business was used to cover the costs of ordinary mission work. After a series of unprofitable voyages threatened to undermine the entire venture, however, the Society opted to merge the two branches into a single operation. From 1797 onward, the trade at each station was in the hands of a "store brother," the business run out of the same buildings that housed the local church and missionaries' living quarters (MBS 1, June 5 1769: 48-9; 2, March 25 1797:117).

stations. From its earliest days, Moravian trade attracted visitors from both near and far, even from the remotest precincts of the peninsula's Atlantic and Ungava Bay shores. As the process of conversion gained momentum early in the new century, however, a growing number of Inuit—most drawn from neighbouring territories—took up residence in the shadow of one or another of the compounds, a privilege the missionaries reserved for converts and for those considered spiritually *awakened*. In an ideal world, the Brethren would have preferred keeping their congregants together in the villages all the time, convinced as they were that maintaining their customary life on the land would expose neophytes to the risk of apostasy because of continuing relations with *heathen* Inuit and Southlanders. Yet permanent settlement was not without its risks, too, especially from the ever-present spectre of starvation should a spell of bad weather or some other natural event pose difficulties in finding adequate subsistence nearby the villages. In the words of one missionary, "Much as we regret this circumstance, we cannot alter it; for the mode of life which the Esquimaux are compelled to adopt is incompatible with a constant residence at any one place" (cited in Kleivan, 1966:28). For all intents and purposes, this remained the case throughout the whole of the fur trade and mission era, the principle exceptions being widows, the aged, and the infirm who were able to stay in the villages year round, supported by Moravian philanthropy.

Given these constraints, a modified version of the traditional Thule pattern of occupancy started to take form by the late 1700s. It now found Christian Inuit settling at the stations for the best part of the winter, roughly Christmastime through Easter, their former winter quarters—situated on the outer coasts nearby productive seal and whale hunting grounds—left unoccupied. These months became a ceremonial season of sorts, devoted to religious observances and church festivals, and to the formal education of children. Yet they were by no means free of the demands

of subsistence, hunters, occasionally accompanied by their families, making periodic forays to sealing or fishing places and, as need arose, occupying temporary snow house encampments until they were able to return to the stations (e.g., Taylor and Taylor, 1977: 59, 78). The remainder of each year was passed in more or less traditional fashion, families dispersing to outlying camps in accordance with the season. Yet even then, they routinely sojourned in the villages in order to visit, trade, and attend church functions.

The Brethren's desire to keep in close contact with their followers was equally served by changes to the annual round of subsistence activities. Among the more notable changes to take hold was the steady decline of the late summer-early autumn harvest of barren ground caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*) in favour of a hunting season in late winter. For generations past, bands had been journeying to the peninsula's central plateau sometime in August or September in order to intercept the herds as they were preparing to migrate to their winter ranges. Hunting parties, typically several families together, slowly made their way into the country in umiaks, ascending rivers which emptied into salt water at the heads of several bays situated between Nain and Naghvakh fjord. Annual expeditions lasted about two months on average. They ordinarily traversed the interior to the height of land, but occasionally pushed further west into the vicinity of the upper George River valley where they might meet with hunters from the Koksoakh, Kangertluluaksoak, and from other Ungava Bay localities (e.g, Haven, 1773:100). A source of food and of raw materials, caribou taken before the onset of winter were especially prized for the prime condition of their hides, every family out to acquire a sufficient supply for clothing and warm bedding. Taking excellent advantage of the plateau's myriad lakes and rivers, kayak-borne hunters used spears to dispatch

animals that their companions had driven into the water for the purpose (Taylor, 1969:148-57; Taylor and Taylor, 1977: 73-74; Vezinet, 1982:63-4).

In spite of its importance to Inuit livelihood, the summer hunt struck a discordant note with missionaries who worried that converts might be tempted to revert to shamanism or other customary practices during their prolonged absences at distant hunting grounds. As an alternative, an alternative also meant to expedite long-term residence at the stations, they counselled the people to remain behind on the coast to catch and dry fish, mainly arctic char (*Salvelinus alpinus*) and cod, two species that tended to appear in great numbers year after year. An undated, late eighteenth century document prepared by the missionaries at Okak makes the reasoning behind this strategy more than apparent: "When summer comes," they advised converts, "our believers should collect food and manage it carefully so that you will not suffer want in the winter, and that you have food when the weather is bad." Furthermore,

> As we know, that there are bad proceedings amongst the unbelievers and that they sin a lot when they go deer hunting inland so that we ask you, for your own good ...not to go [into the interior] very frequently. You are better off if you go fishing and sealing and collect for the winter. And it happens too that you get deer around here [ie, out on the coast]. But if you have to go deer hunting for your cloth's [sic] sake ...we expect that all the believers go to one place and come back as soon as possible (United Brethren, nd: 58,310).

The succeeding decades did in fact witness a steady drop in the number of summertime hunting parties heading inland after caribou, and a corresponding growth in attention to fishing nearby the villages. To coax the change along, the Brethren built storehouses at each station for stockpiling supplies of dried venison and seal meat and fish for the benefit of "our Candidates, Baptized, and such as would winter with us" (ND, July 30 1780). But what the missionaries had not counted on was that their tireless efforts to safeguard both morality and subsistence gave their parishioners impetus to begin a second inland caribou hunt, this one mounted in what was

ordinarily the leanest time of year for Inuit throughout Québec-Labrador: the closing weeks of winter. The Taylors have argued that this development was largely dependent on the growing use of firearms after the mid 1780s, guns—most now obtained in trade with the mission— said to be a more effective (and efficient) weapon for killing caribou on the frozen barrens than the traditional method of stalking them armed only with bow and arrow (Taylor and Taylor, 1977:76).[14] Just how much more effective they actually were is a debatable point. In the late 1930s, J. W. Anderson, an official of the Hudson's Bay Company, offered this opposing perspective on the matter: the use of "old fashioned muzzle-loading guns ... for caribou hunting," he observed, " ... was little better than a bow and arrow, for the hunter had to get quite close to his quarry before shooting" (cited in Elton, 1942:368). While the Brethren might have wished to see these inland treks dispensed with altogether, at least the winter hunt differed from the summer one in several important respects, making it more complementary to mission objectives. For one thing, the trip to and from the barrens—a journey of 600 or more kilometres from Okak—which usually consumed several weeks in summer, could be completed with dog sleds in as few as eight days. For another, men frequently travelled in wintertime without their families, leaving wives and children behind under the missionary's watchful gaze (OD, Nov. 8 1779; Taylor and Taylor, 1977:76). And most important of all, even modest success in the hunt might make the difference between subsisting and starving at a time of year when seals and other game out on the coast, might be scarce. In the circumstances,

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[14] Before the mid 1780s, the Brethren refused to do supply firearms, fearing that their widespread use would encourage the Inuit to over-hunt caribou, much as had occurred in Greenland some years before. In 1778, Jens Haven explained to a disgruntled (and gun-less) hunter that "You will do as the Greenlander did, in a few years you will extirpate or drive away all the Rein Deer, and then you will be in as bad condition as the Greenlanders, for now they have no more Rein Deer skinks to clothe themselves with ...we advise you to use only your Bows and Arrows, & then you & your children from time to time will have skins" (OD, Nov 26 1778).

Okak's missionaries had to admit, "we are obliged, however reluctantly, to let them go" (PA 3, 1801:20).

A far more dramatic change in traditional subsistence activities came about in the early 1800s with the virtual demise of the once-prominent autumn whale hunt. Up to the end of the previous century, whaling crews had been killing bowheads and other species with some regularity, certain years, and certain locales —notably Kangerdluksoak, Saglekh, and Naghvakh fjord, and to a lesser degree the area around Okak—being more productive than others. Now and then, the carcass of a dead whale might also be scavenged along the shore (JG Taylor 1974: 32-34). In either case, obtaining a big whale was a special event. News that one had been landed or found usually spread quickly, people from different areas soon converging on the spot where flensing was in progress in order to share in the spoils and to partake of the festivities such good fortune always occasioned (eg, OD, Nov 6 1778). As with the inland caribou hunt, the Brethren were of two minds about whaling. Needless to say, they had no tolerance for the socializing and gaming that was so much a part of a successful hunt. Yet any serious attempt on their part to discourage converts' participation would have been terribly shortsighted. For one thing, whalebone (ie baleen) made up an important part of the mission's annual exports, much as it had the exports of the French and other Europeans since the earliest days of commercial exploitation in Labrador. For another, even a single bowhead yielded tons of meat and blubber to feed people and dogs and provide heat and light through the bleak winter months (e.g., OD, Nov 12 1779; PA 1, 1790:48). In the circumstances, then, the Brethren at Okak did little more than grumble when mission Inuit heeded invitations from their northern "heathen" neighbours "to eat whale flesh" when local efforts in the hunt turned up empty. "We are always sorry when this happens, but, with all our remonstrances, we are not able to

prevent it." As the missionaries certainly knew, to prevent such visits might well mean a winter of privation at the station if other provisions were similarly in short supply (PA 3, 1803:245; 3, 1804:333).

While the reasons for it happening are unclear, whale landings started to drop off sharply in the first decades of the new century and the yearly hunt in late fall gradually withered away (Taylor and Taylor, 1977:59). In its place, the Inuit turned their energies to catching migrating harp seals, an activity that, with whaling, had long been central to their subsistence round in the weeks leading up to the formation of land-fast ice along the coast. As their Thule forbears had done, hunters chased their prey in kayaks and killed them with harpoons. In view of Anderson's observation, the adoption of firearms may have brought some measure of improvement over the more traditional method; by contrast, the introduction of seal nets marked a significant improvement. While nets may have been in use at the stations sporadically beforehand, the Brethren began making regular mention of their employment around the same time that whaling went into decline. "We must here add a successful attempt made with some seal-nets, sent us by our brethren at Nain last Autumn [1805]," Okak's annual letter to London observed with evident enthusiasm; "...above 130, chiefly of the two largest species of seal, were caught, and a considerable store of food provided for our people..." "...if we are as successful as hitherto in getting seals with nets," the letter continued, "we are certain that about 200 Esquimaux might find their subsistence in this place, should so many be willing to move hither to hear the gospel" (PA 4, 1806:78-79).

As with firearms, seal nets opened up all new possibilities in the use of land and sea resources. Unlike them, however, they were far more costly to obtain. For that reason most Inuit, including many affiliated with the mission, continued to pursue migrating seals in their kayaks,

armed either with harpoons or with guns. But the Brethren employed some of their people to operate netting stations, temporary camps springing up alongside productive sealing berths that occasionally yielded catches many times greater than the inaugural one reported in 1806 (e.g., Taylor and Taylor, 1977:62). Each member of the all-male sealing crew received a set share of the season's harvest of meat, fat, and skins, the remainder—effectively rent for use of the mission's nets—either going to replenish the Brethren's own larders, or becoming part of the trade store's homeward cargo. Women, including widows, found paid work related to sealing, too, cleaning skins, knitting and repairing nets, stitching boots, and perhaps most importantly from a commercial standpoint, pounding fat into train oil at the blubber yard situated at every station. Indeed, oil derived from seals, walrus, and belugas figured so prominently in the mission's operations that the standard of trade adopted at its stores—the equivalent of the Hudson's Bay Company's well-known Made Beaver—was the *speck*, a measure of blubber (Richling, 1988:30). All things considered, the impact of seal nets on traditional patterns of use and occupation is difficult to over-estimate, the innovation helping to split production into separate use and exchange components, and playing a significant part in the process of population centralization in and around the different stations. Further to this last point, the added supplies of meat and fat from fall sealing contributed in no small way to development of wintertime caribou hunts and fur trapping, the distances covered for each activity demanding considerable quantities of feed for consumption by dog teams (e.g., OD Nov 8 1779; *cf* Saladin D'Anglure, 1984:501).

II. Far-Northern Québec-Labrador, 1830-1866

A second phase of expansion was already on the Moravian agenda as the eighteenth century was drawing to a close. Their aim was to reach Inuit living well to the north of Okak, a region they knew from various sources to be more heavily populated than the strip of coastline on which they were already settled. People from these more distant locales, including Killiniq and the Kangiva shore of Ungava Bay, had been making the long trip southward to trade, hunt, and visit relatives and friends for a long time past (e.g., Kohlmeister and Kmoch, 1814:3). Yet all but a very few were reluctant to remain behind in the villages in order to convert, often explaining that doing so, among other things, exposed them to much greater risks of starvation, and especially of disease, than they would face on their home grounds. "They said they were sorry they lived such a great way off, and could not well forsake their native country," Okak's missionaries informed London headquarters in 1805; "if we could only come and make a settlement amongst them," the visitors are reported to have declared, "many of their countrymen would be converted." (PA 3, 1805:447; *cf* PA 2, 1796: 56; 4, 1806:127). To that end, some of these Nordländern—that is Northlanders, the Moravians' usual term for Inuit who resided in remote Heiden Plätzen, "heathen places"—provided the missionaries with quite a bit of first-hand information about the location and size of their compatriots' habitations, the position of rivers and bays, and even the best anchorages along the coast. On this basis they concluded, as Jens Haven had done decades earlier, "that the body of this nation lives chiefly in Hudson's Strait and the islands adjoining." Therefore when church officials in Germany finally gave Kohlmeister and Kmoch the green light to make an exploratory voyage to the northwest in 1811—an expedition actually proposed for the first time in 1799—their ultimate

purpose was to find a site from which to extend the mission's work directly into this uncharted frontier (PA 2, 1800:468; MBS 2, Dec.9 1799:242).

Kohlmeister and Kmoch's reconnaissance identified two seemingly promising locations, both in the bottom of Ungava Bay: one at Kangertlualuksoak, the estuary of the George River, the other near the mouth of the Koksoakh. Before they could proceed at either spot, however, the Moravians needed the consent of the Hudson's Bay Company since the whole of this region fell within the bounds of its vast Rupert's Land concession (Kohlmeister and Kmoch, 1814:58, 73; MBS 3, April 15, 1813:np; Williams, 1963:xxii-xxiii). The Company had yet to initiate trade here, its nearest post—and the nearest to Inuit territory—being hundreds of kilometres to the west at Richmond Gulf, on the Hudson Bay coastline, in operation since the late 1740s (White, 1926:53). But the publication of the two missionaries' observations in 1814 succeeded in kindling their interest, so much so, in fact, that within a year principals from both organizations were discussing the possibility of opening up the region jointly. To their mutual regret, these negotiations soon faltered, the Company's directors exhibiting an unwillingness to support mission stations on their jealously-guarded turf so long as the Moravians insisted on the right to trade as well as preach (MBS 5, May 8 1815:44-47; Williams, 1963:xxxviii-xxxix). Subsequent attempts to cooperate—and there were several in the nineteenth century, all Company initiatives— ended in much the same way, neither side prepared to compromise on fundamentals (e.g., MBS 7, Jan. 1851:79-80; 8, Feb.1862:np). As a result, potential partners became rivals, their rivalry lasting until 1926 when a mounting financial crisis forced the Moravians to do what they had long resisted and turn over the remains of their once-profitable mercantile operation to the Hudson's Bay Company (Richling, 1987:474-484). In the meantime, the only foothold the Brethren were able to establish in

what today is Nunavik was Killinek, the eighth and last of their mission stations, opened in 1904 on Killiniq island. By that time, of course, the western side of Québec-Labrador had been Canadian territory for nearly forty-five years, and would become part of Québec in eight more when Ottawa transferred the vast Ungava District to the province's jurisdiction.

Their designs on Ungava Bay thwarted, at least for the present, the London Moravians soon adopted plan B, petitioning the Crown for rights to occupy a fourth tract of land spanning the Atlantic coastline from Kangerdluksoak to Saglekh Bay. That request was granted in 1818 (Great Britain, 1927:1347 [doc 457]; Hiller, 1977:87). But ten years elapsed before the mission's governors authorized establishment of a station at Kangerdluksoak—the Great Bay— their action finally motivated by news of a steadily worsening situation at Okak where rapid population growth was putting local subsistence resources under mounting pressure. There were nearly 400 Inuit at that place in 1830, the year Hebron became fully operational. Two years later that figure had dropped dramatically, (albeit temporarily), over seventy people relocating northward to live at the new station (MBS 5, Oct. 8 1827:336-337; PA 12, 1831:59, 253; Taylor and Taylor, 1977:61). Over the longer term, however, Hebron replaced its neighbour to the south as the principle meeting ground of missionaries and Northlanders, the latter coming for purposes of trade and, now and then, conversion. As the following illustrations from the Hebron diaries make apparent, Inuit from Killiniq and Ungava Bay were included among them, the latter continuing to make the long journey periodically even after the Hudson's Bay Company set up shop on the Koksoakh in 1830.

> On the 1st of May 3 sleds from Killinek loaded with furs arrived here to trade, under the leadership of one named Nikkeroak. Only one of these northerners visited a brother, the others, as soon as they traded goods, left immediately (May 1, 1832: 46,239).

> On the 30th two sleds from the distant Killinek arrived to trade. These northerners always show themselves much more modest than our nearest neighbours, the Saegleker, who

> noticeably become, with every visit, bolder and persistent when begging (May 30, 1833: 46,304).
>
> Towards evening, several northerners arrived here to trade - Kannigaktannak [?] and Nukapiak [?] from Saeglek, and Atatkjoak [?] with two others from Killinek. [?] had a lot to relate about his travels by sled to Ungava last winter...(Jan 25 1834:46,344).
>
> On the 5th, on three loaded sleds, 10 northerners - 7 men and 3 women - arrived here to trade. Among them was Atatasoak [?], already known to us, who had earlier lived in Killinek but who now chooses his residence, with a few Eskimo - several who were here with him - deep in the interior of the land at Kangertluluaksoak Bay (Jan 5, 1835: 46,385).
>
> On the 8th and 9th, distant-living heathens visited us, namely the very old Nukeroak from Nachvak, and Atatasoak, who as ususal together with a small party undertook to come here from his very distant residence at Kangertluluaksoak (Jan. 8-9, 1836: 46,431).
>
> On the 30th, Mataksoak [?], who lives very far from here in the interior, arrived with some companions, as he does every year, to trade fox pelts and caribou skins (Jan 30 1837:46,482).

Naturally enough, the Brethren welcomed these visitors, taking every opportunity to offer a few words about Jesus once the day's bartering for furs and skins was done. Company personnel, by contrast, were much less sanguine. In 1838, for instance, Fort Chimo factor John McLean complained that "the natives proceed [to Hebron] with the produce of their Winter Hunts, a fact which they do not deny, declaring at the same time that they would prefer trading with us, but that they find it more convenient to visit the Moravians" (CRD, 1837-38:14).[15]

As it happened, Hebron was not a haven for everyone. Some Inuit chose to carry their furs and other trade items westward to Ungava Bay, and even to resettle there, rather than having to suffer the Brethren's incessant preaching, no less the frequent evangelizing of their converted

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[15] The remainder of McLean's comment ably expresses the resentment which the mission's involvement in trade then fostered. These Inuit "admit that our Goods are cheaper, but say that the Brethren represent them to be of inferior quality. Now this is false, our goods are in every respect equal to theirs. I know not whether the propagation of falsehood be consistent with the propagation of Christianity according to the Moravian Creed. Be that as it may, such conduct does not accord with the profession of evangelical rectitude they publish in the World as the Rule of Life" (CRD 1837-38:14-14d).

compatriots (e.g., PA 12, 1832:255; 16, 1842:174). "You will be sorry to hear that the Esquimaux population living to the north of us is diminishing from year to year," the missionary Jonathan Mentzel observed around 1840. The decline was apparently most evident at Naghvakh, numbers there reported to have dropped from upwards of 300 in the 1820s to no more than thirty at the time of Mentzel's writing. "For some years, after we came to reside at [Hebron]," the letter continues, "we had from eight to ten sledges visiting us in the winter for purposes of traffic. Last winter, there were only four, three of which came from Saeglek. The tide, I suspect, sets toward the Ungava country" (PA 16, 1841:98-9). Mentzel's colleague Frederick Erdman's reported much the same thing just a few years later. Having questioned a Northlander visiting Hebron from his ususal dwelling place in Abloviak fjord, the missionary determined that "the number of inhabitants between this place and Ablorialik [sic] ...to be short of 200. This is remarkable, since five and twenty years ago there were at Saeglek alone above 200 Esquimaux and 300 at Nachvak, making in all about 800 to the southward of Ablorialik. Of this number," Erdman concluded, "certainly not one-third have removed to this settlement or Okkak" (PA 17, 1844:177).

Just how reliable such estimates are is difficult to determine. However, it is highly unlikely that this decline was due solely to migration across the peninsula. Famines and disease certainly carried off a fair share of Northerners, too, much as they did converts residing at the stations. In 1834, for example, Fort Chimo's factor Nicol Finlayson described how a "slight cold" that was going around the post in July quickly spread among a large party of Inuit, many of whom were seeing qallunaat for the very first time. The illness "carried off seven in the course of 24 hours...The poor people went away in a great hurry without burying their dead except two on which they threw a few stones..." (CRD, 1833-35:6). Occurrences of this type were hardly rarities in the period. Seven

years later, the Brethren learned that a large number of people in the Killiniq region had died, the result of a disastrous fall hunting season coupled with an outbreak of "vicious illnesses." "It was supposed, that the infection had been communicated by means of old clothes, which [the Killinirmiut] had received in barter from the Europeans on the Koksoak river" (H/MD 1841:42,433; PA 16, 1841:174). While mission annals contain considerable detail bearing on the demographic consequences of disease among Inuit attached to the missions (e.g., Scheffel, 1983), they are far less reliable in documenting the occurrence of imported pathogens and their devastating effects on those who remained ensconced in their customary, and often remote localities dotting the northernmost reaches of Québec-Labrador.

The founding of Fort Chimo—now Kuujjuaq— on the Koksoakh (or South) River was the first of several steps the Hudson's Bay Company took in the 1830s to contain the spread of Moravian mercantile interests in Québec-Labrador, and to bolster their own trade with nomadic Innu bands in the interior. Before the decade was out they also held strategic positions on the mission's southern flank, opening establishments at Northwest River and Rigolet in 1836, and at Kippokok Bay, less than a day's journey from Hopedale, the following year (Richling, 1987:476-79; Williams, 1963: lxi). Of these locations "Ungava felix," as McLean sarcastically dubbed the remote district under his charge (CPJ, Feb 7 1841:21), proved both troublesome and costly to maintain, its operation beset by numerous logistical problems and natural perturbations virtually from the start. Most intractable of them were an undependable system of supply from the outside world, periodic (and occasionally severe) game shortages, and onerous winter and summer travelling conditions between the Koksoakh and outlying territories to the west, mainly beyond Akpaluk (Hopes Advance Bay). This last was where a sizeable portion of the Inuit population resided, and where a good many

commercially valuable arctic (or white) foxes (*Alopex lagopus*) were caught. And then there was the looming presence of Okak and Hebron, the Brethren's well-stocked shelves and liberal trade policies being proven inducements to wintertime expeditions across the Torngats (e.g., CRD, 1833:3; 1833-35:7; 1837-38:11-12, 15). The writing was on the wall as early as 1834, Nicol Finlayson advising his superiors that "Until there is a regular mode of supplying this place adopted neither Indians nor Esquimaux will put any confidence in us" (cited in Davies, 1963:240-41).

In spite of these difficulties, the Company still managed to make its presence felt throughout an enormous territory, trade reaching the Koksoakh directly or through intermediaries from practically every part of modern-day Nunavik, as well as from beyond the Torngats. Yet even then, its impact on patterns of use and occupation was clearly not of the same magnitude as that made by the Brethren. Unlike their missionary rivals, men like Finlayson and McLean had no interest whatsoever in seeing the Inuit (or Innu) congregating at Fort Chimo for even a week at a time, let alone settling in for an entire season or more. Nor did they mean to disturb the people's customary existence on the land, at least not to the extent that self-sufficiency in meeting subsistence requirements might be eroded. The Company's on-again, off-again courtship of the Moravians was never about encouraging these sorts of changes. Rather, it was aimed at inculcating what historian John Grant has called "the necessary attitudes of mind"—western *virtues* such as industriousness, acquisitiveness, and respect for "the sanctity of contracts"—which they believed would insure the loyalty of their Native clients, and thereby bolster their own business prospects (Grant, cited in Richling, 1987:459). As McLean put the matter in the late 1830s, the simple act of obtaining firearms and other imports in trade was not likely to "improve" Inuit life; but exposure to European values "may in course of time tend to create artificial wants that may become as indispensable to

their comfort, or convenience, as their present real ones..." (CRD 1837-38:9d). Still, in most respects the missionary's approach to *civilizing* the Inuit was unavoidably at cross-purposes with that of the fur trader. In Grant's words,

> Traders valued [Aboriginal peoples] for their native skills and dreaded any change in their manner of life that would dull these. Missionaries wanted to transform [them] and, most inconveniently from the standpoint of the traders, to settle them. ...Each thus seriously interfered with the plans of the other. Most seriously of all, each threatened to spoil the [Native] for the other's purposes (Grant, cited in Richling, 1987:460).

Virtually every change that began to take form here after 1830 was connected in one way or another to the production of marketable commodities for trade at Fort Chimo. Doubtless the most important of these was the modification of wintertime activities out along the coasts and inland in order to incorporate the hunting and trapping of fur-bearing animals. While the white pelts of arctic foxes were in particular demand at the time, certain of the rarer coloured varieties—cross and particularly silver —commanded generally higher prices (eg, CRD, 1837:6). Secondary trade items included eider down, seal skins, and train oil, although the bulk of each year's harvest of seals and belugas—generally modest even at the best of times, particularly by comparison with the Atlantic and Hudson Strait coasts— tended to be earmarked for domestic rather than exchange purposes. Initially, the Company had high expectations of developing a lucrative oil industry here, having relied too heavily on Kohlmeister and Kmoch's glowing assessment of the region's potential. But by 1833 it had become more than apparent that this was not in the cards, Finlayson expressing the view that families who were now devoting much time and energy to trapping foxes in the winter could ill-afford to part with whatever meat and fat and raw materials their sealing and other subsistence hunting and fishing provided; "for if the wolves and wolverines do not eat the skins of

their Boats and Kayaks," he observed, "they may be obliged to do it themselves to preserve their lives, which is often the case" (CRD, 1833:3; 1840-41:2d).

After a dozen or so years of middling returns and seemingly intractable difficulties the Company had had enough, closing Fort Chimo and its satellite George River (or Siveright Fort, est. 1838) and False River (est.1833?) posts in the summer of 1843, and withdrawing from the region altogether (CPJ, 1843:63d; CRD, 1840-41:3d-4; White 1926:16, 18). Predictably, traffic from the Ungava country to Hebron picked up at once, the station diaries and outward correspondence chronicling the annual comings and goings of trading parties—including whole families, sometimes as many as one hundred people at a time— over the next two decades:

> During these days a sled party of 52 persons from the Bay Kangertluluaksoak arrived here and a few days later on the [illegible] frozen [illegible] one of 13 persons made the difficult trip to trade (HD Jan. 1845: 47,014).
>
> From the beginning to beyond the middle of February we again had visits from [illegible] sled parties, about 30 persons together from Ungava, Koksoak, as well as Kangertluluaksoak who, as ususal, came to trade (HD Feb. 1847: 47,133).[16]
>
> This winter there was no shortage of visiting heathens from Ungava, over 100 people, large and small, from that area arrived here to trade. A number of them had never seen a European (H/MD 1850:42,473).
>
> At the end of April and the middle of May arrived here from the North several sled parties from Nachvak, Kangivak, and from Killinek or Cape Chidley. They only came to trade and still had no desire to join the believers. Most of them had already been here often ... (HD April/May, 1852: 47,448).
>
> In the week before the choir week [part of Moravian church ritual] several, but only small parties of northern heathens from Kangiva arrived again, bringing their trade goods. All had been already been here frequently and were, therefore, not unknown. We did not fail [to tell them] God's decree for salvation ...but they stood by their usual statement that they already believed in Jesus ...(HD Feb 1861: 47,771).

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[16] In Moravian records, the place name Ungava usually refers to the western shore of Ungava Bay (Wheeler, 1953:97).

> Several heathen sled parties arrived here on the 1st of February, who lived in the area along the river Koksoak, together with 31 others, most of whom had already been here before... Again 6 heathen sled parties arrived ... on the 13th of February, mostly from Kangiva, Ungava and Koksoak, numbering 105 persons (HD Feb 1 & 13, 1865:47,962, 47,964).

Passage by sea was seldom attempted. Yet when it was, it invariably elicited special remark from the missionaries. In August 1858, for instance, a diary entry contained the following news: "We were quite surprised at the arrival here ... of two boat parties, altogether 40 persons strong, who had made the long trip from Ungava and Kangiva around ...Killinek in their flimsy skin boats..." The journey is said to have lasted upwards of five weeks (HD Aug 9 1858: 47,640-41). As the previous citations indicate, the more usual practice was overland travel in winter on sleds, following one of several possible river valley routes through the mountainous interior from a starting point at Kangertluluaksoak (e.g., Loring, 1979:3). A month might be spent in going and coming, though it was supposedly possible to cover the several hundred kilometre round trip in less than a week's time (eg, HD Jan 1836:46,431). While en route, travellers sustained themselves by hunting caribou and smaller game, and by fishing for trout through the ice of frozen lakes and ponds. As was their custom, some families remained here for extended periods, sometimes a year or more, joining relatives and friends in pursuing their annual round at various places dotting the coastline from Killiniq south to Sagelkh. "The last winter we had many visits of Northlanders, also of a goodly company from the Ungava district," Jonathan Mentzel wrote in the late 1840s; they arrived "in four sledges, and expected to be a year absent from home. Since the Europeans have quitted the shores of the bay, these people are more disposed to frequent this place" (PA 18, 1848:289). Quite clearly, movement back and forth across northern Québec-Labrador was no more restrained in the mid 1800s than it had been in the previous century, or the century before that. Nor, it should be added, was that movement prompted exclusively by trade.

At a time when a steady stream of converts was resettling in Hebron from nearby Saglekh, it was a rare event indeed when visitors from more distant places, and especially Ungava Bay professed an interest in doing so. Their usual response was a polite thanks but no thanks. Typical was this comment, recorded in the winter of 1850: "He attentively listened to all [our] speeches and often repeated to himself what was said. But to leave his land and exchange the well being of his body with that of his soul, that was impossible for him at present" (HD Jan 1850: 47,316). Along similar lines, "The Northlanders will not hear of coming to live at this place, because they will not leave their homes, where they meet with reindeer in abundance, and appear, on the whole, to suffer from want of provisions less frequently than the Esquimaux in this neighbourhood" (PA 22, 1857:325).

In turn, the Brethren were inclined to say of the vast majority of these people that they "hatten...fürs Geistliche kein Ohr"—they "had no ear for spirituality"—and only preferred to think of trading and other worldly matters (HD Jan 1846: 47,083). Yet there is some evidence that those who called at Okak, and later Hebron, were not really deaf to the message repeatedly preached to them. By way of illustration, this observation appeared in the Hebron diary, attributed to some of the aforementioned travellers who arrived by umiak in summer, 1858: "They listed with pleasure and willingly, asked many questions and declared: since they were educated (several had already been here often) they do not kill people any more, [and] do not practice much witchcraft any more and [then] only if there are sick people" (HD Aug 1858:47,641). And then this, offered from an altogether different perspective, that of Hudson's Bay Company officer John McLean. In the 1830s, he reported that many Inuit from the eastern precincts of Ungava Bay—western Siqinirmiut—seemed tolerably well versed in the basic tenets of Christianity, often referring to Jesus in ways that

clearly bespoke the Moravians' teaching. By contrast, eastern Tarramiut appeared to know nothing of the sort, their only knowledge of the distant missions coming at second or third hand, mainly through intermittent contacts with Siqinirmiut who were themselves frequent visitors to Hebron or Okak (CRD1837-38:9d). No doubt their interests turned more on acquiring metal implements and tobacco and other trade goods from their intermediary neighbours than on hearing about the odd beliefs of strangers whom most had never even seen.[17]

Quite apart from describing the activities of Northlanders at Hebron, the Moravian annals also comprise the lone source of written information bearing on conditions back in Ungava Bay—and indeed elsewhere along the northern Labrador coast— during what turned out to be the Company's twenty-plus year absence from that quarter. Of special interest are recurrent references to episodes of famine, famines occasionally severe enough to cause many deaths. An extreme case occurred in the autumn of 1846, the news arriving the following February that as many as forty people had perished in the country west of the Koksoakh. A month later, three families from among those who first brought these ill tidings returned to Hebron from Saglekh in order "to find escape from hunger which had ... started there among our people" (HD Feb 1847:47,133; Mar 1847: 47,139). In the winter of 1855-56, both sides of the peninsula were plagued by food shortages, the season visiting a degree of misery on the Inuit which the Brethren believed to be "without example in the history of the Mission in Labrador;"

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[17] Further to the point about Siqinirmiut as "middlemen" in the trade, the Brethren commented in the early sixties that "most of the heathen who come to us from Kangiva, Koksoak, and Ungava are traders, who exchange the goods which they obtain from our store, for articles which they receive from those Esquimaux that live at a still greater distance" (PA 24, 1863:544).

> Not only was the considerable stock of provisions in our store consumed, but it proved even insufficient to preserve our people from the pangs of hunger, few of them being accustomed to live on bread and flour. As natives of a northern region, they cannot exist, at least for a long period, without animal food (PA 22, 1856:109).

Northerners who appeared at the station "lament about hunger and buy as many provisions as they can get," that year's diary noted; "14 persons from Ungava Bay stayed here, afraid to go back because they anticipated that they would meet death from hunger." Some eventually resorted to nearby Saglekh in hopes of obtaining game. "How many of them reached their land again, God knows. Later we heard that several families had died..." (HD Feb 14 1856: 47,555).

Whatever else it represented to them, the Inuit certainly looked on the mission as a place where no one was likely to starve, a situation upon which the Brethren had more than passing occasion to reflect since first arriving in Labrador in the 1770s. "...because they did not suffer any lack of provisions, especially this winter," a diary entry from 1843 explained, referring to visitors from Saglekh, "they did not want to hear about conversion" (HD Jan 1843: 46,886). A decade earlier, a widow who had recently joined the congregation described her relief at being away from the "great hunger" prevailing at Killiniq, her former home. "...here ...I can be so joyous, and I am so well off, that I cannot be thankful enough..." (HD Oct 1835:46,418). By contrast, the Fort Chimo journal for 1841 notes that "the number of half-starved Esquimaux that keep prowling around the Establishment is very annoying." Then, just days later, "I pity the poor wretches tho' I can do nothing to relieve them" (CPJ, 1841:34). Little wonder that the Inuit often harboured ill-feelings about the Company during its original tenure in Ungava Bay, a man from Kangertluluaksoak telling the missionaries that he preferred making the long trip to Hebron rather the shorter one to Fort Chimo because the qallunaat there "are hostile against the Eskimos..." (HD Jan 1836:46,431).

The mission's northward expansion initially affected patterns of land use and occupation to a much greater degree than did the Hudson's Bay Company. As happened earlier at the three original stations, change along the Torngat coastline was primarily driven by the Brethren's efforts to centralize as much of the northern population at Hebron as possible. This process met with remarkable success in a comparatively brief time, nearly 100 Inuit already being attached to the station when it was first opened because of the large contingent of converts—eighty-two congregants altogether— who voluntarily resettled there from Okak and Nain. Ten years later their numbers had jumped to about 200, and by 1849 the figure stood at 347 men, women and children, the vast majority of whom were neophyte Christians drawn from Kangerdluksoak, the nearby winter settlement at Napartokh, and other places situated further north (PA 12, 1832:255; 19, 1849:225). The closing of Fort Chimo must have played a part in the great growth spurt that occurred here later in the 1840s, the mission now the only source of supply for those few trade items that were then in demand among Northlanders. Famines such as the one that raged west of the Koksoakh in 1846 likely pushed things along, too. In fact, a mass influx of aspiring converts followed directly in the wake of the food shortages that gripped Saglekh in the winter of 1847 (HD Mar 14 1847:47,139). By the next summer scores of Inuit from that place had joined the congregation, only a few refusing to do so, moving back north instead. "You will rejoice with us when you hear that Saeglek is no longer a heathen settlement," Jonathan Mentzel happily declared at the time, "seventy-one Esquimaux who resided there having left that spot, and taken up their abode among their Christian

countrymen here..." "Saeglek is now a fishing-place for our people," the letter continues, "nor are any heathen allowed to reside there"(PA 19, 1848:131).[18]

III. Fur Trade Society, 1866-1942

Two leading factors lay behind the Hudson's Bay Company's decision to resuscitate its Ungava Bay venture after a twenty-three year hiatus. Technological change likely afforded the biggest incentive, notably the adoption of steam-powered ships which allowed for greater reliability in freighting supplies in and cargoes out. The Brethren provided the other, the Company anxious to recapture ground lost to the mission's long reach on both sides of the peninsula. Accordingly, Fort Chimo was re-occupied in 1866, its Kangertluluaksoak outpost some time thereafter, the move coming hard on the heels of revived Moravian interest in embarking on their own Ungava venture once more (Cooke, 1964:148; MBS 8, Mar 1863:np).[19] But things did not stop there. Following up on a recommendation first made in the late 1830s, the Company also built two posts on the Atlantic side within hailing distance of Hebron: Lampson Post, in nearby Saglekh Bay, in 1867, and Nachvak, further north, one year later.[20] Just as Fort Chimo's George River satellite had been

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[18] In their annual letter to London the following year, Hebron's missionaries put at ninety the number of people who moved en masse from Saglekh (PA 19, 1849:224).

[19] An enduring dream, the subject of an Ungava mission field arose yet again in 1868, just before the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canadian jurisdiction. "Should this [transfer] take place," the mission's London governors reasoned, "the Co. would doubtless remain in competition with us as a trading corporation. But its right to exclude other traders would cease. This might be of great bearing on the extension of our mission work in the north & north west" (MBS 8,1868:np).

[20] The Company also made incursions further south, operating a short-lived post—appropriately called Fort Trial—from 1858 to 1861. Situated between Davis Inlet and Nain, the location was quickly taken over by the Moravians who established a full mission station, Zoar, in 1865. Not to be outdone, four years later the Company purchased the trade at Davis Inlet from its original proprietor, A.B. Hunt and Company, in business there since 1832 (White, 1926:14, 67).

established to intercept trade destined for the Brethren's hands via the interior (CRD, 1837-38:15), so, too, were these new posts intended to serve a similar purpose, attracting traffic heading to the mission stations from Killiniq and other localities. At the same time, the Company likely expected that settling here would enable them to grab a share of the lucrative trade in train oil, a commodity that had been the mainstay of Moravian commerce for years. [21] As touched on previously, an attempt to initiate this branch of trade at Fort Chimo in the 1830s had failed. With seals and other sea mammals being comparatively scarce around Ungava Bay, the Inuit generally preferred to put whatever supplies of blubber they had to domestic use. Those with surplus to trade faced another problem, the commodity's great bulk making transporting any but modest quantities at a time an onerous business. For that reason, most of the blubber that eventually reached the Koksoakh originated in the nearby Kangertluluaksoak area (eg, CRD, 1833:3; 1840-41:2d).

The Brethren's initial response to these developments in their own backyard was one of moral indignation, reporting to London that the "evil influence thereby exercised on our people was speedily perceptible" (PA 27, 1868:13). But months later their concerns ranged over economic matters, too. According to Daniel, one of the mission's national (ie native) assistants, a party of Hebron-bound Inuit with whom he was travelling from Kangertluluaksoak changed their plans on learning that a store had opened in Naghvakh fjord. His companions probably preferred to do business without having to abide the preaching that inevitably greeted every *non-believer* who called at the station. "...the whole winter no northerner visited here," the Brethren observed, "so

[21] Moravian commercial records indicate that seal oil exports totalled over 1,900 tuns in the quarter century between 1835 and 1860, an amount equivalent to 1.8 million litres. The same period saw nearly 54,000 seal skins shipped overseas, giving some notion of the scale of harvesting activities (United Brethren, 1883:29,264). While oil production at the mission stations continued to rise through the remainder of the century, the number of seal skins exported dropped off markedly. This is largely owing to the fact that by the mid 1800s, locally-sewn seal skin boots were being exported to Newfoundland and other markets.

that the plan of the Hudson's Bay Company to completely cut off northern heathens from us through both their trade stations ...was unfortunately quite successful..." (HD Jan 3 1869:48,138).[22]

As things turned out, neither of these posts proved to be a great success, at least over the long term. Of the two, Lampson had greater problems, closing down in 1874, less than a decade after the Company's colours were first hoisted there. Among other things, the place was plagued by recurrent supply problems.[23] Its proximity to Hebron could hardly have helped its prospects either, the Brethren still managing to hold a substantial portion of the region's trade despite the occasional defection of some of their families (eg, PA 28, 1872:351). As a parting shot, the officer in charge at Saglekh, clearly depressed at the prospect of one more ship-less season ahead, lamented that "we are in for another winter without wood or other supplies. God knows I have had my share of misery since I have been on the Labrador. I don't know what this post is kept up for" (LPJ Sept 19 1874:18d).[24]

By comparison, Nachvak fared somewhat better, its situation well to the north of Hebron enabling it to attract Inuit who were holding out against conversion and thus were probably well disposed to an alternative outlet for their trade (e.g., Loring, 1998:56-7, 66-70). The year the post

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[22] Of his own accord, Daniel had undertaken a year-long mission among his unconverted compatriots along the coast as far as Kangiva, on the eastern shore of Ungava Bay. In the latter place, the Brethren later reported, he "found the power of darkness much greater ...than was the case at Killinek. This feeling manifested itself not only in a want of willingness to hear the gospel ...but also in violent opposition thereto" (PA 27, 1869: 278).

[23] Just after new year in 1871, the factor at Fort Chimo dispatched a party of Inuit to Nachvak to retrieve supplies of gun powder and other necessities, no ship having reached Ungava Bay the previous fall. Returning some three months later, they reported that Nackvak and Lampson had been temporarily shut down, both having gone without the annual supply vessel, too (CPJ, 1870:25d, 29d).

[24] Happily, the ship did arrive, in early October. No less happily, the officer wrote: "there goes for the last entry in this blessed old journal. I'm off to Davis Inlet by the ship ...and Lampson is to be knocked in the head" (LPJ, 1874:19d).

opened, mission sources estimated that there were about 110 "heathen" still living between Naghvakh fjord and Killiniq, at least half of whom wintered at the former place (PA 27, 1868:14). Twenty years later, however, an official Company inspection report indicated that there were only thirteen native dealers on the store's books. Judging by their names, none was a convert, Christian Inuit always adopting European, and often biblical given names, upon baptism. "As a rule," the report noted, "the Esquimaux are very poor, ...are not good trappers, ...do not care for fishing. [Yet] As sealers they are very good, but somewhat indolent and improvident." The inspector also drew attention to a source of competition nearby, the Moravian's sixth station, Ramah, established in 1871 (NPR, 1889:5). Apparently as concerned with purchasing skins as saving souls, the Brethren marked the centenary of their Labrador mission by settling in the sparsely populated Nullatartokh Bay, situated on the coast between Saglekh and Naghvakh. . "...hitherto the heathen Eskimo from the north brought their furs to Hebron, and heard the Gospel preached," they wrote at the time; but "now they come no further south than the nearest trading station, where they dispose of their goods .... it is thus necessary that a station be formed in a suitable locality, higher up than Saeglek" (cited in Richling, 1987:481). The Company abandoned its Nachvak post in 1905, just at the time opposition from the French firm Révillon Frères was beginning to heat up in Ungava Bay. A year earlier the Brethren had opened their eighth and last station, Killinek, and two years afterward they closed Ramah, hardly a paying proposition under the best of conditions (eg., PA 29, 1874:203, 429; 32, 1883:589).

Compared to their debut thirty-six years earlier, the Company's fortunes in Ungava Bay from 1866 onward were markedly improved, a situation aided in no small measure by the effective absence of commercial competition before the turn of the new century. With interruptions in

transport occurring far less often than they had earlier, the long-standing pattern of trade to Hebron from the Kangiva, Kangertluluaksoak and Koksoakh districts dropped off noticeably. Moreover, the steamers that supplied Fort Chimo with goods from the outside were able to support a more diversified operation in the region, annual cargoes now including seal skins, train oil, and cured or frozen fish, along with the pelts of foxes and other fur-bearers. Two out-stations devoted to these industries were soon up and running, one at the former George River site, the other near the mouth of the Whale River (Unngunniavik). As the name suggests, Whale River post was a prime location for harvesting beluga or white whales with nets and harpoons; and like its Kangertluluaksoak neighbour to the east, it also had valuable salmon and seal fisheries (Elton, 1942:344; CRD, 1886:1). Equally important, the period saw growth in the trade reaching Fort Chimo from distant parts of the Ungava Peninsula, including the shores of Hudson Strait, and even from the Richmond Gulf-Little Whale River area, on Hudson Bay. Previously, Inuit from these remote places rarely visited the Koksoakh themselves, their furs and other items passing through the hands of one or more intermediary bands before eventually arriving at the post (e.g., CRD, 1833-35:11; 1837-38:9d, 10-10d). After 1866, however, a different pattern began to take shape, groups living beyond the Tasiujaq area— Tarramiut country—dispatching several members to deliver their combined take to the qallunaat in the south. By Lucien Turner's first-hand account, these yearly expeditions usually consumed many months, parties typically leaving in early winter and not making Fort Chimo until spring. Where once trade from outlying districts tended to comprise a small portion of exports, by the late 1800s it now made up at least forty percent of the post's annual haul of furs, sometimes more (Turner 1979:13; *cf* Elton, 1942:348-50; Graburn 1969:82; Saladin D'Anglure, 1984:500-501).

Tarramiut bands adapted to this trade relatively quickly, the people adjusting their annual round to accommodate a wintertime fur catching season whose proceeds paid for firearms, ammunition, traps, and other metal implements, and of course tobacco. Yet in nearly all other respects change came slowly, if at all, before century's end, the basic features of diet, material culture (including dwellings and clothing), social organization, and beliefs remaining practically untouched by the presence of Euro-Canadians, nearly all of whom were a long way away on the Koksoakh (Payne,1887-88; 218-19; Saladin D'Anglure, 1984:501; Stupart, 1887:101-04).[25] Distance clearly constituted a barrier to regular contact, let alone to acculturation, the very point Turner emphasized in drawing comparisons between the Tarramiut and their Siqinirmiut neighbours to the south and east. These last, he reported, "are modified in a certain measure" owing to the greater frequency of their contacts with Fort Chimo, an inevitability due to the relative proximity of their territories to the post. Apart from the ubiquitous guns and tobacco, some equally obvious indicators of change among them included a preference for wearing imported clothing and a taste for imported foods, notably flour and sugar, tea and molasses. At the same time, they were also becoming inured to the European system of paid labour, the Company engaging them to freight firewood and assist with its whaling and salmon fishing operations, and paying them in kind from its stores. "They are thus dependent upon the white man to a considerable degree," Turner concluded, and certainly to a greater degree than were the more remote Tarramiut (Turner,

[25] Other than Company personnel, only a handful of qallunaat actually stayed in Ungava Bay for any appreciable length of time before 1900. American naturalist and ethnologist Lucien Turner is doubtless the best known of them. However, shortly after his departure RF Stupart and F.F. Payne spent a year on the Bay's northwestern shore, in the vicinity of modern-day Kangirsujuaq. They were members of a scientific expedition which the Canadian government sent into the Hudson Strait region between 1884-1886 to gather meteorological, oceanographic, and other intelligence. Among other things, their stay resulted in separate ethnographic sketches of the Inuit along this portion of the Ungava Peninsula coastline (Payne, 1887-88; Stupart, 1887).

1887:101-05; 1979:39-40). Compared to the main body of Siqinirmiut associated with the Moravian missions, however, the extent of their dependency, no less of general changes in their mode of everyday existence, appears negligible at best. A few illustrations should serve to make the point.

By the final quarter of the 1800s, the vast majority of Inuit on the Atlantic coast—in excess of a thousand people— were attached to one or another of the Brethren's six settlements. Like their kindred in Ungava Bay, they mainly relied on fish and game and furs for their livelihood, using firearms and steel traps and other equipment obtained in trade from the mission stores. Yet unlike them, they had all but abandoned the umiak in favour of variously sized wooden fishing smacks, and were well on the way to doing much the same for the once-standard kayak. More importantly, families were now spending only a part of each season directly on the land. The remainder was passed in the villages where they participated in a full calendar of religious observances and congregational events, sent their children to day school, availed themselves of paid work, and in slack times, made calls on the Brethren's poor fund. The orderliness of parish life was reflected in the layout of each settlement, the mission compound—chapel and school, living quarters, workshops and storehouses, kitchen garden, cemetery—forming the community's nucleus, the Inuit village arrayed beyond. While seal skin tents were deemed most serviceable for use in the warmer months, as they had been for centuries, wood frame construction was quickly replacing the more traditional semi-subterranean sod and stone house for wintertime shelter.[26] The residents of Hebron and Ramah alone kept to the old style of winter dwelling exclusively, prevented from switching by the difficulty of obtaining sufficient lumber nearby. Even so, their houses still bore the unmistakable

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[26] "In former times," Turner noted, the Inuit of Ungava Bay "inhabited permanent winter houses like those used by the Eskimo elsewhere," having seen for himself their ruins at several places in the Koksoakh district. Yet while "The present inhabitants relate that their ancestors dwelt in these huts, [they] can not explain why they were deserted, or why such structures are not erected at the present day" (Turner, 1979:64).

stamp of European influence, glass taking the place of seal innards in windows, once-bare interior walls now decorated with brightly coloured paper (Reichel, 1877:146-56).

Just as the new century was dawning, a series of developments following one on the next ushered in an era of momentous change throughout the entire Ungava Bay region. The process was actually set in motion some years before by the Anglican cleric Rev. E.J. Peck, his itinerant preaching at Fort Chimo during the summer of 1884 being widely credited with having laid the groundwork for the eventual conversion of western Siqinirmiut and Tarramiut bands to Christianity. That work only began in earnest in 1900. The church's decision to enlist Rev. S.M. Stewart to tackle the task full-time was spurred by a bit of high praise from Benjamin LaTrobe, a ranking Moravian official who wrote to Peck concerning the "Divine blessing" brought by his earlier venture. "Having heard of a 'great awakening' at Kangiva and Ungava," LaTrobe's communiqué read, our missionary, Stecker at Ramah, went hither last April by invitation of [Company agent] Mr Guy..." Establishing the claim's veracity, Stecker found that "...the Eskimos are going on with the stream, but its flow is towards Christianity. [They] have fully broken with heathen practices and sorcery, and their countenances showed the cheerful character of the change" (LaTrobe cited in Marsh, 1964:431-32). After passing one season at Port Burwell, a small outpost on Killiniq Island (see below), Stewart relocated his base to Fort Chimo. Assisted by a corps of Inuit catechists, he then set about bringing to fruition the grand project which the Moravians had first set for themselves more than one hundred years earlier. As happened elsewhere, the effort brought the added benefit of literacy as well, the people being taught to read and write Inuktitut using a modified form of the syllabic writing system which Rev. James Evans first introduced to Algonkian speakers in northern Ontario back in the 1840s.

Following hard on the heels of Stewart's mission came a far more dramatic turn in regional history: the opening of a Révillion Frères store opposite the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Chimo premises in 1903. Hoping to capture a healthy share of what was then a steadily rising market in fashionable white fox and other furs, the newcomers lost little time in embarking on a campaign of cut-throat competition that eventually saw each firm plant a string of rival posts westward from the Koksoakh to the Hudson Strait shore. Quite apart from invading the home ground of Tarramiut bands long accustomed to annual trading expeditions to the south, the reinvigorated economic climate emphasized trapping at the expense of traditional subsistence activities. In consequence, families became increasingly reliant on imported foods as well as on the European clothing, canvas tents, wooden boats, and other items of foreign manufacture which their windfall earnings could now purchase (Graburn, 1969:117-20; Saladin D'Anglure, 1984:501-03). In addition, repeating rifles all but replaced old-style muzzle loading guns, a change that brought marked improvement in the efficiency of hunting. Too much efficiency, in fact, several sources identifying the widespread use of these new weapons by Inuit and Innu hunters alike as a contributing factor in the diminution of the region's once-great caribou herds (e.g, Elton, 1942:379).

Hardly an unbiassed source, something of the period's tenor is nonetheless conveyed in the summary reports which the Company's officers dispatched to corporate headquarters at the close of each business year. In 1908, for instance, H.M.S. Cotter rationalized his decision to stop the "vile practice" of providing the Inuit with food rations because it seemed to foster in them both indolence and a spirit of indifference toward their outstanding obligations. The opposition's \$5,000+ a year expenditure on such largess "to good and bad hunters alike" was a "wasteful extravagance," he

explained, obviously unworthy of emulation. By way of bolstering his case, he offered the following illustration:

> A few days ago an Eskimo from Hudson's Strait arrived [in Fort Chimo], a man accustomed to live on Seal flesh and oil. He sold four White foxes to Revillon Bros, in return he got a large debt and the following gratuities viz: 4 Bags Flour. 3 Bags Biscuit (300 lbs). 3 Chests Tea. 100 lbs Sugar, also Pork and Molasses, this at our landed cost amounts to $80 (CRD 1908:3).

Two years later the stakes had inched up even higher. Cotter was now fretting that the current freight scale for imported lumber was making it "utterly impossible" to compte with his French rivals who apparently were busy subsidizing the construction of wood-frame houses for their customers to live in at the posts (CRD, 1909-10:7-8). And there was more to come. Following a wartime cool spell in the mid to late teens, the boom was refreshed during the "opulent 1920s" and continued until the Great Depression finally burst the bubble for good. Two decades of what Saladin D'Anglure has aptly termed "false archaism" ensued, a period in which subsistence hunting was again the main order of the day (Saladin D'Anglure, 1984:503).

Though scarcely on the same scale, the Moravians opened a second front in this scramble for furs and other exportable commodities by establishing their Killinek mission at Port Burwell, on the southwestern shore of Killiniq Island, in 1904.[27] As with earlier phases of their expansion, this one had been under consideration for some time as well, the various possibilities, including settling at Komaktorvik fjord, being aimed at converting the last of the traditionalists—perhaps eighty or so people—who were said to be living along the Atlantic coast from Nagvakh northward. In Killiniq, however, they stood to gain an added advantage, the island's strategic location at the very tip of the

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[27] According to Moravian sources, Killinek was established at a place called Kikkertaujak (PA 5 ns, 1904:543). Elton has rightly observed that the Brethren's choice of name is misleading since that same toponym not only refers to the island on which the settlement sits, but also to one of the island's most prominent geographic features, Cape Chidley (Elton, 1942:486).

Québec-Labrador peninsula also being well-suited to bringing the Gospel to the western Siqinirmiut, should the Anglican's fledgling mission fail (MBS 9, Oct. 1894:np; 10, Oct. 1900:np; PA 4 ns, 1900:347-48). That it was reputed to lie in the midst of excellent seal, beluga and walrus hunting grounds, moreover, did nothing to diminish its attractiveness (Hutton, 1912:39). To those ends, in 1903 the Brethren arranged with the Newfoundland mercantile house of Job Brothers, proprietors of a fishing station and trade store at Burwell since 1898, to take over their entire operation, "experience having amply shown that the trade and the mission should be in one hand and have one motive" (PA 5 ns, 1904:543; MBS 11, April 1903:np).[28] With the Company's Nachvak Post shut in 1905, Ramah following suit soon thereafter, and the nearest competitors some three hundred kilometres away on the Koksoakh, the new station appeared well-situated to yield a harvest of souls for Jesus and, it was hoped, some much-needed revenues for the Brethren's perpetually ailing coffers. As the last missionary at Ramah nicely summed up the prospects, "...there will be no store and no regular European traders anywhere between Hebron and Killinek. And where the stores are, there, or near there, the natives will and do congregate as a rule" (PA 7 ns, 1908:6). And so they did.

As predicted, movement into the Killiniq region occurred quickly, the population in the station's immediate vicinity standing at nearly fifty after only one year of operation, and double that number by 1908 (MacGregor, 1910:80, 173). A portion of this increase was owing to an influx of families following the closures of Ramah and Nachvak, although a small contingent from the latter place "persisted in their heathen independence," choosing to remain south of Killiniq in the Eclipse

[28] According to MacGregor, Job Brothers had earlier acquired the premises here from Captain Blandford, another Newfoundland merchant (MacGregor, 1905:85-6). Port Burwell itself was named for Herbert M Burwell, a member of the 1884-86 Canadian expedition who operated a meteorological station here for about one year (see note 26; Burgess 1967:20-21).

Harbour-North Aulatsivik Island area instead. Together with Komaktorvik fjord, these spots may well have been the last Heiden Plätzen left anywhere along Labrador's northern coast (Hawkes, 1970:15; PA 7 ns, 1908:6-7). Despite resisting conversion, the few Northlanders who held on here did not absent themselves from the station altogether, bringing white fox furs and other items to trade for hardware, tobacco, and what other essentials were needed from the Brethren's store (e.g., KAR, 1912:58,100; 1913:58,113; *cf* Loring, 1998). As the following excerpt shows, however, the missionaries were otherwise inclined to treat them as social outcasts: "In May, a young heathenish man from Aulatsivik arrived here and wanted one of the young baptized girls as wife, but he did not get her because he himself is not yet baptized and the girl is still too young. So he had to leave without a wife" (KAR 1914:58,121-22). Even so, there were other times when keeping converts and non-converts apart was neither possible nor advisable, particularly when it came to finding adequate subsistence to last through the hard winter months:

> ...the heathens on the east side in Aulatsivik and in Komaktovik were luckier. On the 12th of December one man arrived here by sled with quite a number of white fox with a value of 121 doll. Again on the 15th of Dec a sled from Komaktovik arrived here and brought fox valued at 129 doll, not only white but red and black. The people there were rich all winter, while the greatest poverty was here. At the end of Febr, therefore, two families moved from here to the east side to make a living. They stayed there until summer (KAR 1915:58,130).

Kangivamiut, too, were represented among those people settled at or nearby the new station. As discussed in some detail in Part Two, neither they nor their forebears were strangers in this part of Québec-Labrador (or, for that matter, on the Torngat coast), families from up and down Ungava Bay's eastern shoreline long being accustomed to passing a season there in order to hunt seals and walrus and even polar bears in the company of their Killinirmiut friends and relations. In turn, people from Killiniq resorted to Kangiva for similar ends, though fresh water fish and land game—principally fox and caribou— rather than sea mammals, were their main quarry (eg, Val,

1976:121; Vezinet, 1982:133). This wide-ranging pattern of land use continued into the twentieth century. In the winter of 1907, for instance, a party from the Koksoakh area is said to have met with considerable success at the Button Islands, managing to kill fourteen walrus (MacGregor, 1910:174). A few years later, the Brethren observed that "two men went to Ablorlik [sic] to fish trout and hunt fox. This place is on the Ungava coast in the middle between here and George River. But only a few people live there, who usually go to George River to trade" (KAR, 1913-14:58,122). And again the next summer: "In August two families moved deep into the land to the south toward Ungava Bay, to hunt fox" (KAR, 1914-15:58,130)

From the 1890s on, of course, access to trade at Killiniq provided further incentive for northward excursions from Kangiva and other localities in Ungava Bay, the Moravians presumably taking over their predecessors' clientele— reportedly twenty or so families at the time of the transfer—as well as the Job Brothers' premises at Port Burwell (MacGregor, 1910:86). Fort Chimo's records from the period contain few references to traffic heading to Killinek, although in 1905, just a year after the station opened, post master Duncan Matheson did complain to his superiors that "some 4 or 5 families of Esquimaux have gone to the Cape [Chidley], enticed by the Moravian Missionaries by promises of houses and high prices for their hunts" (CRD, 1904-06:4). The Brethren's periodic reports to headquarters provide a bit more detail, though in the main they are quite skimpy compared to the diaries and correspondence from other stations. For example, W.W. Perrett's annual report to London for 1906 contains this interesting bit of news:

> We have lost some of the George River contingent, Nicodemus and his family, also his mother and her two younger children having deserted us. An addition has however come from Ablorilik [sic]. Lucy or Luisa (widow of Serlek I) with her child, her mother, sister and two brothers having come to live here ... through the change our numbers have not decreased. The store has suffered somewhat but we hope Zacharias, Nicodemus' brother, will be able to pay off this debt (KAR, 1906:58,063)

Other arrivals from this direction rated mention the following year: : "...as they came closer, we could distinguish a skin boat and a wooden boat. It was Anarak [?] with his family. They came in [illegible] days from Koksoak, with the drifting ice without going on land." Just months later, "...at the beginning of Sept people from Koksoak arrived here with Koktok [?] who had been visiting there. Some probably will stay here, but some will return" (KAR1907:58,072, 58,074). To these are added sporadic references to Inuit leaving Killiniq for places in Ungava Bay. In July 1913, " ...three families from here took the opportunity [ie, arrival of a Company steamer] to move to Fort Chimo. The two brothers Peter and Charley Nogalak originated from there... at that time 23 people moved from here to Fort Chimo" (KAR 1913-14:58,117-18). Then four months later: "As two years ago 24 souls moved to Fort Chimo and have not returned yet, so again two families moved away now for the same [though unexplained] reason (KAR, 1914-15:58,131).

From these few illustrations it is quite evident that a good portion of Killiniq's inhabitants were highly mobile. Why this was so is not entirely clear, particularly since the excellent hunting to be found in the surrounding waters nourished a thriving trade in train oil, and supplied raw materials for what was arguably the only cottage industry to develop under Moravian tutelage: women's production of seal skin boots.[29] In fact, mission sources estimated that the average annual haul of seals per hunter at Killinek ranged between 250 and 300, a harvest five to six times greater than that at Okak, and about twice the average per capita yield at Hebron (MacGregor, 1910:92). At the same time, however, the remoteness of the place and its treeless environs placed certain constraints on local settlement, constraints, in turn, that probably contributed to Inuit transience in the period. These were felt most noticeably in the Brethren's comparatively higher costs for landing freight

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[29] See note 21.

here than at their other Labrador stations, including the fuel needed for domestic purposes. The hardship this worked grew steadily worse as local families gradually abandoned traditional winter shelters—either sod and stone dwellings or snow houses—in favour of wooden cabins which did not lend themselves easily to heating with old fashion seal oil lamps. By the early 1920s, the mission assumed full responsibility for the indebtedness their parishioner-clients incurred in trying to supply themselves with fuel for the long winter months. The problem, they confessed, stemmed from the "fact that we tried to 'raise' them by selling them material for housebuilding" in the first place. For some, this subsidy was insufficient incentive to stay put, the teens and early twenties witnessing a slow but steady out-migration of Inuit families "to sunnier regions, where fuel is more easily obtained than here" (PA, cited in Kleivan, 1966:40). The lower reaches of the Kingava shore, especially around Kangertluluaksoak, was undoubtedly one such destination. Hebron was another, its source of wood—the only source along the entire Torngat coast—being an isolated stand of spruce at Napartokh bay, a former Thule dwelling site some fifty kilometres south of the station.

Geography affected conditions at Killiniq in quite a different way when, in 1905, the Canadian government advised the Brethren that it would begin collecting duties on the station's oil production and on the merchandise they imported for sale to the Inuit.[30] Up to this time the Moravians had been spared paying such imposts, a succession of Newfoundland administrations having exempted them from doing so on the grounds that the mission covered all the bills for relieving destitute Inuit families, schooling their children, and generally looking after their welfare

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[30] Two years earlier Job Brothers received similar notice, a factor, it would seem, laying behind their decision to sell Port Burwell to the Brethren (MacGregor, 1910:86).

(MBS 11, Nov 1905:np; Sept 1912:np; MacGregor 1910:85).[31] Only recently moved to assert sovereignty throughout its vast northern hinterland, including in what was then the Ungava District of the Northwest Territories, the Dominion was disinclined to grant a similar concession to the Killinek mission. In consequence, the imposition of custom duties pushed the cost of store goods even higher, and in the process, deprived the Brethren of a competitive advantage they had long enjoyed elsewhere. This was probably felt more keenly after 1916 when the Hudson's Bay Company founded its own post—Port Burwell— just a short distance from the mission compound (eg, BPJ, 1920:29). In any case, higher store prices, like fuel shortages, also appear to have been a contributing factor behind the out-migration that occurred in this period (Kleivan 1966:39).

The two old rivals operated side by side at Port Burwell for eight years until the Moravians' steadily-worsening financial situation led them to close their northernmost station and withdraw from the region entirely. This was the prelude to a much bigger step that was to come in 1926: transferring all of their mercantile interests in northern Labrador to the Hudson's Bay Company.[32] Not surprisingly, the majority of Inuit who belonged to Killinek's congregation moved away to Hebron in order to preserve their ties to the mission. "...almost all of the old Killinekers are here in Hebron, except for two families," an entry in the station diary for 1924 stated, having previously recorded the arrivals of several other families over the preceding months. "The old station will soon

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[31] With the Privy Council's ruling on Québec-Labrador's boundaries still twenty-two years away, Newfoundland held firm to the view that it alone had jurisdiction over Killiniq. In supporting that position, Governor Sir William MacGregor, on an official tour to the area in 1905, observed that "Even if Port Burwell were under any arrangement with this Government to pass into the possession of the Dominion, it is very improbable that the Canadian Government would really compel the Mission to pay them Customs dues under the circumstances of the case" (MacGregor, 1910:85-6).

[32] In 1926, the Hudson's Bay Company also began taking over the assets of Révillion Frères, a move that eventually brought nearly a quarter century of fierce competition in Ungava Bay to an end (Saladin D'Anglure, 1984:502).

end" (HD, Feb 1924:49,398-99; Aug 26, 1923:40,393). For those who stayed behind, land use patterns remained much as before, Company records from the twenties documenting a seemingly ceaseless flow of people coming to the post for trade —and for occasional employment rendering oil and doing other chores—and then returning to outlying sealing, trapping, and fishing places scattered around the mainland coast from Eclipse Harbour to Kangertluluaksoak, and on Killiniq and the nearby Buttons. There is evidence that some traffic reached Burwell from further afield, too, the post journal for 1926 mentioning that "Discouraging reports are coming in about foxes, and the only good signs appear to be around Nagvak way, and even the Eskimos down there brought very little in, not even enough to collect any debt" (BPJ, Dec 26 1926:33).

The relocation of Killinirmiut to Hebron in the twenties came directly in the wake of an episode of massive de-population of the Torngat coast. During the winter of 1918-19, sixty-eight percent of Hebron's 220 people died in the course of only nine days, victims of the influenza pandemic that claimed millions worldwide in the aftermath of the Great War. The scale of the disaster might have been even greater had it not been for the fact that more than half of those on the congregation's roles were living away from the station at Saglekh and other winter hunting places when the outbreak began. In the village itself, all but fourteen of 100 persons perished. Remarkably, losses at Okak were even more staggering, amounting to some three-quarters of the 266 Inuit resident there, including virtually every adult male. Those few who managed to survive were nearly all children, a situation that prompted the Brethren to abandon the second oldest—and, ironically, the most populous—of their settlements and to place the orphans with families in Nain

and Hopedale (PA 10 ns, 1919:371-83; Kleivan, 1966:180-81).[33] Hebron, by contrast, experienced a different fate, Inuit beginning to gravitate to the area within months of the disaster, some coming northward from Nain and Okak, others southward from Ramah and Killiniq. By 1920, the local population already stood at 100, and within three years, about the time of the main out-migration from Killinek, it had grown by another two dozen (PA 10 ns, 1920:489-92; Kleivan, 1966:182). By all indications, Killinirmiut were well represented among Hebron's inhabitants in the post-influenza period, perhaps accounting for as many as one quarter of their number.

Another, if smaller wave of out-migration to Hebron occurred in the early thirties. In his annual report for 1933, the missionary there remarked that "It will interest my readers to learn that some people from the north are coming to settle among us. These Eskimos are those (according to the Killinek diary) who were indifferent to the teaching of our missionaries there" (PA 141, 1933:260). These must have been the very last of the Northlanders, perhaps two or three families, who had been clinging to their traditional ways in the Eclipse Harbour-North Aulatsivik Island area for generations.[34] Three men from that quarter—Anautak, Ejaitok, and Onalik— are mentioned with some regularity in the Port Burwell journals as late as 1927, but references to them seem to stop altogether a short time thereafter, and certainly by 1930 (e.g., BPJ, Mar 6, 1925:36; Apr 6, 1926:51). Just what lay behind their decision to resettle in the south is anything but obvious. Yet there is reason to suspect that the Privy Council's 1927 finding in the Labrador boundary dispute may have had something to do with it, particularly if a question had arisen over Québec's obligation to furnish

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[33] Some years after Okak's closure a number of families gravitated back to the area. The small community that developed there was called Nutak. Its people were included as members of Hebron's congregation.

[34] These people rate mention again in the Hebron diary for 1936: "Some of our new people, those of Aulatsivik, went off seal hunting last Sunday and again this. They are to be prevented in future. Of course we know that they are badly off with no relieving officers here but Sunday is Sunday" (HD, May 9 1936).

relief to Inuit families who lived in Newfoundland but happened to trade at Killiniq. A stray bit of evidence, again from the Hebron diary, lends some credence to this view: "Lukas and Lukas of Koroksoak [sic] were in Hebron today. They wished to know if they could come to live in Hebron. Br Harp told them no! They are Canadians" (HD, Feb 16 1935). As it happened, the government in St. John's had just made poor relief a matter of public responsibility in 1934, the year it first dispatched members of its rural police force, the Newfoundland Rangers, to the settlements of northern Labrador. In addition to showing the flag and keeping the peace, the Rangers were charged with distributing rations to the aged and indigent. Their counterparts, the RCMP, had been doing much the same thing across the line at Port Burwell since 1920, although a dozen years later a festering federal-provincial squabble over where the money for relieving impoverished Inuit living in Québec should come from, put an end to the Mounties' custodial role. The Company took on the job for the interim, "giving the natives small amounts of grub to keep them from starving" (BPJ, Feb 26, 1932:51).[35]

The Hudson's Bay Company monopoly in northern Québec-Labrador lasted sixteen years, six short of the twenty-two year lease they had negotiated for occupying premises at the four remaining mission stations. Their relationship with the Inuit at Hebron and elsewhere on the northern Atlantic coast was a troubled one almost from the start. To begin, the Company's emphasis on production of furs above all other commodities, no less its insistence that the people spend the best part of each year away from the settlements, ran head-long into patterns of land use and occupation that had developed under Moravian tutelage over the previous century and a half. Added

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[35] In 1939, the Supreme Court of Canada resolved the dispute—the notorious Re: Eskimo case—in Quebec's favour.

to that was wide-spread dependency on a system that had blurred the lines between charity and ordinary business practice. A corporate report at the time of the take-over put the matter this way:

> There is no question but that the indolence of the Labrador Eskimo is to a large extent due to the habit of depending upon Mission help and OBTAINING IT ALMOST AT WILL either as relief from the Missionary or as debt from the Store. At Hebron in four years the store debt increased from $5,000 to over $21,000 (JFR, Sept 27 1926).

As long as the international fur market remained buoyant, as it did through the remainder of the 1920s, these problems were manageable. Once the Depression hit, however, the gloves came off, the local factors imposing severe austerity measures that included a suspension of debt-making and a virtual end to outfitting families for either subsistence or commercial harvesting activities other than trapping. In league with the newly-arrived Rangers, moreover, they effectively forced an end to winter-time settlement in the villages. Conditions at Hebron were much the same as those reported for Hopedale in the thirties:

> Formerly the bulk of the Eskimo congregation made the Mission Station their permanent winter home ... but now they are urged to scatter as much as possible during the trapping season ...they cannot now as formerly live on credit throughout the winter, and they cannot make sufficient money from the summer cod fishery to carry them through the winter (PA 144, 1936:80).[36]

With their account books awash in red ink, the Hudson's Bay Company began withdrawing from their chain of northern Québec-Labrador posts in 1939.[37] Port Burwell was the first to be abandoned. A number of local families chose to stay on in the Killiniq region, but most moved

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[36] The Brethren had commercialized the fisheries in the 1860s, compelled to do so by stiff competition from a Newfoundland-based schooner fleet that began harvesting cod in northern Labrador waters after mid century.

[37] During their first half-dozen years of operation, losses were estimated to be on the order of $200,000. By 1932 fur values had plummeted sixty percent, and a quintal (hundred-weight) of salt cod that had fetched ten dollars in the mid twenties was worth only a fifth as much once the Great Depression had set in (Parsons to London, Oct 18 1932).

south into Ungava Bay, arrangements having been made for their accounts to be taken over at George River (BPJ Jan 24 1939:72, 75). The former Moravian stores were next, all being shut in May, 1942. Rather than turning the business back to its original proprietors, however, the Company's directors took the unusual step of bequeathing their interests to the people of Newfoundland. A succession of government agencies, beginning with the pre-confederation Northern Labrador Trading Operation, carried on trade in the settlements for decades to come. In the autumn of 1959, Hebron became a target of one of premier J.R. Smallwood's rural modernization schemes, the government closing down its store there and forcing the residents—about 210 Inuit—to move southward, resettling them in the less remote communities of Nain, Hopedale and Makkovik (PA 168, 1960:17-18). Among the relocated households were several only recently established in Hebron, the Brethren's annual report for 1944 recording the arrival of about thirty people from the George River and Killiniq areas. Their reasons for coming were no different than those that had guided their ancestors across the peninsula from Kangiva and other locales since 1763, and doubtless for centuries before that: access to trade, flight from hunger, and the prospect of finding good hunting out on the Torngat coast (PA 153, 1945:52). Unlike the men from the Koksoakh who sought permission to settle ten years before, these newcomers were not turned away.

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