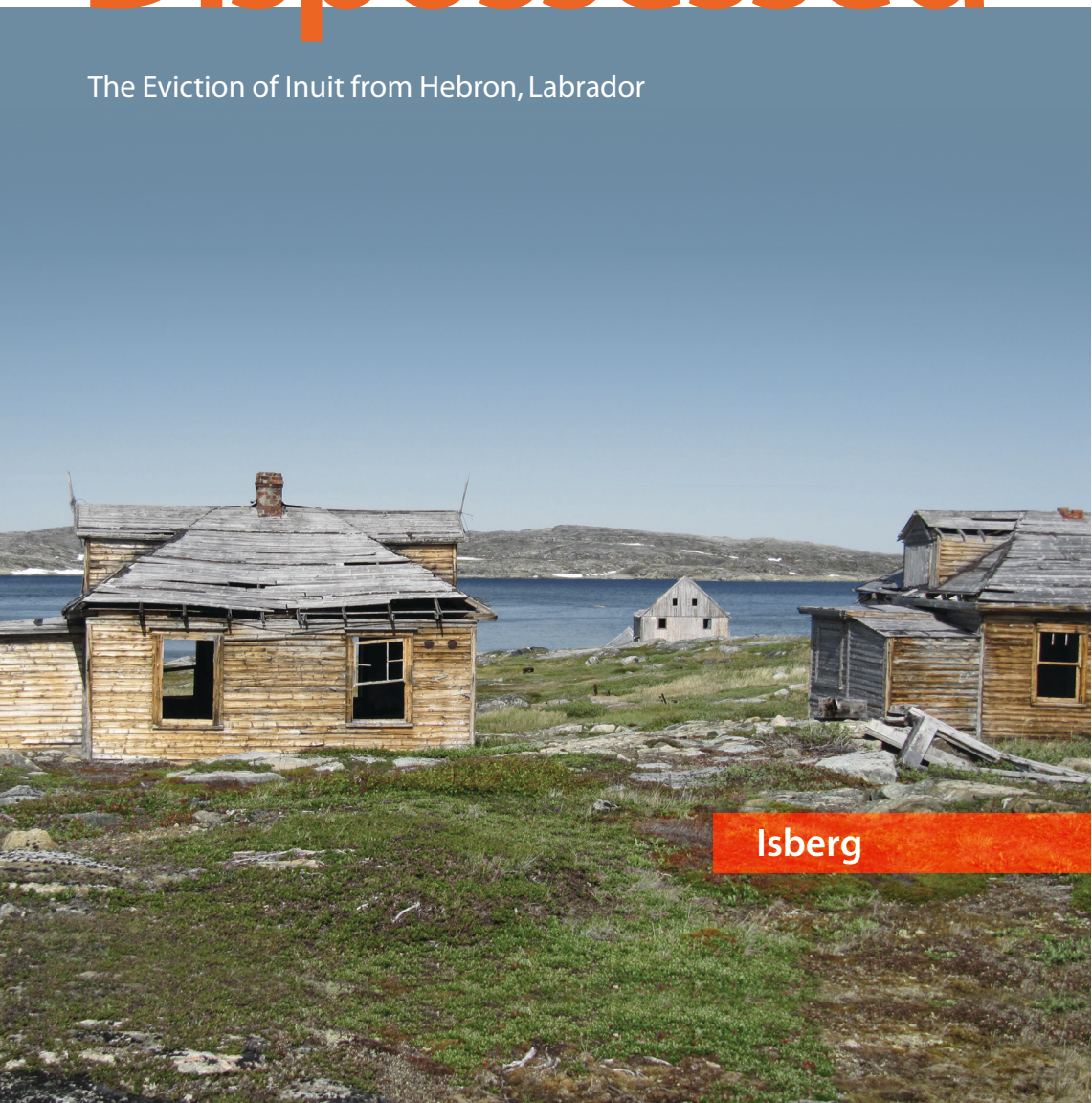
Carol Brice-Bennett

Dispossessed

The Eviction of Inuit from Hebron, Labrador



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DISPOSSESSED:
THE EVICTION OF INUIT FROM HEBRON, LABRADOR

Carol Brice-Bennett
Dispossessed: The Eviction of Inuit from Hebron, Labrador
With a foreword by Daniel Chartier
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ISBERG

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FOREWORD

The experience of the men, women and children who were forced to leave their homes in the village of Hebron, on the northern coast of Labrador in 1959, is of universal importance: it is a tragedy that should never have happened in Nunatsiavut, in Canada, in the Arctic, or anywhere else in the world. Hebron Inuit suffered for the rest of their lives, uncertain if their pain was caused by themselves or by a decision made without their consent. Today, reading their story will not release our responsibility for the event, but it might tell the Inuit, wherever they are, that we are concerned and aware that such a situation should never be repeated.

The publication

The process of making this book accessible to readers has been a long one. The book is based on a report written in 1994 which was revised and includes an additional chapter, titled "Postscript", summarizing important actions relevant to the issue of relocation that occurred over the following twenty-two years. We have tried to keep a balance between the necessity to remember —and learn from— the tragic events of Hebron, and to respect the men and women who lived through them. The values behind this publication, realised in cooperation with the Government of Nunatsiavut, have been consistent since the beginning. In the words of Carol Brice-Bennett, who wrote to me in 2011 about her desire to have the book published:

> Hebron for me has always been an icon of the ultimate betrayal of Inuit trust in colonial patrons as well as of the inherent strengths and weaknesses of Inuit society. My research on the eviction of Inuit from the community is/was the most painful effort in my career because of the long-lasting emotional, psychological, social and economic distress caused to people, which affected me deeply. Despite efforts to heal the experience of survivors, the event will continue to be a critical turning point in the social consciousness and historical record of Labrador Inuit.

The ethics of research

This account of the closure of the village of Hebron is a conclusive example of the ethics of research on Indigenous issues. It should serve as a

reminder that our historical and social methods do not always do justice to Indigenous history. A well-intentioned researcher wanting to investigate the circumstances leading to the closure of Hebron could find various records by the Government of Newfoundland, reports from administrative departments and agencies providing services to the village, and numerous documents by Moravian missionaries. Each of them —the government, the company, the missionaries— have institutions that preserve their archives, and therefore disseminate their views and their political and ideological motivations. A researcher could, by respecting the usual methodologies, use only these sources to give an account about Hebron. What would be missing? The essential source, the testimony of the Inuit affected by this closure -the men, women and children of Hebron- who, without their consent, saw themselves forcibly removed from their homeland. Without an institution to preserve their memory and guarantee its permanence, Labrador Inuit could thus see history ruthlessly repeating the injustices of the past.

It is therefore essential to reflect on our methods when conducting research pertaining to Indigenous peoples, in such a way as to make the silence of those who have lived and experienced this past emerge, even if their voices have left little trace in the archives and libraries of those who have dominated them.

Despite its scale, the closure of the village of Hebron reminds us of the injustices of all colonialism. In its own way, this account by Carol Brice-Bennett forces us to hear the voices of Hebron Inuit, and to correct the disparities of historical power. It is an attempt to create an ethical space for this history, to enable the full recognition of the Inuit and to disseminate the memory of these events, which we must not ignore.

Daniel Chartier

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Research Chair on Images of the North, Winter and the Arctic
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PREFACE

This report was contracted by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1992 to investigate the cause and consequences of the relocation of Inuit from Hebron in northern Labrador. With the closure of community services in 1959, the population of 233 Inuit was compelled to move southward and separate into three other coastal communities.

The presence of the Hebronimiut (people of Hebron) at Hopedale, Makkovik and Nain was most visible by the clusters of tiny cottages that were eventually built for them at a far end of the communities. Isolated in these "Hebron" enclaves, their identity as Hebron migrants was reinforced as was the difficulty of adjusting to new places and people. Some Hebronimiut have simply never accepted being displaced from their original home and have continued to be unsettled, moving from community to community. Although the majority of Hebron families were initially placed in Makkovik, only about five families remain there today and most families of Hebron descent now live at Nain. Over the years many of the cottages built for Hebron families have been demolished and replaced by new housing, with the ones remaining occupied by people of different origins although some of them are still the homes of Hebronimiut.

The closure of Hebron was a profoundly traumatic and disruptive event in the lifetime of its adult inhabitants. They arrived as intruders in southerly coastal communities that each had a history, pattern of socio-economic activities, traditions and conventions of their own. While they were not made clearly unwelcome, their appearance upset the established order of community affairs particularly since local residents were not informed at all about the impending arrival of Hebron families. In the same manner, Hebronimiut were unwilling exiles that were overwhelmed by the sudden expulsion from their homes. Both groups had no option except to contend, inasmuch as they were able, with a situation imposed upon them.

Hebronimiut had a wealth of access to wildlife resources and the security of their community on the northernmost Labrador coast. The social and economic bonds that gave them strength and coherence rapidly dissolved when they left their homeland and they became impoverished. Instead of a legacy of independence and pride, the children of Hebronimiut and subsequent generations had only the memories of their parents, grandparents and other elders of a better time and place. Thus Hebron has come to

symbolize not only an aspect of the past history of Labrador Inuit but also a lingering wound of what was forfeited as a consequence of people's displacement from Hebron.

The redistribution of the Hebron population was the final act in the removal of Inuit from the northernmost Labrador coast. In the summer of 1956, the population of the Okak Bay, located between Nain and Hebron and including 158 residents, was assisted to resettle mainly at Nain. The region did not have a core community with religious, educational and medical services since 1918 when the majority of Inuit in the Moravian congregation at Okak perished during an influenza epidemic. Thereafter newcoming families established homesteads in remote locations throughout the region and a commercial store was opened at Nutak, thirteen kilometres southeast of Okak, which supplied their basic needs. Occasional religious and medical services were also provided by the Moravian minister based at Hebron.

The absence of a core community was the main factor that led to the resettlement of the Okak population. While this action ultimately contributed to the closure of Hebron, details on the relocation of Okak families are not included in this study because of the different circumstances of the two regions. Hebron was a long-standing community, dating from 1831, with a range of social and economic services whereas Okak lacked these assets. Other factors, including the size of the population and process of relocation, distinguish the departures from Okak and Hebron. Although the incidents were related, the closure of Hebron had a far greater impact on the organization of economic and social activities along the entire northern Labrador coast.

Hebron Inuit, as well as Okak Inuit and residents of the remaining coastal communities, have never clearly understood the reasons for the removal of the population from the northern regions. These actions were engineered by the Government of Newfoundland but the relocation scheme was not a component of any existing policy for socio-economic development in Labrador. Nor was the process an element of the notorious Fisheries Household Resettlement Programme which operated from 1965 to 1972 and promoted the abandonment of many remote outports in the province.

Rather, the relocations in northern Labrador occurred because of the influence of several prominent officials and, in the absence of a coherent strategy for regional development, the consequences became the liability of coastal Labrador inhabitants whose traditional lifestyles were substantially undermined. The problems arising from the disorder created by relocation can be seen today in the debilitating poverty, alcohol abuse, family and community violence, criminal offenses and a host of other symptoms of acute social stress that characterize the Inuit communities of Labrador.

These scars of relocation have been evident for many years to residents of the coastal communities and to government administrators associated with various agencies. On many occasions during the first two decades after their resettlement, Hebronimiut and former Okak residents repeatedly expressed their difficulties adjusting to unfamiliar environments and their wish to have a new community established for them in the northern region. However their voices, spoken mainly in the Inuit language, failed to gain a response.

Instead, Hebronimiut have generally been blamed for their apparent failure to adapt or for leaving their original home and disrupting the symmetry of the communities into which they moved. Alternatively, the provincial agency which sponsored the relocation as well as government offices that have since ignored the plight of the Hebronimiut are cited for responsibility over the situation. The overwhelming attitude today, shared by Hebronimiut, combines resignation, despair and helplessness to contend with or amend an experience that infected the entire northern Labrador region.

Despite the passage of thirty-four years since 1959 when Hebron was abandoned, the incident continues to trouble the collective conscience of coastal residents because details on people's personal experiences regarding relocation have never been disclosed. The obvious injury done especially to Hebronimiut has evoked sympathy but is also cause for embarrassment, and perhaps guilt, over the way the people, like their community, were deserted. In the intervening years, a number of other coastal residents have experienced the difficulties and pain of leaving their birthplace and moving to different communities, which has increased their perception of the impact on Inuit of being uprooted from Hebron.

The objective of the following account is to document this sensitive episode in the history of northern Labrador, foremost to provide an answer to the lingering questions about why Hebron was closed. An evaluation is also needed on the outcome of the relocation scheme in order to better understand the experiences of Hebronimiut and the complex socio-economic changes that followed in the wake of their displacement, as well as the role of external institutions in manipulating coastal affairs.

A wide range of sources for information on the process of relocation from Hebron were utilized in preparing this account. The major reference was a collection of fifty-one personal interviews which were conducted from late April to October 1993 with individuals who had direct knowledge of the lifestyle at Hebron, events during the departure from the community, and experiences of Hebronimiut after their resettlement. Of these interviews, thirty-seven were completed with Inuit born at Hebron and among the group which departed in 1959. The remaining fourteen interviews involve residents of other coastal communities and people with official functions or who were

observers of the incident. One informant requested anonymity but all others permitted their name to be cited in extracts from interviews.

The vital source of information on the rationale and procedure for closing Hebron was documents such as memoranda, letters and reports that were written by various officials concerned with Labrador affairs during the 1950s and early 1960s when events actually took place. This material was discovered in government, institutional and personal record collections contained in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and other institutions which are outlined in the bibliography. Not all government files concerning the relocation of Hebron were located; notably missing is correspondence by the provincial Deputy Minister of Public Welfare who administered government policies on Labrador. However, copies of documents prepared by the Director of Labrador Affairs, Walter Rockwood, which he later donated in a private collection to the Provincial Archives, were an invaluable treasure of information.

Another important omission is correspondence contained in Moravian Church records that would undoubtedly clarify the role of this institution in the closure of Hebron. The policy of the Moravian Church is to deny public access to its records for fifty years because of sensitive information that may be contained regarding individuals. Permission was granted to compile population statistics on births, marriages and deaths that are registered in the Church Book at each coastal community. This information enabled an analysis of demographic features that distinguish Hebronimiut migrants over time.

In addition to these sources, comments on the relocation process were extracted from film, audio-visual programs and published accounts dealing with Labrador themes. This material provided further remarks by Inuit and key officials, some of whom are now deceased or unable to express their recollections due to infirmity or illness. Details on events tend to be richer in these sources, as in original documents, because the commentaries were recorded primarily during the initial two decades following relocation. All of the principal officials with direct knowledge of decisions contributing to the closure of Hebron are no longer available to recount the incident. Consequently, their role can only be determined from existing documentary and supplementary sources.

Despite the long passage of time since Hebron was deserted in 1959 and the aging of its native population, statements made in interviews with Hebronimiut for this study are consistent with people's earlier reflections on the impact of relocation. Potent experiences are locked in memories that are passed on to succeeding generations and form the substance of the oral history with which Inuit view their own past and present.

The majority of Hebronimiut who were in their prime of life, aged over forty in 1959, are now deceased and the thirty-seven interviews with surviving Hebron residents include an almost equal number of people younger than forty when they left the community. They include nine children born after 1949, twelve adolescents born from 1948 to 1939, eleven young adults born from 1938 to 1929, and five mature adults born from 1928 to 1919. There are 127 Inuit surviving from the original population of 233 who can claim a birthright to Hebron, of which fifteen are known not to be still living in Labrador. An earnest effort was made to interview as many Hebronimiut as possible for this study and the omission of any individuals was not intentional. Hopefully the views of anyone missed are mirrored in interviews held with their relatives and friends.

Statements made by Hebronimiut and other observers form the substance of this account because their own words best describe the events, experiences and reflections that form people's memories. Extracts taken from interviews conducted in 1993 for this study include the name and current place of residence of informants, but extracts from other sources also note the origin of the material. Although participants in interviews willingly offered information, and audio-visual and published sources from which extracts were taken are in public view, comments contained in original memoranda, letters and reports were not intended for public disclosure. Remarks from these documents, which compose the second chapter outlining the sequence of events leading to the closure of Hebron, are generally very frank, direct and include opinions that some readers may find offensive, particularly regarding the nature of Inuit society. A list of individuals cited in written documents and their official role is outlined in Appendix 1.

This account is an interpretation of a tragic episode in the history of Labrador Inuit that emphasizes the perspective of native inhabitants of the northern coastal region. It is primarily a social history focusing not on the event of relocation or on the attitudes and policies underlying the process but on the experiences of Hebronimiut. Viewed by current standards for social affairs, none of these circumstances should have occurred nor could they ever be repeated. These actions of the past must be considered in the context of their time and the errors in judgement that were made regarding Hebronimiut.

A variety of terms have been used in written documents to describe the departure of Inuit from Hebron. The most common words are relocation and resettlement but other terms include withdrawal, transfer and evacuation. These forms of expression suggest a remedial or passive process that masks the actual circumstances of people's departure from the community as presented in this account. The term eviction has been used in the title of this

document, and reference is made to removal and displacement in comments on the text, in order to more accurately describe the incident.

During the course of interviews several people questioned the outcome of this study, asking specifically whether Hebronimiut would be compensated as have other Inuit who were displaced from communities in the arctic, or whether a new community would finally be established to replace Nutak and Hebron on the northern coast. These issues are matters of conscience and decision by political agencies responsible for the region.

There are many cases of relocation in this province, as well as in other areas of Canada, that have disrupted the lives of people and permanently altered the circumstances and expectations of their descendants. The relocation of Hebron may suggest comparisons with other incidents but Hebron Inuit faced greater obstacles than other displaced groups who moved smaller distances and could express their difficulties in the English language. My hope in preparing this account is that it will enable Labrador Inuit, whatever their origin, to reconcile with their experiences and take command of the future direction of their society.

Carol Brice-Bennett

Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador
January 1994

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study occurred as a result of the initiative of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in supporting research on critical issues affecting the native population of Canada. Over the many months during which this project was conducted, Frances Abele, Co-Director of Research, and John Crump, Senior Research Associate, of the North Program expressed continuous interest in the study. Encouragement and assistance from many staff members of the Labrador Inuit Association and Torngâsok Cultural Centre was also instrumental in completing the project.

The primary source of information used in this account derives from interviews with former Hebron residents and other observers who eagerly agreed to share their knowledge and memories, often evoking painful experiences, about the episode. Their trust and willingness to have the story told is hopefully justified by this document. Katie Harris, Lydia Tuglavina and Augusta Erving were invaluable fieldworkers who conducted interviews in Inuktitut and English, and translated and transcribed taped oral conversations. Judy Best and Shirley Hamel also transcribed innumerable taped interviews in English and transformed mounds of handwritten material into readable text.

The assistance of Joan Mowbray and Cal Best at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland, and Bert Riggs and Linda White at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies (CNS) Archive in Memorial University made the discovery of information from various files infinitely easier. Permission given by William Rowe to examine documents in the Senator F.W. Rowe Collection at the CNS Archive, and access to community Church Books provided by Rev. Walter Edmunds, Rev. Lawrence Junek, Rev. Ray Hunter, and Ms. Marjorie Andersen is gratefully acknowledged. Edward Roberts was generous in suggesting useful contacts and explaining government procedures and previous political circumstances. His introduction to Norma Jean Richards at the Legislative Library in the House of Assembly at St. John's enabled me to benefit from her impressive knowledge and good advice on the structure of past government administrations.

Photographs of Hebron gave faces to people's names and a dimension to their activities and environment that enriched my sense of the place and contributed to writing about it. The loan of images taken by Rev. Siegfried Hettasch (from a collection donated to the Torngâsok Cultural Centre), Ted

Baird, Tiger Birch and Alasdair Veitch was much appreciated. Unfortunately a selection of these photographs cannot be included with this text but they will be shared with Hebronimiut in other ways.

Throughout this study John Jararuse, originally from Hebron and now a resident of Nain, guided my understanding of many details about the Inuit culture, economy and society in the far northern Labrador coast. John is a patient and proficient instructor, following in the footprints of his stepfather Joshua Obed, but any errors in knowledge that may appear in this text are mine alone.

In late July 1993 John and I planned a trip to Hebron from Nain to allow me to see the environment and remains of the community. He had returned on many previous occasions to visit the site but it was my first visit to the region. We reached Hebron by hitchhiking on longliners, with the assistance of Derek Wilton on the northward journey and Chesley Webb on the southward journey, and spent one week camping in the ruin of the government store. Every day we explored features of the community, surrounding hills and islands, and shared residence with small bands of caribou which descended the hills to cool off along the shore from the summer heat. Their trails intersect the grounds, sometimes following and other times seeking new directions from the footpaths used years ago by Hebronimiut. The imprint of people and wildlife give a striking character to the place, setting it apart from other locations along the coast. This is the root of the memories and sense of belonging that Hebronimiut have of their home and that I was privileged to witness.

Figure 1. Significant places in northern Labrador

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The final Hebron Church Book shows 1372 births, 442 marriages and 1362 deaths registered in the community since the Moravian Mission chose Kangikluksoak as the site for a new station in 1831. Located about one hundred kilometres north of Okak, a Moravian village founded in 1776, Kangikluksoak is a very large bay flanked by a sheltered cove at its northern entrance. The cove has the same place name as the bay because it is the gateway to the region and an established meeting place for Inuit. From the harbour, hunters have a spectacular view of the open sea and rugged mountains fringing the coast; it is an ideal position to monitor the movements of wildlife and people.

Since time immemorial Kangikluksoak was a primary hunting and fishing area for Inuit because a large variety of game was plentiful in the region. Its coastal waters contained several species of seal, particularly herds of migrating harp seals in spring and fall, as well as walrus, whales, polar bears, and arctic char descending from many river systems. The land was enriched by herds of caribou, innumerable species of wildfowl, arctic hare, and other animals. Inuit inhabiting the region followed the movements of wildlife in each season of the year and lived at places that offered the best opportunity to harvest game for food, hides and various raw materials needed to support their society.

Kangikluksoak cove was a nucleus for Inuit in several seasons. Serlek, a large island protecting the harbour, was a customary spring and summer campsite from which Inuit hunted seals and fished char. Families also lived along the shore of the cove in summer because it gave them easy access to char and streams of fresh water. Finally, it was the base for a major late fall and winter village in an early period when Inuit pursued huge baleen whales that approached the coast, and later was a site for seal hunting. Signs of previous occupancy remain in stone rings that once encircled tents and rectangular mounds marking people's graves.

The cove was also a place where Inuit from different regions came together. Members of the Okak congregation camped near family groups that were permanent residents in Kangikluksoak, and Inuit trading parties from more remote areas regularly stopped there on their journeys to and from the Moravian store at Okak. The trading parties originated from several dwelling places located along the coast of the narrow peninsula bridging the Labrador Sea and Ungava Bay. They travelled from places such as Saglek, Nachvak,

Komaktorvik, Aulatsivik and Killinek on the northernmost Labrador coast and from Kangiklualuksoak (George River) and Koksoak on the northeastern Ungava Bay coast.

The Moravian Church located its fourth station, Hebron, at Kangikluksoak to build upon these established patterns of activity in promoting the conversion to Christianity of "northlanders", a general term they used to describe Inuit inhabitants of the remote coasts. As well, they needed to create a new community in the northern region to relieve the pressure on wildlife resources that existed at Okak due to the rapid growth of its population, including almost 400 Inuit by 1829. A start to building facilities at Kangikluksoak was made in 1827 when a small blockhouse was erected as a seasonal outpost for Okak missionaries on visits to local Inuit. The construction of a larger complex began three years later.

Carpentry was one of many skills that Moravian missionaries brought from their European upbringing to Labrador. They cut timber in the vicinity of Okak and Napartok Bay to prepare beams, rafters, planks and shingles for a two storey structure, measuring fifteen metres long and eight and a half metres wide, that combined a temporary dwelling and chapel to be located near the shore at Hebron. Building materials were also contributed by missionaries at the two other Moravian stations, Nain founded in 1771 and Hopedale founded in 1782, on the northern coast. Their lumber industry reduced the financial cost to the Moravian Church of establishing a new settlement and left only materials that could not be produced locally for import from England, such as bricks, nails, lime, door and window frames, and glass.

During the spring of 1830 Okak Inuit made one hundred and five journeys by dogteam between Okak and Kangikluksoak carrying lumber to the site and more materials were transported by ship in summer. Four missionaries assisted by skilled Inuit labourers began erecting the main mission building along with a shed for holding casks and other stores. With the completion of their temporary quarters in 1831, the first permanent missionaries were appointed to Hebron and the community was officially opened.

The Moravians immediately began plans for constructing larger premises to contain a proper church, residence for its staff, and storage for goods. This new building was to be located on a level field about one hundred and thirty paces above the shoreline and would be fifty-three metres long, ten metres wide and one storey high. A frame for the imposing structure was erected in the spring of 1835 but the mission house was not completed until October 1837 when a special service was held to consecrate the church. This

monument dominated the landscape and remains as a lasting symbol of the Moravian presence at Hebron.

The immense size of the mission house introduced a perplexing problem for the Moravians, that was to continue over the next century, in obtaining sufficient fuel to heat their premises during the long and severe winters. Hebron had a barren environment; the nearest forest was about forty-eight kilometres southwest at the head of Napartok Bay. The Moravians' annual supply ship *Harmony* brought stocks of firewood from Okak and a reserve of coal for kitchen use from England but these efforts were time-consuming and expensive. To establish their own fuel supply, Hebron missionaries employed Inuit to cut and transport logs from Napartok to the station for which they were compensated with food or a small wage. They further relied on Inuit labour for their fuel requirements by hiring men to split firewood during winter.

Most of the early congregation at Hebron was composed of families that relocated from Okak either to assist the missionaries in constructing the station or to take advantage of the abundant wildlife in the region. At the close of 1831, the congregation included 102 Inuit and its size gradually increased as northland Inuit became interested in converting to Christianity and joining the community. The largest single addition occurred in 1848 when almost the entire resident population of Saglek, including 71 Inuit, moved to Hebron. They and other immigrants to the station raised the population to an unexcelled high of 347 congregation members by the year's end. Thereafter the Hebron missionaries claimed Saglek as an exclusive fishing area for their converts and prohibited unbaptized Inuit from utilizing its resources.

During the remainder of the 1800s and in the early 1900s, the population of Hebron stabilized with an average of 200 to 250 Inuit in its congregation. This number was roughly equal to the size of Nain and Hopedale but smaller than Okak which continued to be the largest Moravian station on the northern Labrador coast. Inuit lived in all of the communities primarily during the winter season, from about December until April, when severe climatic conditions reduced hunting activities.

Inuit built a sod house or igluvigak for their families when they stayed at the mission stations. These structures were traditional winter dwellings that were dug partially into the ground, framed with whalebone or wood, and covered over with sods for insulation. A house usually accommodated an extended family with about twenty people and was heated mainly with seal blubber rendered into oil and burned in soapstone lamps; wood was also used for fuel when it was available. After 1840 Inuit at the southern communities began constructing huts with planks sawn from timber, modelled on cabins that were built by families of mixed European-Inuit ancestry, but the trend

was not adopted quickly at Hebron where wood for building material and fuel was more difficult to obtain.

Moravian religious festivals at Christmas and Easter were the highlight of the Inuit yearly calendar and between these events, a number of other celebrations acted to reinforce spiritual and social bonds in the communities. Special days were held to honour children, young men and women, married people, widows and widowers that included a parade of participants dressed in their finest clothing, a communal meal and several church services. In adopting these unique Moravian customs, Labrador Inuit followed a strict performance of rituals as they had once maintained in conducting their own spiritual traditions.

After Easter the majority of Inuit families left the mission communities and lived at a series of camps from which they hunted and fished to obtain food as well as resources for bartering at the mission trade store. Seal blubber and pelts, fox furs, and hides from other animals were the major commodities used for trade until the 1860s. Then commercial fisheries for cod, salmon and arctic char were developed, and the production of salted or dried fish dominated the coastal economy for the next century. Inuit bartered their natural resources for items such as ammunition, foodstuffs, tobacco, and household merchandise sold at the mission store, constantly striving to balance the debts of one season with credits from another.

The Moravians expected the commercial store at Hebron to have a monopoly on trade with Inuit living on the far northern Labrador and Ungava Bay coasts, and replace Okak as the outlet nearest to their customary homes. Trade was a crucial means for contact between the missionaries and unbaptized Inuit that provided an opportunity for the Moravians to speak about Christian doctrine and to earn income for paying the expenses of their mission stations. They were shocked when they heard the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had set up trading posts in Ungava Bay, first at Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo/Koksoak) in 1828 and later at Kangiklualuksoak (Fort Siveright/George River) in 1838, which offered options to northern Inuit in choosing a place to trade.

Hebron missionaries noticed the effects of the competition in a smaller number of trade expeditions arriving at their station and in reports of a shift of the Inuit population from the remote Labrador coast to Ungava Bay. These changes frustrated the objectives of the Hebron station but they proved to be temporary. After the two HBC posts were closed in 1842, northern Inuit returned to the Labrador coast and resumed their regular journeys to Hebron. This situation, however, was also relatively brief because the HBC made a fresh start two decades later to trading in the region, but this time they established outposts on both coasts of the northern peninsula.

The HBC reopened its Fort Chimo post at Kuujjuaq in 1866 and built two new posts north of Hebron on the Labrador coast, at Saglek Bay in 1867 and at Nachvak Fiord in 1868. These posts seriously interfered with the Hebron missionaries' trade and contact with northern Inuit who now had stores within their traditional territories and had little reason to travel to Hebron.

In an attempt to counter these losses, the Moravian Church established a new station called Ramah in 1871 at Nullatatok, a bay located on the seaward coast between Saglek and Nachvak. The HBC checked their action by restoring its former post at George River in 1876. In a final manoeuvre to secure trade with Inuit in the Labrador-Ungava peninsula, the Moravian Church purchased a fishing station in 1904 at Killinek, an island off the extreme tip of the mainland, from a Newfoundland firm and created their last mission station there. At the opposite end of the coast, a southern boundary to the Moravians' sphere of influence was set by a mission station established in 1896 at Makkovik to serve families of mixed Inuit-European ancestry.

The location of all these trade stores in the northern region reinforced the customary settlements and activities of Inuit family groups originating in the territory. Missionaries from Ramah and Killinek added new Christian converts to their congregations and made frequent visits to the remaining unbaptized Inuit who lived along the coast between their stations and in Ungava Bay. Inuit families in the northeastern Ungava region shifted from one coast to the other side of the peninsula, staying in whatever area offered the best hunting opportunities, and sometimes joining mission communities.

The total Inuit population throughout the region was small, including about 500 people in widely separated places, which ultimately made the operation of this network of trade stores unprofitable. The HBC closed its Lampson post at Saglek in 1876 and its Nachvak post in 1905 but the company established a new post called Port Burwell at Killinek, footsteps away from the Moravian station, in 1916. Although the Moravian Church maintained its presence at Killinek, it closed Ramah in 1908 to lower expenses of the Labrador Mission by reducing its staff of European missionaries. Commercial competition between the two agencies finally ended in 1926 when the Moravians leased their trading interests to the HBC in a twenty-one year contract.

After over a century of economic relations with the Moravian missionaries and various European traders, Inuit all along the Labrador coast were dependent on foodstuffs, ammunition, hardware and dry goods that they could only obtain by bartering at trade posts. Moravian stores at Nachvak and Ramah were commercial stepping-stones that bridged the stretch of coast from Hebron to Killinek. After the closure of these trade outlets,

northlanders once again had to adjust their movements to trade either at Hebron or Killinek.

The Moravian Church did not abandon families belonging to the Ramah congregation but arranged for them to be transported with their possessions on the *Harmony* to Hebron. After a fierce storm prevented them from reaching the ship, a group of thirty-three Inuit travelled by foot and by boat to the mission station. Buildings at both Ramah and Nachvak were taken apart and the materials moved to other places so little evidence remained of their previous occupation.

Nachvak Inuit were largely indifferent to the Moravians' Christian theology but they wanted convenient access to a trade store so they settled in the outskirts of mission stations, going south of Killinek to Aulatsivik and Komaktorvik and north of Hebron to Saglek. The majority of Ramah Inuit chose to spend part of the year at Hebron and at Saglek. Several families also moved to Killinek and Okak but four families preferred not to leave Ramah. A small chapel was built for religious services led by a native helper appointed from the group and thus Ramah became an outpost affiliated with Hebron.

While the Inuit congregation associated with the southerly mission stations generally spent the winter season residing in the communities, one-third of the Hebron congregation had winter homes away from the station and never stayed there for long periods of time. In 1917 families clustered during winter in three locations near Hebron, at Napartok, Saglek and Ramah. Despite their seclusion, they and the Hebron missionary exchanged frequent visits and all of the outlying population strived to attend major religious services at Christmas and Easter. These festivals also attracted Inuit from Killinek, Okak and Nain who travelled to Hebron to visit relatives and friends.

In the early 1900s the Moravian Church recognized that the Labrador Inuit population had not increased for several decades, primarily due to high death rates caused by disease, and they expected Inuit eventually to become extinct. Their dismal forecast was suddenly hastened in November 1918 by a severe outbreak of Spanish influenza that spread from an ill sailor in the crew of the *Harmony* and devastated the Inuit population at Hebron and Okak. At Hebron only 70 people of 220 in the community were left alive but the mortality at Okak was even higher with merely 59 people remaining from 266 members of the congregation.

In three months the catastrophic epidemic eliminated more than a third of the total Inuit population on the northern Labrador coast and deeply eroded the relationship that previously existed between Inuit and Moravian missionaries. Most of the Okak survivors were children who were adopted by

families at Nain and Hopedale; no one wanted to remain in the desolated community. All of the Inuit houses at Okak and Hebron were burned to the ground and the Okak station was abandoned in March 1919. The Moravian Church considered closing Hebron as well but decided to keep the station operating with resident missionaries.

As a result of the epidemic, Hebron lost the foundation of Inuit whose ancestors had originated in the region. Families moving in from Saglek and Killinek repopulated the station along with two families from Nain who joined the community. The Hebron missionary did not encourage immigrants from the southerly mission stations because he recognized that Hebron was a harsh and difficult environment for Inuit accustomed to having woodlands close at hand. Nain and Hopedale families preferred the Okak district which had abundant game resources, as did Hebron, but also accessible forests for firewood and building material.

Inuit constructed new houses for their families at Hebron and the missionary erected a partition in the church making it one-third smaller to suit the reduced size of the congregation and allow it to be more easily heated. The community that formed around Hebron after 1920 closely resembled its forerunner in having a proportion of families residing within and outside the mission station. However the Hebron missionary now had a much larger constituency because care for the widely scattered and growing population of the Okak district was added to his responsibilities.

Inhabitants of the Hebron region could easily visit the mission station for supplies, medical treatment and religious matters but these services were not accessible to Okak residents. The only facility available to them was the old Okak store where provisions were sold until about 1929 when the HBC replaced the outlet with a small outpost at Nutak, located thirteen kilometres southeast of the mission station in the narrows separating the Okak Islands. The Hebron missionary toured the district at least twice each year, in winter and in summer, and layreaders were appointed to hold religious services. Nevertheless, the Moravian Church was aware that inadequate attention was being given to the spiritual and social condition of Okak inhabitants.

Another increase in the Hebron population occurred after 1923 beginning with five Inuit families who left the Killinek region due to the shortage of fuel and considerably higher prices charged for store merchandise following steep Canadian duties fixed on all imported goods. The declining population and expense of operating the remote station led Moravian officials to close the Killinek mission a year later. Families wanting to move south to Hebron were assisted with transportation provided on the *Harmony*.

Most of the Inuit families who had adopted Christianity settled in the Hebron region and they were followed by most of the last unbaptized family groups living close to Killinek. However, a few Inuit families lingered in the area because the HBC continued to operate its trade post at Port Burwell. When this outlet closed in about 1939, the remaining folk were finally compelled to leave the region and settle near communities that had trade stores, choosing either Hebron on the Labrador coast or George River on the eastern Ungava coast.

Hebron once again became the frontier community in northern Labrador, as it had been a century earlier when the station was first created. However, now the population was composed by four distinct groups originating from Ramah, Nachvak, Aulatsivik and Killinek, along with a few families from George River (Kangiklualuksoak) and Fort Chimo (Kuujjuaq) in Ungava Bay who preferred to live on the Labrador coast. The varied origin of the population and enduring traditional independence shown by many families made the community very different to Nain and Hopedale whose residents could trace their connection over generations to the Moravian settlements.

As in the past, a large number of Inuit families chose to live away from Hebron at places better situated for hunting and fishing activities or closer to wood reserves. The congregation was widely scattered in all seasons of the year, extending from Napartok south of Hebron to Komaktorvik and more northerly bays. Further encouragement to disperse in winter resulted after the HBC gained control of the regional trade operations in 1926 and fox pelts became the main commodity for trade. Trapping took hunters far into the interior and away from their families for several weeks at a time.

Nevertheless, customary Moravian festivals continued to draw Inuit families together and religious observance, embodied by the Church, was a major unifying force that bonded the Hebron congregation. The Inuit population also firmly maintained their traditional cultural practices regarding methods of hunting, attitudes toward land use, and social values stressing sharing and respect for senior adults. Leadership in the community was assigned to a group of elected Elders who formed a village council that enforced proper social behaviour and arbitrated disputes.

Difficulties caused by the absence of wood close to Hebron became a frequent theme in annual reports written by the resident minister after 1930. The report for 1933 stated that Inuit householders spent two days gathering firewood only to burn it in the same length of time, so they continually had to make wooding expeditions that reduced their ability to hunt for subsistence. The minister claimed that residents of the station would agree to leave Hebron if a location further south with access to forests was selected for the community.

At a Labrador Mission Conference held in 1933 that included all missionaries employed on the coast, the fuel issue was discussed as well as the need for extensive repairs to the roof and floor of the Hebron mission house. In addition, the distance separating Hebron from the other mission stations was suggested to be a factor limiting communication between the ministers. These circumstances led the Conference participants to ask the British Mission Board, which was responsible for the Labrador stations, to consider abandoning Hebron and building a new station in the Okak area apart from the HBC post at Nutak.

Their arguments in favour of establishing a new station referred to an extensive land grant at Okak awarded to the Moravian Church by the British Crown, similar to land grants given for the other mission stations, and abundant timber stands in the region. The ministers repeated their belief that many members of the Hebron congregation would move south to be closer to the woodlands particularly if the Moravian Church took the initiative by leaving Hebron. They also were convinced that the Okak area could support a combination of the existing Okak and Hebron populations because historically a larger number of people had composed the Okak mission station. Finally, the Labrador missionaries suggested that communications between them would improve if their work was concentrated in a smaller area of the coast.

The British Mission Board accepted their proposal and brought the problems of the northern Labrador region to the attention of the Commission of Government administering the affairs of Newfoundland, which was then a colony of Britain. The Board likely sought financial assistance for establishing the new community since the Moravian Church had limited resources of its own. A response from the government was not received quickly; the Mission Board was waiting for a decision in 1940 and evidently they had no success in discussions with the government. Five years later the Board informed a Field Conference of Labrador missionaries that the plan to move the Hebron population to Okak Bay had definitely been dropped. In the interim period, a site for the new community was selected at PusseKartok, a point on the northeastern end of Martin Island which was located well inside Okak Bay, about fifteen kilometres southwest of the old mission station.

While the Labrador missionaries recognized that the Mission Board's funds were greatly reduced during the Second World War, they nevertheless persisted with their proposal and urged the Board to start building the new station as soon as possible. Their concern shifted from the problems of the Hebron mission to the desperate state of Okak families who needed the services of a resident minister and a school to provide an education to their

children. With a lack of action taken by the Mission Board, the Hebron mission remained in place and the neglect of the Okak region continued.

Broader issues than the conditions at Okak and Hebron occupied the Newfoundland Commission of Government in 1942 following a decision by the HBC to terminate its commercial operations on the northern Labrador coast that were judged to be unprofitable. Since finding another private firm on short notice to operate community stores was unlikely, the government was forced to take responsibility itself for managing trade affairs. It formed a new division in the Department of Natural Resources called the Northern Labrador Trading Operations (NLTO) and gave it a mandate not only to handle the stores but also to design programs aimed at improving the dismal economic and social conditions in the region. As well, the government had to make its own arrangements for transporting freight to the coastal stores so it created the Northern Labrador Steamship Service to connect at Hopedale with a vessels originating from Newfoundland. Regular shipments were provided by the *S.S. Winifred Lee* which was chartered from the Winsor Trading Company and conveyed goods brought to Hopedale by the *S.S. Kyle*.

The standard of living in northern Labrador had substantially deteriorated after the HBC took over the coastal trade stores in 1926. A worldwide Great Depression, beginning in 1929 and lasting through the 1930s, eliminated markets for virtually all natural resources and fox pelts were the only commodity of value purchased by the HBC. Fox trapping during winter became the main source of cash for coastal inhabitants who previously were able to increase their income, and food supply, from cod, char and seal fisheries conducted from spring to fall. The reduced economy also led the HBC to limit amounts of credit given to families in all seasons of the year that further strained their poverty.

During its first year of management, the NLTO laid the groundwork for restoring a variety of seasonal resource industries, as had formerly been supported by the Moravian Mission. Facilities were constructed at fishing and sealing stations to revitalize the fisheries, and boats and other equipment were brought to improve harvests. Employment was also created at new sawmills producing lumber and on various construction projects in the communities. These efforts, along with a gradual increase in the market value of cod, seal oil, furs and other local resources that occurred during the Second World War, quickly improved the income of northern Labrador coastal residents.

Higher earnings were matched, however, by increasing costs for food and all imported merchandise that enlarged people's need for cash. At Hebron, the missionary considered that the purchasing power of Inuit in the region was restricted by the absence of firewood. He stated that people either had to spend half of their time fetching wood and lose potential resources from

trapping and hunting, or they could purchase fuel for cooking and heat from the store but then they had to be absent from the community for longer periods trying to increase their harvests to pay for the expense. The store had a limited supply of firewood for sale and also recycled much of the seal oil that was purchased from Inuit prior to winter by selling it back to them for fuel.

Coinciding with the recovery of the coastal economy, a major industrial development began in 1941 at Goose Bay in central Labrador where a military base was being constructed for refuelling aircraft on trans-Atlantic flights during the war. The availability of jobs with high wages at this project led many coastal residents to leave their original homes and seek employment at the military site. Most of the families moving from northern Labrador came from two communities, Makkovik and Hopedale, which were closest to Goose Bay and not especially productive fishing and hunting areas.

During the 1940s and 1950s, several shifts of population and economic changes occurred throughout the northern Labrador region. The last Inuit in the Killinek area settled at Hebron while other families shifted frequently between Hebron and Okak seeking better hunting and fishing grounds or access to wood supplies. Nain prospered from productive cod fisheries and a nearby sawmill that attracted some families to join the community. In 1952 the construction of a radar site at Hopedale lured people from the surrounding bays and from Nain, Makkovik and Okak to seek employment and settle in the community. Another smaller radar installation built at Cape Makkovik beginning in 1955 drew workers primarily from the local area and from Hopedale, contributing to the growth of the Makkovik community.

All these changes in residence patterns on the Labrador coast and at Goose Bay were voluntary; people decided when and where they chose to move and built houses themselves for their families. A different situation occurred for Mushuau (Naskapi) Innu living in the vicinity of Davis Inlet who were transported north in 1948 by the NLTO to Tessiujok, a bay in the Okak region, where they were expected to earn incomes by fishing and cutting wood for sale at Hebron. About a year later the Innu vanished from the site and reappeared after five months at Davis Inlet.

Hebron Inuit were remote from the major economic enterprises and employment opportunities that were rapidly transforming the attitudes, lifestyle and organization of communities throughout Labrador. They took advantage of NLTO's programs providing salt, barrels, twine, nets and boats for the fisheries, and continued to rely on hunting and fishing, particularly seals and char, to earn a basic income for purchasing imported goods. Cod were scarce in the northern region except in fall so the fishery for this species was not as prominent as it was in southerly communities.

Yet Hebron was not entirely isolated from the social and economic changes occurring due to the expansion of military facilities in Labrador. A secret American army weather station was constructed across the brook from the community and operated from 1943 to 1945 by seven soldiers. The station was small, consisting of four flimsy buildings, and provided reports on climatic conditions and constant communications to pilots flying aircraft across the North Atlantic to Scotland. Crewmen had frequent social contact with Hebron residents and exchanged food and other articles with them.

In 1953 the construction of an airstrip and radar site at Saglek, located about thirty kilometres north of Hebron, brought various new opportunities to the Inuit population. Several people were employed during the construction phase but the greatest benefit to the community was gifts of lumber and other goods donated by the American military corps operating the site.

Inuit obtained boards from discarded crates and used them to renovate or build houses and as firewood. Seven new houses were erected at Hebron by 1954 and along with the enlargement of older homes, families were not as crowded as they had been in their dwellings. Both the minister and store manager praised the housing improvements as a way to reduce the spread of infection from contagious diseases. More material for building houses and a community hall was provided in 1956 from surplus army shacks at Saglek, and also about 550 meters of pipe was acquired to construct a line carrying water from a stream to the village.

The Saglek base had other resources that helped immeasurably to improve the quality of life at Hebron. Its resident doctor responded to requests from the missionary for advice, occasionally provided special drugs to treat difficult medical cases, and helped to arrange emergency flights to the hospital in Goose Bay if a patient was in desperate condition and no other options were available. Inuit also sought medical treatment at Saglek when a sudden injury or illness occurred while they were fishing or hunting in the area and the radar site was closer for emergencies than travelling to Hebron.

There were many subtle ways that the proximity of the Saglek base was an advantage to Hebron residents. Its dump was a source of numerous goods and materials, especially wood and metal items, and even discarded food was valuable. Inuit used a few thousand pounds of condemned meat to feed their dogs during the winter of 1954 because they had very little seal meat for them after poor catches the previous fall. Families frequently obtained large quantities of scrap wood from Saglek to burn for heat, yet the Hebron missionary continued to express concern about the shortage of firewood in the community.

Only three Inuit men had steady jobs at the radar site by 1957. An equal number of men were employed by the DNLA to operate its facilities at Hebron, and several casual workers were hired by the Moravian minister to perform household and labour tasks for maintaining the mission premises. The Saglek radar base was a novelty for Hebron Inuit who frequently visited the site and had friendly social contacts with the American military personnel. Occasionally Inuit were invited to drink beer and liquor in the barroom at the base that at times caused people to become intoxicated. Some Hebron Inuit made a "homebrew" from yeast, molasses, peas or oats, dried fruit and water that also resulted in inebriation. Episodes of drunkenness disturbed the Moravian minister and the DNLA store manager who attempted to control homebrew consumption by rationing the sale of yeast in the community. This action appears to have been taken only during the winter period when poor weather conditions often prevented Inuit from going hunting or wooding.

American servicemen were frequently generous in giving Inuit gifts of stuff like candy and cigarettes, and they were a ready market for sales of ivory carvings, sealskin slippers and other handicrafts made by Hebron residents. For Christmas the Americans contributed decorative lights, apples and toys for children, and even spruce trees that were dropped by aircraft. American and Canadian air force units in Goose Bay also donated items like infant foods, flashlights, medical supplies and other valuable goods to the community.

Until the early 1950s health care in northern Labrador was provided mainly by the Moravian minister in each community. They held regular clinics in the mission house but their facilities were limited. The Hebron missionary had one year of training in basic medicine and could handle the majority of maladies affecting the Inuit population. However, disorders requiring surgery and the treatment of patients with tuberculosis, a disease that disabled many Labrador Inuit in the 1940s and 1950s, demanded more professional skills than the missionaries possessed.

Specialized medical treatment was provided by doctors from the International Grenfell Association (IGA) which managed a large hospital and rehabilitation centre at St. Anthony in northern Newfoundland. The IGA also administered a small hospital at North West River, thirty kilometres from Goose Bay, with a resident surgeon who looked after the medical needs of the indigenous Labrador population. This doctor toured the northern coastal region at least twice a year, once in summer and in winter, providing treatment to local residents and sending patients with serious medical conditions to hospital. Patients going to or returning from hospital usually had to wait until the coast was free of winter ice to board a ship travelling in the region. After 1957 a small aircraft based at North West River was used as

an ambulance for transporting patients and responding to critical emergencies at the coastal communities.

The Hebron missionary could contact the North West River hospital by radio-telephone for medical advice in treating patients and to request an aircraft to evacuate patients in critical condition. However, the remote location of the community and unstable weather patterns especially during winter made emergency flights to the village more hazardous than trips to other coastal communities. Aside from medical crises, the overall health of Hebron Inuit, and particularly their high rate of tuberculosis infection in the early 1950s, disturbed IGA officials.

Health was also an issue that concerned the Newfoundland government because people's physical state had major implications for resource harvesting activities, the education of children, and amounts of financial assistance required by families disabled by illness. The well-being of Labrador's aboriginal population was raised in discussions on the terms of union between Newfoundland and Canada when an urgent need was expressed for a wide range of social and economic improvement programs.

Following Confederation in 1949, the new provincial government established a three-tiered structure of administration aimed at unifying its initiatives in Labrador. The NLTO was replaced in 1951 by a new agency called the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs (DNLA) that was headed by a Director in the Department of Public Welfare. Activities of the Division would be designed in close consultation with a permanent standing Advisory Committee of Deputy Ministers from the Departments of Public Welfare, Health, Mines and Energy, Education, and Fisheries and Co-operatives. This standing committee reported to a Cabinet Committee consisting of Ministers from the same five departments.

Confederation with Canada brought a variety of social assistance programs and additional funds for socio-economic development to all areas of the province. Communities in northern Labrador saw the direct benefits of political union mostly in the form of statutory transfer payments from the federal government through monthly family allowances and pensions for the elderly, blind, disabled and widowed. These payments immediately increased all family incomes that were subsequently reflected in a higher demand for consumer goods. The federal government also contributed funds to improve health services, which the provincial government directed to the IGA, as well as funds to support socio-economic programs initiated by the DNLA.

The DNLA identified two special problems of administration particular to northern Labrador concerning, firstly, the economic necessity of continuing to manage the commercial trade enterprise, and secondly, the confined socio-

cultural situation of the predominantly Inuit and Innu population in the region. These issues led the Division to become involved with the broad welfare of the coastal communities, extending its hand in all aspects of regional affairs. Its agenda focused on programs to promote resource use, health and education that would improve the standard of living in northern Labrador, and make the region comparable to other areas of the province.

Within northern Labrador, however, there were immense differences in the style and standard of living between the population residing on the far northern coast, in Okak Bay and Hebron, and on the central coast from Nain to Makkovik. The traditional hunting and fishing economy prevailed in the north but wage-paying jobs were bringing a higher standard of living to residents of the southerly communities.

While Okak Bay and Hebron were the best areas for harvesting wildlife, facilities for health and education did not exist at Okak and services at Hebron were limited to the abilities of the Moravian missionary and his wife. A Moravian teacher assisted them by holding classes in the school from 1955 to 1958 but then she was reassigned to Makkovik, leaving the instruction of forty-five pupils to the missionary's wife. A few students in higher grades, and also some children from Okak Bay, were sent to a boarding school which the Moravian Church operated at Nain.

In the 1950s the main economic activities at Hebron were the summer char fishery and the autumn seal fishery. Inuit dispersed along the coast in July and August as far north as Nachvak and fished char with a deeper red-coloured flesh than char found in southerly coastal areas. Red char was the trademark of the Hebron fishery and sold for a higher price than paler char in export markets; on average about 500 barrels of salted char were produced annually at Hebron. While the value of char slowly increased and improved the income of Hebron Inuit, prices and markets for cod fish declined in the 1950s which reduced the earnings of fish harvesters in the other coastal communities who were more dependent on this species.

The seal fishery also had some commercial value but seals were more important as a source of food and raw materials to Hebron Inuit. Seal meat and blubber formed the main diet of families and teams of dogs that were their only means of transportation during winter. Pelts were used to make boots and other articles of winter clothing, as well as to produce equipment for dogteams such as harnesses, traces and lashings. Seal blubber rendered into oil substituted for firewood providing heat and light in people's homes. Finally, Hebron Inuit could earn some cash by selling pelts, blubber and sealskin boots at the store; low prices were paid for these items but the additional income helped household budgets. Although seal catches varied annually depending on the extent of early winter ice, on average about 1500

to 2000 seals were taken by Hebron Inuit. The community produced most of the seal commodities that were exported from the Labrador coast.

Against these circumstances, the existence of Hebron would be challenged by notions on community and regional development that originated far beyond the social and cultural preferences of Hebron Inuit.

CHAPTER I

HEBRON IN THE VIEW OF ITS INUIT RESIDENTS AND OTHER OBSERVERS

Places on the Labrador coast are distinguished by their features and qualities, gaining a history from incidents that Inuit kept in their memory regarding geographic details of the landscape, the behaviour of wildlife, and social activities enlivening the bond between people congregated in an area. Hebron not only describes the location of a Moravian mission station but it also represents the shared knowledge and identity of the Inuit population that customarily lived in the vicinity.

Inuit expressed a sense of belonging to the territory encompassing their usual range of seasonal activities by using the name of a prominent place in the region to identify themselves as a group. This connection was indicated by the linguistic ending *-miut*, meaning "people of", attached to the place name. For example, people who usually lived during winter in a large village at Aivilik were known as Aivilingmiut. Inuit were organized in several place groups along the coast centering on traditional seasonal gathering sites.

Moravian missionaries chose locations for their stations close to these customary sites and eventually absorbed local place groups in the congregation at each station. Thus the integrity of the original population in areas was maintained but Inuit congregation members adopted the name of the mission station to describe themselves, with Aivilingmiut becoming Hopedalimiut. Similarly the inhabitants of Hebron, including families living at the mission station and outside the village, identified themselves and were recognized by other Inuit as Hebronimiut.

Each community had a distinctive character that was defined by close kinship and friendship ties between families and by a lifestyle based on the specific resources and environment of the region. A number of particular surnames were common in every community so that a person's family name gave an immediate reference to their place of origin. Linguistic terms and forms of expression in Inuktitut also varied between the communities and composed dialects that further specified the home of a talker. Differences in the availability of wildlife and the quality of the landscape contributed to regional reputations as places good for hunting or fishing particular species,

difficult for travel because of open coastlines or imposing mountains, having woodlands or being barren and so on. A region's reputation was conveyed in the pride of place that people had for their homeland, which implied the necessity of having certain knowledge and skills to better survive in one environment compared to another.

Hebron Inuit were accustomed to the barren alpine features and abundant marine animals found on the far northern coast. Families spent most of the year, from spring until late fall, dispersed along the coast at their favourite hunting and fishing sites because these places gave them the best opportunity to obtain wildlife for food and trade purposes. People could be selective about the locations they occupied because the total population in the region was relatively small, amounting to less than 250 residents, and game was usually plentiful to satisfy everyone's needs. The only people who remained at Hebron during the open water period were those who were too elderly, ill or disabled to join the movements and activities at seasonal camps.

The Hebron population included fifty-eight families in the late 1950s. Most of them lived in the community during winter but seventeen families had winter homes at four distant locations: Tikkigatsukuluk, Kangiklukuluk, Ikkigasatsuk and Napartok. These families preferred living by themselves and enjoying the solitude, independence and intimacy of family life at their chosen homes. They visited Hebron only for brief periods to obtain supplies, attend religious festivals, and give their children some formal education by participating in school classes.

Whether people had homes in or away from Hebron, marriage and friendship relations interlinked households so that the community was virtually one extended family. People readily helped each other with tasks and shared food gained from hunting and fishing. If problems arose in the community, Hebron Inuit looked for leadership from three respected Elders who were elected to form a village council called the AngajoKaukattiget. Matters regarding the church were handled by kivgat or chapel servants who were appointed by the missionary on the basis of their religious devotion and respect in the community. People strived to be kind and considerate towards each other, not just because they lived together, but also because they needed to depend on mutual assistance and cooperation in difficult situations.

These are the memories of Hebron kept by Inuit and other observers who were familiar with the place:

> Augusta Jararuse, Nain: We were from Hebron. We had a land in Hebron. We had a house and a child.
>
> Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: In 1938 the white people left Killinek and for a long time there were no white men, those who worked at the stores.

When they left, we found ourselves struggling to try to survive off the land. We were facing hunger and left alone without things that we needed. We then moved to Hebron where we began to find life much easier and food was more available to us ... Hebron was a beautiful place when we first moved; it was a beautiful place to see.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: There were ones who were always in Hebron but we used to stay outside ... [My father] built a house just a little bit outside Napartok and we stayed there ... They used to build their own houses. They took old houses from Saglek that the Kablunat gave them ... They used to build a little cabin to stay outside Hebron.

Augusta Jararuse, Nain: We were isolated at our camps ... We were never hungry for anything ... We were fishing, killed caribou here and there, we also had a lot of work to do because there was a lot of fish. It was a success ... We spent times in Hebron only during Easter and we returned to our land after Easter. Our land was beautiful back then.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: When we were children it was very good. We had a land called Sillupat that was very good because we were used to being just a family, with no others.

Amos Suarak, Nain: People did what they did as Inuit. There were hardly any white settlers so we did things as Inuit did. We didn't do very much besides hunt.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: Mostly I remember always hunting, men always hunting, always bringing back something. Women always working, cleaning skins or making things — boots and that — always doing something. It was just like they never stopped until night.

John Jararuse, Nain: Every person from Hebron could realize and know that they could do their hunting not from distant areas. Almost where they're staying, like they had their own places to live, a place to trap foxes, a place to put their nets out for seals. They had different places, not only one, in the fall and in the summer.

Ted Baird, Edmonton [DNLA manager, Hebron]: There wasn't a better place for sealing, char fishing and hunting. While char fishing was done south in Napartok Bay and Hebron Bay, the best was in Saglek, Ramah and Nachvak. Seals coming south from Baffin Island would follow the coastline and Hebron being situated well out to sea was right in the path of these harp seals. Because of this a seal fishery was carried out every fall at Iluilik, a sealing station approximately mid-way between Cape Uivuk and Hebron. The seals following the coastline would come through this narrow passage and consequently

were easily caught in the nets. This would occur about mid to late December. Others would become trapped in Hebron Bay by the ice freezing outside first and, as the breathing holes became smaller with the intense cold, many seals were taken with the rifle.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: We were always at our hunting places. They were always gone to their hunting places, those who had houses at their hunting camps. Right in Hebron itself, there was nothing, either trout [char] or any other game. In Sillupat, in summertime, we could always get trout. They used to get them on a kakkivak [fish spear]. We used to have lots of dried pitsik [fish]. We used to store them in a cache made from stones when my grandmother was still alive.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: In the fall we'd go up the bay and stay there until freeze-up. In the summer we'd go up the bay, sometimes up to Nachvak for trout and salmon ... We used to do some hunting: partridges, ukalik [hare], wait for seals and go on the boat, boats especially, hunt for seals and go after them on the ice, after freeze-up. And there was a lot of geese, a lot of geese too in the fall ... There was a polar bear once but we had black bears. We would go off every fall to get some caribou. There was a lot of seals. I even saw a beluga whale one time.

Dick Kairtok, Hopedale: When we lived in Hebron, we used to go to a little bay in the fall from what I recall. We used to go to Ittilisuak in the fall and in the summer we used to go around Saglek, Nachvak and Kangalasiorvik. We used to go there because there was only trout right in Hebron and we were only after the real red char.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: We had our own little place which was called Tikkigasukuluk. That is where the Onaliks, Jararuses and Semigaks lived, in that little place called Tikkigasukuluk, north of Hebron ... Johannes Semigak, Clemence Jararuse, Jako Semigak, Raymond Semigak, Conrad Jararuse, my grandfather and his wife Agnes. She was crippled by polio. She had to use walking sticks.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: I only hunted up north around the Nachvak area when we were living in Hebron. We hunted for seals and went fishing in those areas only.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: I remember a lot of my life in Hebron because we had a summer place at Ramah. When I think of Ramah, when I see pictures of it on TV, I just want to burst out crying. Most of the time I do because that's where we spent every year, every

summer fishing. We stayed there from when the ice broke up until fall when we went back to Hebron.

Mike Semigak, Nain: It was very good. We were always gone to a fishing camp. During winter and spring it was good because we were always gone off.

Clara Ford, Makkovik: I remember that I had a good family. The kids were happy and my father and mother. We used to have seal meat, deer [caribou] meat, birds, fish and trout — whatever they had there.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: Wherever we went, there was good drinking water, not just from the mountains; the water was flowing straight towards the sea. We had a good life there.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: ... my mother used to make lots, lots of nikkuk [dried meat] and pitsik [dried fish]. When we were leaving the place where we stayed, my father would cover up the meat with rocks and get them in the fall time.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: The pitsiks will not spoil if they're put under the rocks. We used to have two of them, even three [caches]. One was a small one for dried meat and pitsik. Food never spoiled in them.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: They were always well supplied with caribou and seal meat in Hebron. I know because I used to supervise the storage of frozen seal carcasses and meat in the buildings there. They had access to the yard and building and it was stored there to prevent the dogs from devouring it. Of course they had their own supply of meat as well.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: Life in the Hebron community was everything; families were close and everyone knew each other, looked after one another. After returning from the camps they would be very happy to see each other again.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: People helped each other well I remember; we did anyway. We weren't always close to others. People lived in a place where there was a lot of food. We weren't hungry for wild meat. And those from Hebron who didn't have anything to eat, if we came back and we had something, they would get some meat from the beach. That's how things were back then.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: When anybody gets any kind of game even if it was a small piece, they would give it to whoever comes for meat, those who cannot hunt for themselves. People who had enough

would give what they have. They used to get enough seal by netting at Illuilik. My father used to get seals with a gun in Sillupat, not by netting seals. There are all kinds of rabbits, partridges up north. There are all kinds of wild game.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: They used to help each other. In the wintertime, they always had meat to eat. It even used to last right up until summer — seal, anything.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: We had lots of meat, seal meat. They used to go caribou hunting on dog team. Like if they're coming in at night, you could hear a shot; that means they got caribou. They fire a shot. And my grandmother would say "nekiksitavogut" — we got food.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: Sharing things all the time eh? Even if you just get one seal, you just shared it out with whoever is in the same place.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: When someone needed help in any way, they would always help each other. There wasn't much food then; they would always help each other.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: I remember we had a good life in Hebron. We weren't hungry for wild food. We weren't ever hungry like we are now here because there's animals in Hebron.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: I don't remember going hungry but there was sometimes we ran out of sugar or milk or flour. I remember running out of milk for the babies because mum used to mix up flour and get the white liquid out and give it to the baby when we had no more milk.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: They were as good [seal hunters] as there was in northern Labrador. They were good at it and they always seemed to be able to get enough to maintain their community. As I said before, when I went there first it was a great sight to see these people carving ivory, making sealskin boots, duffle parkas, slippers, building flats, mending nets and in general very actively engaged in providing for themselves. Mind you, there was no alcohol, drugs, VCRs, TV, movies and video games back then. A lot of these technological marvels have not served the people of the north very well. It was just wonderful to see. There was a sense of community and self-reliance.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: In Hebron they had power [electricity] but when we would be off at camps we just had lamps but it was comfortable enough. We didn't have to pay phone bills or light bills.

John Jararuse, Nain: In the evening, just before eleven in the night, the lights would go out; it was just the same in Hebron and Nain. Just before the lights went out, they would give a signal, just by shutting it off for a little bit three times; they would go on and off. The lights would go out on the third shut off, then they would light their lamps before the lights went out. It would be the same here just before midnight.

Sophie Kajuatsiak, Nain: Only by the wild animals they used to make money. There were no jobs of any kind. They only made money by wild animals ... Fishing was a good way of making money. We were always in Saglek when we went fishing. We were all fine.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: They had a fishery every summer which provided hundreds of barrels of pickled arctic char. They smoked char and dried char to help themselves through the winter. This was supplemented with cod fish which was also dried and salted for the winter. The seal fishery was always a success and kept them supplied with a good supply of fresh meat. Caribou was always available together with ptarmigan, ducks and geese. These items supplemented with what they could obtain from the store would, I believe, provide them with the essential nutrition required to ward off most diseases. I was raised on seal meat, seabirds, cod fish, salmon and lobster; it didn't hurt me.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: We would always go off to Nachvak and Ramah because we would go fishing up there ... At that time there were barrels used for fishing during the summer.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: Only they had to salt the trout; they never froze the fish. When they got enough barrels of salted trout, only if they got enough, that way they were able to get money [unemployment benefits]. Some of them did; others never had enough.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: The ones who sold char in barrels, the red ones, used to get enough money from them. They only used to take the red ones.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: People used to go trapping for fox in the winter months. This was the only way of making money during the winter.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: The sealskin slippers that women used to make, the store would always take them. The store used to take sealskins all the time. Sealskins would have to be scraped properly.

Sometimes sealskins with just the fat taken off the skins, the store would take them also. Seal blubber was beaten down in big oil drums.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: [My father] used to make toy komatiks [sleds], toy boats and stuff like that. I don't know if he made stuff for my sister. He used to make toy kayaks too for sale.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: When I used to fetch water for the Mission, for Mr. Hettasch, by dog team or boat I used to get paid 50 cents for one whole day. And during the springtime we used a four-wheel wagon, using the dogs to haul it.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: ... when people would ask for an article of clothing which had been sent to the Mission for the express purpose of helping the needy, they were required to pay for it with berries, birds, fresh fish, caribou and whatever else they had.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: When we sell things to the store, we get money. The ones who never had anything to sell, they used to get credit. When they sell something, they pay off their credit. They were able to do that.

William Onalik, Hopedale: Even though there were jobs to be had at the time, and even though people were able to make money themselves, nobody in Hebron really cared to get a job. If anybody really wanted a job, there would have been many of them. People of Hebron didn't make having a job the most important thing to them. (Labrador Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project interview 1976, LIAD)

Boas Millie, Nain: My father used to make money because he was working. Back then Americans were in Saglek so my father worked there. I remember one time my father walked from Saglek to Hebron ... He wanted to make it in time for Christmas. He just made it; I remember that.

Sophie Kajuatsiak, Nain: We had a house there. When my husband began working at Saglek, we were able to get a house. After we got a house in Hebron we didn't move anymore after that.

Eugenia Suarak, Nain: We had a house that my father built. It was only made of soil and branches on the outside. That's the kind of house we had at our camp, also at Hebron.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: I could remember the old house we used to have, made from sod, almost like a sod house. In the wintertime you could see little green flowers coming out.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: We had our own house: my father, two sisters and my brother.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: We had our own house in Hebron and my grandparents had their own home too.

David Semigak, Nain: We had our own house outside of Hebron, in our own place ... When we went to Hebron we used to stay in another family's house.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: With Jefta Jararuse or Nicodemus Menzel, that's where we used to stay.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: Let's be realistic, conditions along the north Labrador coast in the early fifties were not the best in the world and indeed some people lived in some pretty rough conditions. Nonetheless there were just as many people living in Hopedale and Nain in similar conditions. I know, I lived there for many years. Like any community you have your well off and not so well off and it is no different where we are in Edmonton today.

Tony Williamson, St. John's [University student]: How was it different? Well it seemed more like a camp, an encampment, than a community with a lot of infrastructure. I mean there was a few buildings; there was the big building of the Moravian Mission and the depot [store] manager lived in that as well. Then there was the depot itself which had been built by the Hudson's Bay Company; a few storage houses; a little tiny schoolhouse; and John Piercey had a house with his family.

Daniel Jararuse, Nain: It was not warm because we weren't in the woods. There was hardly any wood either but we were used to it.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: I don't remember being cold in that house. I don't know where my grandfather used to go get wood. He'd be walking and come back with nammak and uppigak [bundles of willows] or something like that.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: Even if there wasn't any woods, I didn't mind because it was my land and I was born there.

Paulus Nochasak, Nain: All I remember is when I was a child, I used to carry a seal on my back because we had to use seal fat instead of wood in the fall and in the wintertime. We had to have heat. I'm not ashamed of that.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: That was always brought up, you have no firewood. A large number of these people used seal fat and oil for fuel and did not require wood. Some did burn wood that was obtained

from Napartok Bay but they had proven, I believe, that they were capable of getting along without it.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: And there wasn't any woods so they used to get some seal fat and keep the fire going. And my sister Selma, she had two or three kids, I think. And she used to keep her light, and water for the babies at night, from lighting up the kudlik [soapstone lamp].

Simeon Nochasak, Makkovik: We had to go far to haul wood. Even on a dogteam it took us all day sometimes ... [from] south of Napartok, about 25 to 30 miles away.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: ... people didn't complain about having to travel up to Nutak or anywhere else to fetch their wood. It was part of their everyday life. People didn't mind. They just travelled the distance from Hebron to Nutak or wherever to fetch the wood. And we didn't have any problems at Christmastime. The Air Force people always dropped some trees, Christmas trees off to us.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: My father used to cut up wood for the mission house and he would take it to Hebron in the fall time after fishing.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I think it was the Mission that had the problem with the wood. They had a lot of problems. And you have to wonder, for an agency that had been in business for over 200 years why they hadn't been more successful in their dealings with the Inuit of Labrador. They had a great number of people who were skilled in the trades, medicine, crafts and so on, yet precious few of these skills were taught or handed along to the members of the communities in which they served. It sort of contradicts what missionaries are all about. In fact in most communities the people ended up being little more than servants to the Mission.

John Jararuse, Nain: I do remember quite well the people used to go to Saglek to get some firewood because there's no trees in Hebron. They used to go wooding in Napartok Bay and Kangikluasik Bay. But sometimes they used to go to Saglek to get firewood. I remember quite well that they used to take some kind of boxes, they were not very big, but after that I learned that they used to take chicken and pork chops and beef or something, but most of us we didn't depend on white people's food like pork chops, eggs or anything. I do remember that they used to feed our dogs with the chicken, pork chops and other things. Because Inuk people were not eating anything that has no blood.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: It was in the woods; I grew up in the woods. The trees were close. We had a house near the woods.

Clara Ford, Makkovik: We were always outside, more up in the bay at Napartok. We were always there but we used to go to Hebron at Christmastime and Eastertime.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: During Easter the people arrived in large groups, most of the time for Easter services, but during Christmas they could not come because of the ice conditions.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: We used to go to Hebron from Saglek for Easter or Christmas. We used to stay in my grandfather's house. At Eastertime, they would have a dog race to Napartok and back in the early morning, racing. They would always have a lot of things to eat — never hungry.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: We were always happy then, that I remember. We wouldn't always have a big feast, only during special occasions, during holidays.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: We used white clothing on special days except during Advent. During Christmas, children wore all white clothing. I don't remember everything but children were made to use white clothing when they went to church, even adults. But if it's not a special day we just used anything.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: We had the traditional clothing too. White silapaks and white bottom skin boots for special occasions in Hebron. When we went to church, we wore the white silapaks, church caps, white bottom skin boots like for Christmas, Easter, Girl's Day, Men's Day, Married People's Day, Children's Day.

John Jararuse, Nain: ... they used kamiks [sealskin boots] more. I think they dressed similar to today but they used sealskin more in the winter. But I think they used dickies [parkas] more and they used dresses more and Grenfell cloth. And when there would be a special day they would wear Grenfell cloth, white bottom boots, and dresses.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: I don't remember much about Christmas but about Advent, I'd always find something you don't expect. I would find a new pair of rubber boots when it seemed like there was nothing there. And candies, we never used to have candies in them days, only on special days ... peppermint, salted colour ones.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: A lot of people, even Nain people, used to come to Hebron for Easter and Christmas. They liked it there too.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: We used to board with people when we go down for Easter. There was three little houses on the north side; they only used them for boarding houses. People had moved into them before that; they only used them for boarding houses. The three that moved in were Levi Nochasak, Jerry's parents, Nikodemus Menzel and my parents. The people who went to Hebron for Easter used to stay in those houses until the families moved in.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: There were three houses built exactly alike in a row ... they were supposed to be an experiment for the people of Hebron and to see how they worked out. They were in addition to John Piercey's and the big long structure [mission house]. There were these three houses, then there were a few smaller shacks and then a number of houses that were partially sodded over.

Selma Boase, Hopedale: Almost everybody used to go to church on Saturdays and Sundays. The church used to be filled with people. When people were at their hunting places there weren't many people. There used to be a lot of children in the church.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: They used to go to church all the time. The children, if they moved around in the church, the chapel servants would go to them and tell them to keep still. They never used to get mad. When the children started crying in church, their mother used to take them home so they wouldn't disturb the church service. At Eastertime we never used to be too active, meaning running around during Eastertime. They never even used to play soccer during Holy Week.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: When we'd go to Hebron for Easter and Christmas, they always had chapel servants and Elders to make you listen and do whatever you had to, like go in the house early in the evenings and that.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: There weren't any rules. We had Elders, church leaders. As children we had to listen to them and obey their orders.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: The community was centred around the leader who they looked up to and respected. There was control and it was more community centred then. By having a leader, it helped people to live in harmony. Not like a white person telling you to do this and do that, where sometimes you just get all confused and not knowing what to do.

Jako Semigak, Hopedale: Only the AngajoKaukattiget looked after the people; they were like the Mounties. They were more afraid of them, not like today. We were young then and we were afraid of them.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: We only had laws made by the Elders. We always obeyed the Elders' laws in those days. There weren't many laws at that time. When the Elders weren't satisfied with something, [people] would obey. Today we don't have that.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: The Elders were Willie Millie, Nicodemus Menzel, Andreas Tuglavina, Renatus Tuglavina, Elias Tuglavina ... They were re-elected every three years.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: People obeyed them and were afraid of them. If there was any troubles among the people they'd have a meeting with them. If they cannot solve the problem, they call on the kivgait [chapel servants] and they would have a meeting with the people who were in trouble. It used to be that way.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: The people in the community, they had chapel servants and community Elders called AngajoKaukattiget and kivgat. If there were family breakdowns, or something to do with marriage problems, they'd meet with the family or man and wife or whoever had a disagreement about something or somebody stole something from someone. If the AngajoKaukattiget meet with this couple first, and if they didn't succeed in their meeting, they would call the Elders to meet with these people together ... and they get them to shake hands and forgive each other.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: We never had any police. There was no police in Hebron. AngajoKaukattiget dealt with people in conflict with each other. People used to listen to them. They took care of those who had been drinking. People obeyed them; they were obeyed more than these law enforcement officers.

John Jararuse, Nain: I think this was also a traditional law in all the communities that if someone has been bad and cannot listen to the community laws, they would be asked by the Elders to leave their community and they would be put in another community. This was for people who were really bad and cannot listen. And when they gave up on this person at the community they were moved to, the person would be moved to his or her original community.

Amos Suarak, Nain: There weren't any rules or regulations, not even one. There weren't licenses either because Inuit did as they did on their own.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: My boss was my mother and stepfather. When we were told to do something, even if we had children and because they've always been obeyed — people always obey their parents — nobody didn't disobey ... They were told to listen to their parents. The church bell would ring at nine for children, youth to go home, and they would go home right away.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: There was no police. There used to be Rangers. They were the only policemen and there were no welfare officers either when I was single. We only had storekeepers. We only got food from the store.

Selma Boase, Hopedale: [There were no] welfare officers. The people used to get food from government, I believe from the government store. They used to get a piece of paper to buy food with. What they wanted was already written down. We never used to get any social assistance because my father was always working. I used to see people going to the store with a piece of paper to go to the store with. They used to get food from the store with it because there was no welfare.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: There was always only one court circuit in a year. I think only two or three people went to court. There weren't a lot of people going to court because there wasn't anything bad going on or people didn't do anything bad. Inuit and Elders used to be in charge of that. They used to be in control even if people stole or if they didn't listen, they used to make things better. Not right away but it used to be handled and if people didn't obey, they would make them obey. They had a good life.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: Hebron had a school but we'd always be off at camps, Saglek and Ikkigasatsuk, so we didn't go to school at all, not until we moved down here.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: I learned about the women's and men's chores because my dad didn't have a son, I was taught the men's and women's chores. We weren't in school, only at home. I would harness the dogs, feed them, and when I went home I would help my mother if she was sewing or cooking. On the next day I would do the men's chores. I had two positions.

Sophie Kajuatsiak, Nain: I didn't have a grade, not even one. While I was a child there wasn't a school. I didn't know anything about school. I learned the books myself but they weren't in English ... There weren't any white people, not even white teachers, when I was a child. I learned to read myself.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: Yes, there was a community hall. The materials were brought in from Saglek for construction. It did not cost us anything to bring it into the community.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: And when we were in Hebron, we held community dances at our house. We weren't rich moneywise but we were rich in other ways. We had a really big house there and because it was a big house the whole community used to come to have their dances in our house ... Everyone was happy. We had traditional step dancing with accordion music, fiddle and guitar, and mouth organ.

Selma Boase, Hopedale: We had a community hall where we used to have dances before Hebron was closed down. Square dances, not like they dance here today like wiggling your backside. We used to have all square dances on Saturdays. We only got the hall before Hebron was closed down. They had an old building from the Americans that they made into a community hall.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: There was an American station there with Canadians. You could go up in the holidays, school holidays. And there were movies three times a week in the community.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: We used to play softball in the spring when the snow was gone. In the winter we played soccer.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: In the summer we used to walk back and forth, from up the bay to the community. It was great fun going over the land, walking half a day and half a day back. It was fun all around.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: I remember always in the evening, people got together playing baseball or just went in one tent and played things. And as a girl, I was always playing house with rocks, pick up any little thing, everything so pretty. Now everything is nothing; you got too much. Just like when you had nothing up there, just like we had more, more than what we have now.

Rev. Siegfried Hettasch, Perkins [Moravian minister, Hebron]: [The ships] couldn't come early. The ice break up begins in the end of May, June, the harbour might break open. But then when the ice goes out, if it goes out, there may be northern ice drifting past on the outside and they can't go out. There are all those things until really boats come into Hebron harbour; I think it must have been about July, end of June, July, August. But I know that the ice forming doesn't go very fast. Snow on the hill, yes, but not the ice forming. That takes time and the weather is calm. And sometimes when it just makes a thin crust or the wind comes again, it breaks open.

John Jararuse, Nain: There would be more than one plane going to Hebron. Although there weren't always planes going there, for example, the passenger plane and others, helicopters. And in the summer, the smaller planes would arrive but I really remember one plane was a passenger plane and it used to be a mail plane. I think it was the plane that would go to Hebron more than the others ... we would also see planes passing through all the time. They would not land here, they would go to Saglek. It's close to Hebron; they would also go there in the nights.

Mike Semigak, Nain: There wasn't a hospital. Only [Reverend] Grubb had medication, not as a doctor but his wife was almost a doctor.

Joan Stedman, Somerset, England [IGA nurse at Nain]: There wasn't a Grenfell Mission hospital there. Nain was the most northern, where I was. But the Moravian missionaries looked after the health of the Eskimo people very well ... I thought Mr. Siegfried Hettasch looked after them very well, as a missionary could.

Rev. Siegfried Hettasch: Medical work was always something that kept one busy. Sicknesses and so on in the houses. The living conditions were not almost always as hygienic and sanitary as everybody striving nowadays to have it. But we even had a couple of, two or three igluvigaks, sod houses of the old time. They were not very clean.

In fact, one of those houses had a mother who was to bear a child and the period came very close and she couldn't bring the child out and I had to phone. At that time we didn't get much help from North West River, it went via Goose Bay. There was some sort of a medical service with bush pilots. And that woman had difficulties; I had her in the mission house, in the visitor's home, and eventually a plane came with a doctor and three nurses.

The sad part of the story is I did ask the doctor, I said, "is it really not possible for you to take her out?" "No, there's no need for it, there's no need for it." And the unfortunate thing happened one day later. I let her go home and she was in one of those igloos and everything went haywire. The child was born, it died almost instantly because of her infection, and the mother half a day afterwards. And I felt very very bad over that, they could not take the child out. But it showed perhaps a need of either a hospital or better facilities which in those days were not available. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: They used to send them out if they were sick, only if there was a way out. There were hardly any planes coming in. If someone was too sick, they weren't sent out.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: Long ago at Killinek my mother was a teacher. I think that's why she knew how to do things or use things. When people were snow-blind, she used to make sure they were in the dark or used something to not have light get in the eyes. Because she did that, it didn't take long for a recovery.

Dr. W.A. Paddon [IGA Director of Northern Medical Services, North West River]: We x-rayed everybody over two years old every summer and we got nearly all of them. And we did this for a period of about fifteen years. The first time I x-rayed the town of Hebron, 37%, more than one in three, everybody in the town had tuberculosis. It was obvious that many of them were going to die. If the antibiotics for TB hadn't come along when they did, I don't know what would have happened. Because once a family gets really TB and half a dozen people spreading the organisms, it's apt to go right through the thing. Now, there was nowhere else in Labrador or Newfoundland where there was that high of a proportion of active, open as we call it, TB with holes in the lung.

I don't have any doubt in my mind what would have happened if we couldn't have got them to a better site, better conditions for living, and for raising children. I was aware that we had problems with child mortality and death in Nain and Hopedale, but in Hebron it appeared to be out of hand. The missionary's wife, Marjorie Grubb, who was a nurse and midwife herself, told me it was not uncommon to lose almost the entire birth rate in a year. Within twelve months, those babies, most of them would be dead. When you went there, you can see why in the winter. There were three little framed houses the Hudson's Bay Company had built, with three or four families apiece in them. They were so cold, normally they would put a fire in once a day to cook.

The rest lived in, I don't know what you'd call them, sod huts. They were built out of turf with a bit of stone and then beams on top covered with an old sail cloth, or canvas or torn paper or something. They sweated, they dripped, they froze, they were greasy and oily and half to two-thirds of the children had scabies. To me Hebron was a bare and desolate place, forty-five miles from any firewood and most of the people spent all winter hauling firewood. It took a lot of dog feed and a lot of effort. And they'd bring just two or three fire logs, quite big ones, from Napartok Bay where there was a couple of groves

of trees, but most of them had already been cut out. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Tony Williamson, St. John's: Many people, if not all of them, were in tents at that time of year [July]. There was still a few sod houses around. I think everybody was out in tents and we visited a number of them. I remember the very strong smell of seal in the tents because everybody seemed to have seal meat. It certainly was a striking contrast to Nain and Hopedale which were the only other places that I had seen up to that point ... Surely when you look at the resource base within that radius of Hebron and compare it to some areas in the Keewatin or central arctic, it was a rich place.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I remember Hebron in the early fifties when I went there first. A very quiet community with people well engaged in the char fishery, seal fishery, caribou hunting and fur trapping. The people made boots from sealskin and sold them to the store, sealskin slippers lined with ukalik [hare] fur, ivory carvings and duffle parkas. These things were done as a matter of course to supplement what they had earned from the fishery and trapping. They were quite self-sufficient and I saw nothing wrong with the Hebron lifestyle.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: It makes sense to me. Our ancestors, mothers and fathers, grandparents, are all there in their graves and it makes sense that we shouldn't have left the place. It wasn't meant to be left by the people who lived there.

Hebron Inuit were firmly rooted in their community and environment. Their quality of life ended in 1959 when the community was closed and its families had to depart and find new homes at other places. Reasons for the closure of Hebron were evidently not clearly explained to the Inuit population because people today cite a number of different factors causing the event, as these statements indicate:

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: I heard this. The mountains were too high for planes and it was too far for the ships. That was the reason they gave. If we stayed, there wouldn't be white men coming to Hebron, that we would be hungry for store food. That is what they were saying. They also said there wouldn't be any doctor.

Raymond Semigak, Hopedale: They told us that we wouldn't be able to go to the hospital if we got sick. They said that the planes wouldn't be able to come into Hebron because of high hills and the fog. There used to be a lot of people sick then. They told us that the nurses asked us to move further south of Hebron. We were told that at the church. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Sophie Tuglavina, Hopedale: What I heard was that there wouldn't be a doctor and the children used to be sick. They said it was too far.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: They said it was too far. There weren't many hospitals then. We had to move somewhere else because the hospital was too far away then. We had to move somewhere else because of that.

David Semigak, Nain: The only thing that I heard was it was too far for the planes and boats to go. I don't know if it's true or not.

John Jararuse, Nain: There were planes going to Saglek every day. They claim that it was very difficult for a plane to fly north and it was too far for boats to go to Hebron area. I don't think it's too far because I don't think they are right when they are saying it was too difficult to go on plane, especially to the Hebron area. Why say that because there was planes going to Saglek every day?

Clara Ford, Makkovik: I understood myself the year after we came up. When someone was sick, they had to go on an airplane ... And they said there were not many people there. That's what I know. There were a lot of people there.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: No, I never heard anything until a few years ago, like there were too many people in the same houses. I don't know if that's true or not.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: What I know is what I read in Dr. Paddon's book. He said in his book the houses were inadequate and did not have enough heating. So they thought they should be moved south where there was more wood for heat.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: I remember we had to move to a place with a forest because there was no trees in Hebron is what they said.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: I really can't answer that, why it was closed. I did not know then why we were being moved. There was no reason given for relocation.

Boas Millie, Nain: ... I was a child. It didn't even occur to me why we were moving. My father just went on saying we had to move from there. They told us we had to move but he wasn't told why.

Amos Suarak, Nain: I don't really know but I was told it was by the government because it didn't happen by itself.

Anonymous: ... young Mr. Grubb, the minister who died from his heart, said something that I took note of. Mr. Grubb said exactly what

Dr. Paddon had suggested years ago, that Hebron people should be moved to Okak, closer to Nain. That's what Mr. Grubb said, the same thing Dr. Paddon had said earlier and so I think that those two might have something to do with it. Anyway, they must have talked about it years before Hebron was moved.

William Andersen Sr., Makkovik: Either the reason was that they found it too expensive to operate the planes up there or it was a long distance for the ships to run. They only had small boats running along the Labrador coast at that time, like the *Trepassey*. Between Government, the Grenfell Mission and the Department of Education, they decided to bring the people south from there to Nain and wherever they moved them. It wasn't anything to do with the betterment of the people but it was for their benefit in administering the people. It was definitely for their own benefit. That's why they moved the people.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: To the best of my knowledge, it came down to nothing more than administration costs and/or politics. Probably a combination of the two. At least that is what it seemed at the time. There may very well have been other reasons why Hebron was closed but you have to understand we were not privy to a lot of the information which was kept for the most part in St. John's and possibly London. It seemed to me the agencies with an interest were the Grenfell Mission (medical services), Provincial Government (freight boats) and the Moravian Mission (possibly going broke). Cutting costs was the order of the day. The cost that was not factored in this equation was the human cost. The untold misery that we are just beginning to address and which otherwise might have been avoided had we taken the right steps back then. Hindsight is 20/20.

John Jararuse, Nain: That is a very hard question to answer but Dr. Paddon and Mr. Hettasch, after watching them on television on "Labradorimiut" talking about why Hebron was moved. They always blame people, not themselves, always people. How come they are blaming people? Yes, there used to be a sickness but why blame it on people? They do have their own right too, the Inuit people. Why always blame them for being sick or something? I didn't quite understand that part. Why did they have to do that; who started that? Who started moving people away from the Hebron area? Who's to blame? The Inuit people are always to blame. I don't really quite understand that part.

CHAPTER II

THE SCHEME TO ELIMINATE HEBRON

Certainly the people with the greatest knowledge and understanding of affairs at Hebron were its permanent residents, comprising the Inuit population as well as the Moravian minister and his wife [Rev. Siegfried and Frieda Hettasch] and the DNLA store manager [Ted Baird]. The latter individuals were the only non-Inuit members of the community who were present because of their occupations with the two institutions that provided the majority of services directly in the northern Labrador coastal communities.

The Moravian minister allocated his time to dealing with religious matters, education and health care. He provided services not only in the vicinity of Hebron but also in the Okak region that involved trips covering almost five hundred kilometres in visits to every household. An equally responsible role was performed by the DNLA store manager in handling the operation of the commercial store, economic development projects regarding the construction of facilities and promotion of resource harvesting activities, and the allocation of social assistance (or relief) given by the provincial government to needy families. There was, however, another DNLA manager based at Nutak who undertook similar tasks in the Okak Bay region.

Both the Hebron minister and store manager communicated regularly by radio and in written reports to their chief administrators. They were the Superintendent of the Labrador Moravian Mission [Rev. F.W. Peacock] living in Happy Valley for the Hebron minister, and the Director of Northern Labrador Services [Walter Rockwood] living in St. John's for the Hebron depot manager. These officials also visited Hebron periodically to confer with them about problems or policies and to see local conditions themselves. In turn, the Moravian Superintendent reported to the British Mission Board in England, and the DNLA Director advised the Deputy Minister of Public Welfare [R.L. Andrews] in St. John's who was accountable to the department's Minister [Dr. H.L. Pottle from 1949 to 1955; Dr. F.W Rowe (Acting Minister) from 1955 to 1956; Mr. B.J. Abbott from 1956 to 1957; Mr. S.J. Hefferton from 1957 to 1959; Mr. B.J. Abbott from 1959 to 1961].

Labrador was represented in Newfoundland's House of Assembly from 1951 to 1956 by Dr. Frederick W. Rowe. He served as Minister of Mines and

Resources from 1952 to 1956 and was also Acting Minister of Public Welfare in 1955 for just over a year; earlier he was the Deputy Minister of Public Welfare from 1949 to 1951. The Labrador electoral district was divided in 1956 and the member for Labrador North from 1956 to 1971 was Captain Earl Winsor, who owned the company that transported freight to the northern coastal communities.

A third major institution that was involved with northern Labrador affairs during the 1950s was the International Grenfell Association. Its Director of Northern Medical Services [Dr. W.A. Paddon] at the North West River hospital advised the Superintendent of the IGA [Dr. Charles Curtis until 1959] in St. Anthony about health issues following his seasonal tours to the coastal communities. The IGA Superintendent communicated with the Deputy Minister of Health [Dr. Leonard Miller] in the Newfoundland government as well as the Director of Indian Health Services [Dr. P.E. Moore] in the federal government.

Within this hierarchy of authority, the Moravian minister and DNLA store manager at Hebron had the least influence in forming policies or programs because they were concerned with only one of several communities in northern Labrador. Decisions on approaches for dealing with local economic and social matters belonged officially to the DNLA Director, as the chief representative of the Newfoundland government which had primary responsibility for the region after 1942.

Authority over northern Labrador was once held by the Moravian Church but its influence declined after its trading rights were leased to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1926, and the Labrador Mission had a greatly reduced budget. Nevertheless, the Moravian Superintendent had considerable respect both in the region and with officials in St. John's, and his views on coastal affairs received attention. The IGA Director at North West River was in a similar position and had a close friendship with the Moravian Superintendent. Their opinions on priorities for economic and social change did not necessarily agree with the approach proposed by the DNLA Director.

In the early 1950s two different lifestyles were forming on the northern Labrador coast. Labour jobs at construction projects in Goose Bay and at radar sites along the coast led many local inhabitants to give up fishing and trapping in favour of high wages and a regular weekly income from employment. Following this trend were major shifts in population involving the movement of families from isolated homesteads to Goose Bay and to Hopedale and Makkovik, as well as changes in residence between each of the communities from Nain to Makkovik. Some families living in the Okak area also sought these alternatives but Hebron Inuit generally continued to rely on customary fishing and hunting activities for earning their income.

The availability of employment and the relative ease with which families of Inuit and mixed Inuit-European ancestry were adapting to steady jobs in growing communities presented a dilemma to officials familiar with the Labrador region. The question they pondered was whether the traditional harvesting economy based on fishing, sealing, hunting and trapping should be promoted or whether community amenities should be developed to improve health and educational standards so that people would have a better opportunity to get jobs. Implied in this proposition was that a harvesting economy was incompatible with the functions of a stable community because resource activities were conducted at remote seasonal camps. These issues arose particularly in reference to the future of the Okak and Hebron districts where families were more dispersed due to their greater dependence on the fisheries and hunting than in any other coastal area.

Resolving the question of how best to improve the lifestyle of Okak and Hebron residents involved the Moravian Church and the International Grenfell Association [IGA]. Moravian officials had years earlier proposed amalgamating the entire northern population at a new community located at a place called PusseKatok inside Okak Bay, while the International Grenfell Association considered the poor standard of housing in both areas to be a major factor causing a high rate of tuberculosis infection. Thus health, housing and community structure counteracted the advantages of the local resource economy and led to the eventual action taken by the DNLA in the northern region.

The Newfoundland Government had access to more funds for the expense of providing services in northern Labrador after Confederation because the Government of Canada had constitutional responsibility for the welfare of Aboriginal people. In addition to paying the full cost of relief and medical care, the federal government agreed in 1954 to contribute to two special agreements. One agreement provided a maximum of $200,000 over five years for two-thirds of the cost of capital expenditures related to education and welfare in Inuit communities and the entire cost for capital expenditures in Innu communities. The different rate of cost sharing in the native communities was due to uncertainty regarding the status of families with a mixed Inuit-European ancestry. In a second agreement on health, the federal government accepted all expenses for ten years related to the transportation, hospitalization and treatment of Inuit and Innu, and the conduct of an intensive campaign to reduce the spread of tuberculosis.

The health agreement subsidized the expansion of IGA medical treatment facilities in Labrador and at St Anthony, while the capital expenditure agreement enabled the DNLA to build schools, medical centres and houses to improve the living conditions of Inuit and Innu. The first nursing station on

the northern coast was built at Nain in 1956 and managed by an IGA nurse. A better transportation and passenger service in the region was also expected after 1954 when the Government of Canada agreed to combine the Northern Labrador Steamship Service with the operations of Canadian National Railways [CNR]. This arrangement relieved the Newfoundland Government of paying $66,000 annually to the Winsor Trading Company which continued to provide the shipping service for the CNR with a new larger vessel called *Trepassey*.

Due to these inter-governmental agreements, conditions in northern Labrador were better than many other areas in the province that lacked basic medical, educational and economic facilities. Practically the only option available to families living in remote outports in Newfoundland who wanted to improve their standard of living or find employment was to move to larger communities. The Department of Public Welfare responded to requests from families for assistance to relocate after 1953 by granting them a maximum of $750 as a contribution to their housing expenses. The provincial government at the time, administered by Premier Smallwood, maintained that it did not have a policy on resettlement and only assisted people who took their own initiative in deciding to move to another community. However, the elimination of remote fishing outports promoted centralization which was a key feature of the government's industrial development program.

This chapter consists of verbatim extracts from original documents, including any emphasis indicated on words or phrases, which outline the sequence of opinions, plans, acts and events leading to the redistribution of the northern Inuit population.

> Paul Martin [Minister of National Health and Welfare]: ... the Canadian Government has, since April 1, 1949, borne the full cost of relief expenditures made on behalf of Indians and Eskimos[1] in Labrador. Under this arrangement, the Canadian Government has spent annually an average cost of $21,000 on Indians and $13,000 on Eskimos since April 1, 1949. In addition, my Department has reimbursed your Government or the Grenfell Missions, as the case may be, more than $72,000 in respect of medical treatment given to the native population of northern Labrador.
>
> The Canadian Government has been particularly concerned with the apparently very low health standards amongst Indians and Eskimos in this area. In order to determine precisely what the situation was, my Department has contributed toward the cost of an exhaustive x-ray survey which was conducted last summer along the coast of northern

[1] The appropriate cultural terms today are First Nations and Inuit.

Labrador. This survey has indicated that 12.5% of the Eskimos and 9.6% of the Indians were active cases. This is an appallingly high incidence when compared to the rest of Canada and I agree that the most urgent problem in northern Labrador is the launching of an adequate anti-tuberculosis programme. (Letter to the Hon. Herbert L. Pottle [Minister of Public Welfare], July 23, 1952, PAN Dept. of Northern Labrador Affairs GN 56/2)

Walter Rockwood [DNLA Director]: Much has been said concerning the educational work being done by or through the Moravians. Many and varied have been the opinions regarding the adequacy or otherwise of the services being rendered. Some have said that the services are inadequate to meet the present needs of the people, but at the same time have exonerated the Moravians on the grounds that they are and have been financially handicapped. The Missionaries send their own children to England (or some other part of Europe) as soon as they are of school age. This would seem to indicate that the educational services being provided on the coast are not considered adequate by the Missionaries themselves for their own children. The Depot Manager at Nain sends his eldest child to St. John's to attend school, and plans, it is understood, to send the others here in the near future. The Wireless Operator at Hopedale has engaged a private teacher for his children. Some settler parents possibly with the cooperation of the Moravians have sent their children to North West River, three hundred miles or more away, to attend school. These statements are made, not in a vein of criticism, but because I feel it a duty to say them on behalf of the people so vitally concerned. Furthermore these statements concern in the main areas where schools are already being operated.

The most neglected area in Northern Labrador, and in fact the whole Province, is the Okkak[2] and Hebron sections. Few visitors, official or otherwise, get a look at these sections. Usually such visitors reach Nain, the headquarters of the Moravian Mission in Labrador, and perhaps feeling that they have a complete picture of the coast, or for other good reasons, do not continue on to the most northerly settlements. It is a fact that there are about eighty children of school age in the Okkak Bay section today, and no school. Nor has there been a school there for many, many years. True some children from there attend the boarding school at Nain. On October 19th, 1952, for example, four or five children from Nutak and Hebron came south to Nain on the

[2] This is an historical form of spelling Okak.

M.V. Winifred Lee. It is unlikely that more than this number are attending school from Nutak and Hebron this year ...

The Moravians operate boarding schools at Nain and Makkovik. One may be tempted at first sight to regard these boarding schools as high schools, but in reality this standard has not been reached. The boarding school was the only answer to the problem of providing some schooling for children of families scattered here and there miles from the mission station. The Eskimos often moved their abode several times in the year, and spent only a few weeks actually on the station. The settlers, then as now, usually lived in isolated bays and inlets also miles from the nearest mission station. In recent years there has been a tendency to spend longer periods on the stations, so much so that day schools have sprung up at Hopedale and Kaipokok Bay, and moreover many of the children in attendance at the Nain and Makkovik boarding schools are now actually day school pupils. As this trend continues the day school can more nearly fill the educational needs of the several communities, and the need for boarding schools become less. Possibly, even with day schools in all the communities, a boarding school with high school standards centrally located (e.g. at Nain) will be essential.

This matter ties in very closely with the question of whether or not development of community life, as against living in small isolated groups, should be encouraged. If the people are to continue to live in small isolated groups it will be necessary to continue the present boarding schools, and quite possibly add another at Okkak Bay, which I believe was what the Mission not many years ago, if not at present envisaged. On the other hand, as suggested above, as community living develops, that is to say as the people live more and more in larger groups, day schools, with perhaps one boarding school with high school standards may be the answer. Here I am endeavouring to pose the problem, not necessarily to give the answers, which may best be found in collaboration with those whose province it is to administer the educational work in the area under review. It may be well to mention in passing that per capita expenditure in areas served by boarding schools must of necessity be higher than in areas serviced by day schools, and this factor must be borne in mind in any programme for Northern Labrador ...

In the old days the Mission fulfilled the role of the medical officer, police, storekeeper, and welfare officer as well as ministering to the education and spiritual needs of the people. Today all these functions except the latter two have been or are being taken over by more or less specialized agencies, so that the influence of the Mission, for good or

ill only time can tell, appears to be on the wane. If this be so, it remains to be seen whether the Mission, composed like all other groups of men and women with human frailties and shortcomings, can accept the march of events without some tinge of regret, perhaps even jealousy, and thus be tempted to criticize the policies of the various groups impinging on their sphere of influence. Perhaps we should not be surprised if this should happen. It has happened in other areas to say the least. (Draft confidential memo to the Deputy Minister for Public Welfare 1953, PAN Rockwood Collection)

G.A. Frecker [Deputy Minister of Education]: ... it would appear that a day school of the one-room type should be provided at Nutak where ... some two hundred people are living. At the time of my visit in 1948 I noticed only one or two houses and the place was used as a Government Post for supplying Eskimo people who fished at various points around Nutak proper. Perhaps the school should be located at PusseKartok ...

Hebron, the Northern-most settlement, is another place where, in the opinion of those present at yesterday's meeting, a new day school should be provided. At the time of our Supervisor's visit in September some twenty-four children were attending school in a classroom provided in the Mission House but Mr. Ivimey stated that there were about seventy-five children living in the Hebron district. I did not recommend a new school in my original Scheme "B" because I felt that if the older children attended the boarding school at Nain the classroom in the Mission House could be made to serve for the smaller children for some years. However, it might be better to provide a one-room school outside of the Mission House. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, March 14, 1953 PAN Dept. of Northern Labrador Affairs GN 56/2)

Walter Rockwood: It is now proposed to locate the new [fisheries] plant at a point about 1 1/2 or 2 miles from the present depot at Nutak, and near one of the alternative sites considered for the erection of a new depot ... In the event that the experiment proves a success the plant will be near Nutak, where if we remain there and the Moravian Mission builds a new station there, a community will almost certainly grow up, so that the necessity for maintaining fishing property at Moor's [Moore's] Harbour, Cutthroat and perhaps other points as at present will be removed. We are looking at centralization of the fisheries in line with the current trend ... If the Okkak Bay community is to get off to a good start school facilities should be provided without further delay. This, I realize, is a matter to be discussed with the

Department of Education, but it would seem a good plan to provide the necessary buildings at the same time that the depot buildings are being constructed; or in other words to have the same contractor do the job. Much of the rough building materials should be available from the Kaipokok Bay project, and any materials salvaged from the existing buildings at Nutak can be put to good use in the general improvement of housing conditions in the area. This memorandum has been compiled as a basis for discussion of the Okkak Bay problems and it is expected that a further paper on the actual building plans must be prepared as soon as a decision is made regarding future plans for the area. (Draft memo to Deputy Minister, Re: Nutak Cod fishery, April 8, 1954, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Walter Rockwood: For some years the Moravian Mission have, if reports are true, envisaged the founding of a new station at Pusekartok on the north side of Okkak Bay, fifteen or twenty miles farther in the Bay than the old Okkak station which was ... located on an Island in the Bay named. I would like at this point to refer to a report of Dr. W.A. Paddon of the International Grenfell Association, which is attached. Dr. Paddon, be it noted, makes periodical visits to the area in performance of his medical work on the coast. He seems to envisage the closing of the Hebron station as a corollary to the opening of a new station in Okkak Bay. The impression is given that there is a wholesale migration to the Okkak area and Hebron is said to be a place where it is impossible to make a living. I must say that, while I agree with laying a sure foundation for a growing community at Okkak Bay, I do not share the extreme views expressed regarding Hebron. Admittedly the fuel problem is an acute one, but the population figures for the present do not bespeak the wholesale migration suggested. Hebron is one of the best if not the best sealing place on the coast, and there is furthermore a good trout fishery at that place. It is not certain, in the writer's opinion, that many of the Hebron residents would move to Okkak Bay in any case, and it seems that we must continue to keep the Hebron depot open, even if the Mission decided to close their station there and concentrate on the new station, if and when built, at Okkak Bay. Improved community facilities at Okkak Bay may accelerate the movement of population to the area, and at some future date circumstances may possibly warrant the closing of our Hebron Depot. I fear pressure from another group in an effort to close the Hebron station completely, and at an early date, namely shipping interests. Hebron is sixty miles north of Nutak and is bleak and exposed. Much has been said about the unsuitability of the harbour with which I do not entirely agree. This group mainly, in the writer's

opinion, with a view to shortening the voyage, or in other words in self interest, will in all probability recommend the immediate closing of Hebron depot, especially if the Mission decides to close its station there. Again, I say, I am not in favour of any such step in the immediate future; rather let us await developments and not make any such move until the full circumstances definitely warrant same. (Draft memo to Deputy Minister for Public Welfare, Re: Okkak Bay Area, Northern Labrador, April 8, 1954, PAN Rockwood Collection)

H.M. Budgell [DNLA manager, Nutak]: Housing is directly connected with health. It is apparent here, that to cure an Eskimo of T.B. and return him to conditions which contributed to T.B. in the first place is a very short sighted policy ... sooner or later we shall be forced to act. (Report to W. Rockwood, November 9, 1954, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Dr. W.A. Paddon [IGA Director of Northern Medical Services]: The population of Labrador north of Nain consists of two main groups, which are located in the general areas of Nutak and of Hebron respectively. Although closely related and similar in many respects these two groups live decidedly different lives and pose different economic and health problems because the Hebron group lives north of the timber line and the people in Nutak area live within the timber zone. Both groups live lives of degrading squalor and poverty, and must endure conditions fortunately rare in this nation today. Considerable effort is under way at this time to improve their health, and large amounts of money will be spent on the treatment of disease. There is no evidence at this time that any plans are in preparation to prevent the conditions responsible for disease, or to help the Eskimo in his future adaptation to changing conditions in the north.

It is now suggested that the two groups be amalgamated in the Nutak area. This would mean a resettlement of the entire Hebron population. The reasons for moving them are as follows:

1) The people of Hebron lack fuel to keep themselves warm. Two years ago the situation was so desperate that the community was about to move of its own accord. Since then the town has been fuelled with dunnage and old crates from the Saglek Base construction. This supply of fuel will soon be exhausted and the old situation will recur.

2) Lacking fuel sufficient for heating homes and often even for cooking, the problems of public health become insurmountable. The result is shocking overcrowding in order to keep warm. The people of Hebron in general are verminous, apt to be covered with sores and

ulcers, and to harbour and spread tuberculosis. Much chronic infection of eyes, ears, and throat result, and eye infections in small children are a particular problem, with considerable resulting visual impairment. There is at present a decided improvement in health. This is due in part to the availability of firewood from the left-over materials of Saglek construction, and also to the devoted energy and skill of the Rev. and Mrs. Fred Grubb Jr. They warn that the completion of construction at Saglek and the imminent recurrence of a fuel shortage will undo most of the accomplishments of the last few years.

3) The old Eskimo way of living off of the land by hunting is irretrievably lost. There are many who urge a program to bring the Eskimo back to living by the harpoon. With the increasing scarcity of game and seals this would be impossible. The only future for the Eskimo lies in community life, better education, and gradual adaptation to Canadian life.

Amalgamation of the Eskimos in the Nutak area would give rise to a strong community, with a reasonable standard of health, an adequate education system, facilities for entertainment of the people, and the resources of church, village government, good communications, reduced transportation costs and easier administration generally.

4) Genetically the segregation of the surviving Eskimos into small groups is bad practice. It leads to lack of marriage partners, to inbreeding, incest and general community laxity. By collecting as many families as possible into a single area, we can improve the Eskimo chances of survival biologically, and improve the stock.

... I venture the rather selfish idea that the site should be selected in view of public health and community needs, rather than in terms of the local economy, fisheries and hunting. The justification for this would seem to be that mistakes made to the detriment of health are likely to be much more expensive to the Government than mistakes made which involve extra gasoline or summer camps for fishermen.

There is no reason why the needs of a two month fishery should demand the year round residence of the entire population in unhealthy locations. The sooner we get rid of the idea of trying to make the Eskimo live on his hunting or fishing grounds, the sooner we will begin to derive some benefit from the two or three hundred thousand dollars a year which it is proposed to spend on the thirteen hundred people of Northern Labrador. I believe just as much meat and fish can be obtained by the Eskimo by sending out organized hunting parties in the winter, and leaving the families in suitable community locations.

With this in mind I suggest a location far enough up a bay to provide shelter, a good anchorage, abundant firewood, and a good water supply. If the brook is large enough to turn a small turbine, the town could benefit to the extent of virtually free lights and power.

Puse-ketook (to guess at the spelling) has been suggested by some of the Moravians, notably Mr. Grubb Senior. It would appear to be superior to Nutak which is a wind-swept swamp with no good anchorage for half a mile, no wood for miles, and a desolate and gloomy prospect.

Tessiujuk (again I guess at the spelling) inside of the Kiglipait Bay area may be a better site. It has been suggested by Mr. Grubb Jr. who has extensive knowledge of the area and of recent changes in the conditions of the people. It is in heavily wooded surroundings, with some timber suitable for construction. A disinterested party could probably survey a safe entry for deep-water vessels, although many captains have been inclined to stay out of the area. There are several good brooks in the area, one of which might be a source of power. There are some good cod fishing areas not far outside, and the hunting grounds are no further from here than from any of the other sites.

I should suggest that all organizations concerned be asked to embark on no construction until a location for the new township is settled on ... If such a community is established and proves successful, it can then be a model for the reform of Hopedale, Nain and possibly of Davis Inlet. ("Community aspects of health and welfare in northern Labrador," February 27, 1955, Memorandum sent to Dr. F.W. Rowe and copies sent to Mr. Andrews and Dr. Miller, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Dr. F.W. Rowe [Member for Labrador]: I have just received a letter and memorandum from Dr. Tony Paddon dealing with the health and welfare of Northern Labrador. The statements made by Dr. Paddon are so serious that I feel that his memorandum should be given the most serious consideration by the Department or Departments concerned and should then be followed by consideration at the Cabinet level. (Letter to Dr. H.L. Pottle [Minister of Public Welfare], March 8, 1955, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Dr. H.L. Pottle [Minister of Public Welfare]: I have asked the Division of Northern Labrador officers to prepare a digest of the situation, and shall ask for government direction as to how to proceed in tackling this housing and resettlement problem on something like a systematic scale. (Letter to Dr. Rowe, April 4, 1955, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Walter Rockwood: But one fact seem[s] clear, — Civilization is on the northward march, and for the Eskimo and Indian there is no escape. The last bridges of isolation were destroyed with the coming of the airplane and the radio. The only course now open, for there can be no turning back, is to fit him as soon as may be to take his full place as a citizen in our society. There is no time to lose. No effort must be spared in the fields of Health, Education, Welfare and Economics. If industrial development comes first to South and Central Labrador, the North will provide some shelter to the people concerned, but if it should break in full fury into their immediate environment effective steps will have to be taken to protect them during the next two or three decades of the transition period ...

Already there is some migration into the Lake Melville district; a number of Settler and several Eskimo families having moved into the new town of Hamilton Village or Happy Valley which is growing up on the outskirts of Goose Airport. The factor which will control further migration is the number of jobs available, but for the present it appears that this need has just about been filled. For most of the Eskimos and Indians it appears that the next two or three decades will be spent in the familiar environment of the North ...

It is understood that plans have been finalized for the construction of a small hospital at Nain in 1955. There is an urgent need for more schools; for example, Nutak with 40 or 50 children of school age has no school at all. Existing facilities at most, if not all, the other places are inadequate to say the least. New stores and warehouses for the work of the Department of Public Welfare are required in several places and better living accommodation for personnel in all. It is difficult enough to obtain suitable staff in any case, but if living accommodation is inadequate the problem becomes well nigh insurmountable. It is envisaged that the northernmost station of the Department of Public Welfare and the Moravian Mission at Hebron, located twenty-five miles north of the tree line, will be closed in the near future and the people moved to more sheltered locations farther south, where at least, ample supplies of wood for heating their homes are available. This will involve re-housing some forty families from the Hebron district alone. Re-housing will also be required for a considerable number of families, where the standards are below normal even for Northern Labrador, and for ex-tuberculosis patients, where re-location will be necessary because of bad housing and for rehabilitation purposes. The futility of returning ex-patients to the filth and squalor which contributed to the disease in the first place is being

urged on every hand, and there is no answer but to improve the living conditions. All this will involve Capital Expenditure ...

Ultimately migration to other areas may be necessary, but for the present it is neither practical nor politic to attempt this, and for the majority the next two or three decades will probably be spent in the familiar environment of the North.

A vigorous Health programme is already underway and this must be matched by equally vigorous programmes in the fields of Education and Welfare. These must include a re-housing programme, if the work being accomplished in the field of Health is not to be wasted. ("Memorandum on General Policy in Respect to The Indians and Eskimos of Northern Labrador," April 6, 1955, [Discussed in meeting of Northern Labrador Advisory Committee, April 14, 1955], PAN Dept. of Labrador Affairs GN 56/2)

Dr. F.W. Rowe: I may say that I concur fully with your views on Northern Labrador and I have strongly urged that Hebron be abandoned as a settlement. I believe Dr. Pottle fully agrees with this view. (Letter to Dr. Paddon, April 18, 1955, CNSA F.W Rowe Collection)

Rev. F.W. Peacock [Superintendent, Moravian Mission]: If the Eskimo are to have a chance to live as decent citizens of this Province with a fair living standard we must do all we can, at once, to equip them to meet the challenge of civilization. Some are already able to go out to take their place in a new community, others need education and medical aid before they will be fit to leave the north and go where there is a decent living for them. Some will never leave but we can be certain that unless new industries are brought to the Eskimos N. Labrador will be depopulated within 20 years if the Eskimos are encouraged to go to places where work is available. The Eskimos must be helped to help themselves and this cannot be done in N. Labrador unless fur and fish are very heavily subsidized. Poor relief even upon a large scale is not the answer to the problem. The problem can only be solved by bringing work to the Eskimos or taking them to work. (Letter to Dr. Rowe, August 22, 1955, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Dr. Charles Curtis [Superintendent, International Grenfell Association]: Frankly the living conditions of the Eskimo at Nain are most deplorable and appalling. As one approaches, by sea, the village of Nain from a distance has the appearance of a neat, well-painted settlement. But as you approach nearer you can see a definite line of demarcation between where the white settlers — the police, Moravian

Missionary and storekeeper — live, and the appalling slum area where the Eskimos live. There are only 299 Eskimos in the settlement. The houses of the police, the Missionary and the storekeeper are well-built, clap-boarded and painted white. The Eskimo house is a hovel sometimes covered with tarred paper but more often not.

Only one house I saw had a porch on it with a door. The filth is disgraceful. There is no attempt at sanitation — the sewerage is thrown out the door and eaten by mangy dogs and pups which infest the area. With the exception of one house, of an Eskimo who is away working at Hopedale, there is not a house in the Eskimo settlement but what would be condemned by health authorities as unfit for human habitation.

Dr. Paddon wished me to go north to Nutak and Hebron with him as he said conditions were worse there than at Nain. But I did not wish to see anything worse than I saw at Nain ...

When I expressed my opinion about better housing for the Eskimo, I was met with the old reply that one hears so often, that the Eskimo would not appreciate it if they had better homes. I replied it would be a good idea to give it a try. It would appear to anybody who has seen the living conditions that it is futile to treat people for disease in hospitals and expect them to maintain any degree of health in such conditions. No house had sufficient fuel because last winter most of the dogs died and they had to haul wood by hand.

I understand from the Department of Indian Affairs that the Dominion Government is allocating $200,000.00 a year for ten years for the health, education and, I presume, better houses for the Eskimo. Surely, along with any attempt to treat any disease among these people should go, hand in hand, a complete investigation of living conditions and economic conditions and money should be spent in moving them to better surroundings and in building better houses as soon as possible.

At the present time there are three agencies working with this small group of people — the Moravian Missionaries, the Federal and Provincial Governments and the Grenfell Mission. It seems to me that there is no unity of action, no comprehensive plan and while, at St. Anthony, we are treating them and doing thoroplasties, excising lesions, we are sending them back to hovels with no future ...

The Eskimo at the present time are unable to build better houses. They have no leadership, no money and building materials are too expensive. I have been on this coast for many years and have seen poor living

conditions but I have never seen anything to equal the squalor and filth of the Eskimo settlement at Nain ...

The time has now come, before another season approaches, for the Provincial Department of Health, the Department of Welfare, Dr. Rowe, member for Labrador, and Dr. Moore, Director of Indian Health Services, to meet with a committee of the Directors of the International Grenfell Association and see if some plan cannot be worked out at once whereby next season some effort will be attempted:

1. To bring the Eskimo at Hebron and Nutak south where there is fuel.

2. To appropriate a percentage of Federal Government Grant of $200,000.00 for a housing project and make plans for building some houses next summer.

3. To ascertain if some solution can be found to better the deplorable economic and living conditions of the Eskimo.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Rowe, Dr. Moore, and the Directors of the International Grenfell Association. (Letter to Dr. Leonard Miller [Nfld Deputy Minister of Health], August 23, 1955, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Rev. F.W. Peacock: First of all I am convinced that while we must be prepared to encourage some of the Eskimo to migrate to places where there is work for them to do it will not be possible to have them all moved. It would seem advisable that centralization of the Eskimo communities is desirable. At the moment owing to the scattered nature of the population overhead expenses to both Government and Mission are far too high. I estimate that there are about 50 White folk from "outside" engaged in religious, educational and social work for a population of about 1,000 people. I think this is far too great a number of Whites. So I would be prepared to advocate moving the Eskimos from Nutak and possibly from Hebron south to Nain, Hopedale and Makkovik but with Nain as the main centre ... I have no wish to step over the heads of those in charge of the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs and in consequence have sent a copy of this letter to the Division. (Letter to Dr. Rowe, September 6, 1955, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Rev. F.W. Peacock: On Saturday last I had some conversation with Mr. Rockwood of the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs. In conversation he happened to mention Dr. Curtis' letter to you about housing at Nain ... I would agree that housing could be improved in

Nain but the picture is not as bad as Dr. Curtis has painted. There are houses in southern Labrador, and for confirmation see Dr. Paddon, Harold Horwood or Dr. Rowe, far worse than those in Nain; indeed in the West end of St. John's I have seen squalor far worse than in Nain. It is statements such as Dr. Curtis made which caused antagonism between our Mission and his in the days of Sir Wilfred Grenfell. It looks as though we are going to work with the Grenfell [Association] but amicable relations cannot be unfounded upon unfair and untrue statements. Dr. Curtis' statements were not fair to the Eskimos or the Moravian Mission or the Department of Welfare, furthermore they were not true. (Letter to Dr. Miller, September 12, 1955, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Rev. F.W. Peacock: I agree that it would not be wise to make any plans public but that when the time is ripe the general policy should be announced. In the meantime however I think it would be just as well to receive any who want to come south to Nain ... Mr. Hettasch writes me that far from wishing to move south to Nutak the Hebron folk are moving north in the summer to Rama and Nachvak. Others who went to Nutak some years ago are moving back. One thing is certain in my mind and that is our only hope as far as the Eskimos are concerned is to get them used to community life, for it seems certain that the process of "civilizing" is only hindered by dispersion and if the Eskimos are to become self-supporting citizens they must have all the social amenities possible and these amenities are not possible to folk living in bays and on islands often in squalid houses. (Letter to Mr. W Rockwood, September 20, 1955, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Dr. F.W. Rowe: I have already had some discussions here at the official level on these matters and I am intending to take up the matter in Ottawa when I get there next week. As soon as I return from Ottawa I shall then be in a position to convene a conference here of the several Departments interested. e.g. Welfare, Health and Municipal Affairs.

It is my conviction that the Federal Government should participate in any programme of the kind which you and I have in mind. If they fail to do so then it is obviously the duty of the Provincial Government to take some steps. I am absolutely convinced of the need for us to undertake a re-settlement of the populations of Hebron and Nutak since the raison d'etre of these communities as such appears to have disappeared completely. (Letter to Rev. F.W. Peacock, September 27, 1955, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Walter Rockwood: Consideration must be given at an early date to the organization necessary for carrying out of the programme. It should be

made abundantly clear that the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs is not at present organized, staffed or equipped to undertake a programme of this magnitude. (Memo on Resettlement of Nutak, September 29, 1955 quoted in "Report on Departmental Organization for the Administration of Labrador," June 1959, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Executive Council: (1070-'55) P.Welfare 15(f)-'55. Ordered that, with the object of transferring Eskimos living north of Nain (in the Nutak and Hebron areas) to Nain or some point further south, rehousing assistance up to an amount of $750 in each case be granted at the discretion of the Honourable Minister of Mines and Resources and Public Welfare, and up to an amount of $1000 with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The decision recorded in Minute of Council No. 215-'53 is modified accordingly.

(1071-'55) P.Welfare 15(f)-'55. Ordered that a Vote of $90,000 be placed in the draft Estimates for 1956–57 to cover the expenditures on re-housing of Eskimos and that the Government of Canada be asked to participate in this programme. (Minutes of meeting held on October 18, 1955, PAN)

Dr. Charles Curtis: The IGA was very short of funds and Mr. Creighton [IGA Treasurer] was very much worried by the bills which were coming in and no funds from which to pay them, and the IGA needed this Eskimo-Indian money very badly ... You know the expenses of just maintaining this Mission have risen from approximately $200,000 in 1946 to over $500,000 for the ten months ended March 31,1955 and we never have enough money to pay the running expenses — even with the increased government grant. (Letter to Dr. Gordon Thomas, November 16, 1955, PAN Grenfell Association MG 372)

Labrador Conference, 1956: Under present conditions the local industries (fisheries, seal hunting and fur-trapping) are incapable of providing the bare necessities of life, much less a reasonable standard of living for the Eskimos and other residents of Northern Labrador — the area from Cape Harrison northwards. To provide even a minimum standard of living the industries will have to be heavily subsidized. The Eskimos, who comprise the largest group in the area, are adaptable and in fact compare favourably with Newfoundland fishermen. They want jobs like other citizens and may be expected to move to employment centres as these develop: in fact a considerable number have already done so. No fishing whatever has been done at Hopedale since employment has been available at defence projects.

It is expected that as industry develops more and more Eskimos as well as settlers (English speaking natives of Northern Labrador) will move to employment centres. The more backward peoples of the Nutak and Hebron districts and some of the Nain group should preferably be given the opportunity of further adjustment before they are absorbed in more heterogeneous surroundings. This can be achieved by replacing those of the Nain group who move elsewhere by the people from the two Northern districts. Assistance for re-housing should be made available for people moving to Nain and other points from Nutak and Hebron.

Efforts to move Eskimos to new surroundings and occupations in other parts of Canada have met with a reasonable degree of success and it was suggested that the problem of integrating the Labrador Eskimo in new occupations should be relatively easy by reason of their longer association with Europeans. ("Special Problems affecting Eskimo Citizens," Labrador Conference, February 13–16, 1956, Chairman: Hon. Dr. F.W. Rowe, St. John's: Government of Newfoundland, pp. 18–19)

Walter Rockwood: If the proposal to close the Nutak Depot is to go into effect this year certain definite steps will have to be taken in the near future ... We shall have to decide whether the depot is to be closed completely during the coming summer or whether the operation is to be spread over two years, thus giving the people more time to move to Nain or elsewhere. This decision will affect the quantity of supplies to be shipped to Nutak. In the first case none will be shipped, but in the second case probably about half the quantity normally shipped will be required. Shipments to Nain will have to be increased in proportion to the decrease in Nutak shipments. The decision of the Government in respect to the closing of the depot should be made known to all concerned at the earliest possible date. (Memo Re: Closing Nutak Depot sent to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, March 19, 1956, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Dr. F.W. Rowe: Minute of Council 1071 ordered that a vote of $90,000 be placed in the Draft Estimates for 1956–57 to cover the expenditure of the transferring of Eskimos living north of Nain in the Nutak and Hebron areas to Nain or some point further south. Minute of Council 1070 ordered that assistance up to an amount of $750 in each case be granted at the discretion of the Honourable, the Minister of Public Welfare and up to an amount of $1,000 with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The vote of $90,000 has now been approved and it is proposed to close the Nutak Depot and transfer all

the Eskimo families in the Nutak area to Nain or some point further south, during 1956.

This proposal will involve (a) the preparation of plans for the new housing units, (b) the ordering of building materials and supplies, and (c) a request to the Government of Canada to assist in the cost on the agreed basis.

I request my colleagues' approval of this general policy. (Memorandum to the Executive Council, Closing of Depot at Nutak, Labrador, April 11, 1956, CNSA Smallwood Papers)

Executive Council: (381-'56) P. Welfare 12-'56. Ordered that the Depot operated at Nutak, Labrador, by the Department of Public Welfare be closed forthwith and all Eskimo families living in the Nutak area transferred to Nain or some point further south in Labrador. Ordered further that the Honorable the Minister of Public Welfare be and is hereby authorized to proceed with (a) the preparation of plans for new housing units (b) the ordering of necessary building materials and supplies and, (c) the negotiations on behalf of the Government of Newfoundland of an agreement with the Government of Canada to share in the cost of this undertaking. (Confirmed 14/5/56) (Minutes of the Executive Council, April 26, 1956, PAN)

H.M. Budgell: Your recent telegram from Rev. Peacock might suggest that we are having difficulty here with some of the Nutak people. This is not so, at least to date. We are now sure there are thirteen families wanting to go to North West River, but the quota for NWRiver is three. We have explained there are vacancies for ten families in Hopedale and Makkovik, so far there are no takers. Rev. Peacock is persuading the disappointed families to stay here, which it seems, they will do. I doubt the wisdom of this step as I expect it to lead to discontent later on, I prefer the neutral, please yourself attitude, and if arrivals in North West River exceed the quota, well, "what the hell," they won't perish on the sand ...

We are going to be criticised for closing Nutak, and especially for limiting the North West River quota. Our main defence, if it is needed, is people were leaving Nutak anyway and half the population would have left last summer had we supplied them to leave. We can point to the Nutak and Hebron infant mortality rate, to the illiterates, and to the children growing up without a chance. The people themselves are not sorry to leave though they will for a time feel lost. If we can overcome most of the difficulties we are certain to encounter during the settling period there will be, I am sure, little grounds for serious criticism.

(Letter to W. Rockwood, undated, PAN Dept. of Labrador Affairs GN/2)

Walter Rockwood: Dr. Paddon in his letter dated May 3rd, 1956, addressed to Dr. F.W. Rowe expresses considerable apprehension regarding plans to cope with the impending movement of people to points south of Nutak as a result of the proposed closing of Nutak depot and other factors, mostly economic in nature. He anticipates that some families will move to North West River, and that a few may move north to Hebron. I cannot but share Dr. Paddon's misgivings. I have stated on many occasions that in my opinion only well laid plans, ready to go into operation at the start of Navigation have any chance whatever of success. For all practical purposes navigation to Northern Labrador opens about June 1st; it is now May 12th. The time for action is here, but plans have not been well laid. A start has been made in the Nain district, but nothing whatever has been done as far as North West River is concerned. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Rehousing Programme in Northern Labrador, including North West River, May 14, 1956, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Walter Rockwood: It was generally agreed that immigration to North West River and Happy Valley should be carefully controlled and that only those recommended by the Missionaries and the staff of the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs should be accepted and assisted in providing houses. This in effect means that the Missionaries and Depot Managers would act as a selection committee in cooperation with prominent citizens of North West River and Happy Valley. I have wired Dr. Paddon and Mr. H.M. Budgell in this connection, and anticipate that it will be necessary to wire Reverend Peacock, Superintendent of the Moravian Missions, as well as other members of our staff. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, General Report on trip to Goose Bay, Happy Valley and North West River, May 16th to 22nd inclusive, May 28, 1956, PAN Dept. of Labrador Affairs GN/2)

Rev. S.P. Hettasch [Hebron minister]: Our Superintendent, Br. F.W. Peacock visited us on the Mailboat the *M.V. Trepassey* on August 15th for a few hours, as he had to travel south on the same boat. I know that Br. Peacock is very busy with all the changes taking place on the coast and especially at Nain, for which reason even our field-conference in this year had to be cancelled. — But I cannot refrain from remarking that we get so very little or even no time together with our fellow workers to discuss the work, and especially the future work now with all the many changes. It is thus very difficult to work

together, for each one of us goes his own way, hardly knowing what the other is doing. And as an outcome of that, not only our work, but also our brotherly unity is suffering. Talking of visiting it would be very nice to have a member of our Mission Board visit this coast. Their last visit was in 1939, and since then life has surely changed. (Annual report reviewing the year 1956, Hebron, January 1957, TCC)

Walter Rockwood: Reference has already been made to the Government's policy of assisting the people of the Nutak district to move to Nain and other settlements where there are schools, churches, medical services and other amenities. This programme involved the construction of twenty-five dwellings in 1956. Materials were supplied by the Department, but the actual building was done under supervision by the owner occupants themselves. The average cost per unit was approximately $1,500.00, two-thirds of which has been refunded by the Government of Canada. Of the thirty-eight families involved, four families went to North West River, four to Makkovik, and the remainder, except for three or four families who chose to go to Hebron, settled at Nain.

The people who were transferred from the Nutak district were, by the end of the season, better housed than they had ever been in their lives before. More subtle perhaps, but at the same time infinitely more important, is the process of integration, which, although going on for generations, may be expected to continue for many years to come. Mention has already been made of the capacity of Eskimos to adapt to conditions such as those found at Goose Airport and in construction camps. Education is the key, and there is ample evidence, that, given the proper training, Eskimos and Indians can undertake any of the occupations and professions in our present society ...

Residents on the Coast rely on the Fall seal fishery in December to supply the seals which in turn provide meat for themselves and their [dog] teams, and skins for boots and other items of clothing and equipment. Old records prove that the supply of seals in Northern Labrador has always been uncertain, and this remains so up to the present day. Reliable estimates show that the average catch along the Coast for the Fall fishery over the past five years amounts to approximately 2200 seals, which is considerably less than the normal requirements even for domestic consumption. The catch for the 1956 fishery was between 2500 and 3000 seals, but more than half this total was secured by the people in the Hebron district, while the remaining settlements experienced shortages. Production of seal oil, seal skins and other produce of the seal fishery is in direct relation to the numbers of

seals taken, and only the surplus over and above domestic requirements is available for sale. (Division of Northern Labrador Affairs, Report for 1956, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Levi Nochasak, William Millie [Hebron Elders; letter translated by Rev. S.P. Hettasch]: We Hebron People have heard that Hebron is to be closed, but we have not been told enough about it. And we would like to know if this is correct or not, so that we may be ready for it.

Thus we anxiously beseech you, though we do not want to be moved from our land and customs with all our doings and game hunting as this seems the best for us. The seal-hunt and trouting and deer-hunt and others which all are good for our livelihood, and it would seem that we would suffer hardships (in moving south) until such time that we can be assured of having steady work with good wages for our livelihood; when such a good time comes it should not be too bad to move.

Also if we are promised good houses in exchange, we would agree to move.

Even although we do not want to move we are glad to be able to let you know our ideas on it.

And finally we would be thankful to know from you what your definite plans are for us here.

I as the official writer of the decision of the Hebron Men's Meeting, Greet you. (Petition of the Hebron People to the Government in St. John's, Hebron, August 9, 1956, addressed to Dr. F.W. Rowe, Minister of Mines and Resources, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Dr. F.W. Rowe: Your letter has been received. I am referring it to the proper authorities for careful consideration. You may rest assured of our deep concern for the welfare of all our friends in Hebron. You will be receiving more details later. (Telegram to Levi Nochasak, 31 August 1956, CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

Walter Rockwood: 1. I find Reverend Peacock's letter very difficult to answer. He urges that the Government make some definite statement, but it is none too clear what he would like to see done. I think if you will read carefully the closing paragraph of his letter dated September 10th, you will understand what I mean.

2. What he says about the poor housing and lack of fuel is quite true. There is no doubt that mercy flights to Hebron are costly, and the place inaccessible. A plane can spend a week or more in winter waiting

for suitable weather to reach there. You will recall the incident last winter where an E.P.A. [Eastern Provincial Airlines] plane overflew Hebron, landed in Nachvak nearly 100 miles further north and the R.C.A.F. [Royal Canadian Air Force] had to drop gasoline to get it back from there. The infant mortality rate may perhaps be overemphasized. I say perhaps because I am not sure of the facts, but I expect to receive further information. I believe the food supply, that is to say native foods, is better in the Hebron district than elsewhere so that the cause of the high infant mortality rate must be sought elsewhere. Probably it is due to lack of education and inadequate medical care. It must be admitted that the district is inaccessible, which adds to the difficulties of adequate medical care.

3. Peacock says there is some opposition among the Hebron people to the closing of that station. He thinks the opposition is due to uncertainty rather than to unwillingness to leave Hebron. We have the views of the people concerned as expressed in their letter to Hon. Dr. F.W. Rowe, dated August 9th. They do not wish to leave their homes, hunting and fishing grounds at this time for fear of suffering hardship. They say that when they can be assured of having steady work with good wages they will be prepared to move.

4. The former Nutak folk who have settled at Nain, with the former residents of that place are not assured of steady work with good wages, in fact the outlook is for them to return to the cod fishery when the construction projects now in progress are completed. I do not think I need go into the future prospects of the cod fishery in Northern Labrador here. When steady employment at reasonable wages is available elsewhere I think the Nain folk will be anxious to move too. The best guess is that the Makkovik, Hamilton Inlet and Cartwright areas will afford these opportunities. Nobody is sure of anything, but there is very little hope that developments will take place as far north as Nain.

5. The closing of Nutak may be justified on the grounds that there was no school and that the medical and other social services were inadequate. This is not true to the same extent of Hebron since there is some sort of a school there, and the people have the services of a missionary who does some medical work. There is very little to choose between the economic possibilities of the Nutak and Nain districts, but it is argued by some that the game resources of the latter are inadequate for the population now concentrated there. This line of reasoning concludes that in order to exploit the game resources (native food supply) to the full the people should be scattered in many small

communities. It is difficult to see how this standpoint can be reconciled with the view adopted at the Labrador Conference and by many authorities regarding the future of the Eskimos in Labrador and elsewhere.

6. The logical approach to this question as I see it is that before taking any definite action time should be permitted (a) to see how well the Nutak folk are assimilated at Nain and other communities, and (b) to permit a better assessment of employment prospects in the Makkovik, Hamilton Inlet and Cartwright districts. It may be possible to assess these in the near future, but as matters stand at present, to commit ourselves to closing Hebron next year for example would be taking a leap in the dark. As I have already suggested, and I think the letter from Hebron means the same thing, when the time is ripe the Hebron people and many of the Nain folk will move of their own accord. Then, the assurance from the Government that help for resettlement and housing will be available will dispel any remaining doubts. (Draft memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Proposed closing of Hebron, undated, PAN Rockwood Collection)

R.L. Andrews [Deputy Minister of Welfare]: On September 10th, you wrote Mr. W. Rockwood, Director of Northern Labrador Affairs concerning the question of closing Hebron. I understand that Mr. Rockwood acknowledged your letter and informed you at the same time that the matter was being referred to me with comments. About the same time a letter written to the Honourable Dr. F.W Rowe on behalf of the Hebron people by Messrs. Levi Nochasak and William Millie on the same subject was brought to my attention. According to this letter a meeting was held by the Hebron men and it was decided that they do not wish to leave their present homes until such time as they can be assured of having steady work with good wages. The matter has received careful consideration and we are convinced that such a reasonable approach to the question cannot be ignored. We have therefore written to the Hebron people to the effect that no action to compel the people to leave their homes is being contemplated, and that only when steady work is assured elsewhere will they be expected to move.

We have suggested, however, that should some of the people express the desire of moving to other settlements next summer or later every possible effort will be made to assist them in the same way as the Nutak people were helped during the summer of 1956. It is hoped that this idea will take root and that gradually the majority will move of their own accord so that the concluding stages of the operation will

involve no major upheaval. I believe that if there are opportunities for employment there will be no need for strong measures to persuade the people to leave Hebron. Much will depend on the success of the Nutak folk in adjusting to their new surroundings. A copy of my letter to the Hebron Elders is attached for your information. (Draft letter to Rev. F.W. Peacock, undated, PAN Rockwood Collection)

R.L. Andrews: Your letter of August 9th, 1956, written on behalf of the People of Hebron to Honourable Dr. F.W. Rowe, St. John's, Newfoundland has been carefully considered and I am authorized to inform you that no overt action to compel the Hebron people to leave their homes is being contemplated. We agree that the attitude adopted at the meeting and as expressed in your letter is reasonable and logical, and you may rest assured that only when steady work is assured elsewhere will the People be expected to move.

This does not mean that any objection will be raised if some people wish to move to any settlement farther south next summer, and in such cases every effort will be made to assist them in the same way as the Nutak people were helped during the summer of 1956. (Draft letter to Mr. Levi Nochasak and Mr. William Millie, undated, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Rev S.P. Hettasch: This matter of moving did not little affect Hebron, alone the unofficial news that the same would happen to Hebron the following years. There was a great deal of unhappiness about it at first. Finally a meeting was called and the people decided to write the Government that they were not anxious to move south ... A reply came to them informing them that the Government would give them a year's notice, and would try to comply with their wishes as best as possible. So the storm calmed down over this matter, and we are just on the waiting list to move, when? nobody really knows, it could be a few years yet. (Annual Report reviewing the year 1956, Hebron, January 1957, TCC)

Walter Rockwood: In view of the fact that the go-ahead for closing Nutak and rehousing the people at Nain and elsewhere was not given until May 2nd, of this year, and that until then little or no planning had been done, I am humbly grateful that more serious problems did not arise. At North West River we had no organization whatever to cope with the situation and it was only through the co-operation of Dr. W.A. Paddon and Mr. J.C. Watts that this part of the programme was managed at all. There, building sites had to be cleared from the wilderness, some kind of a road made and the materials conveyed to the site. Supervision had to be maintained and paid for. Otherwise a lot

of good materials would have been spoiled and wasted. This is not to say that this did not happen at all under the circumstances but at any rate it was kept at a minimum. At Nain and Makkovik the sites were more accessible and less costly to prepare. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Re: Eskimo Housing, December 17, 1956, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Jack Vater [DNLA manager, Hebron]: From all reports I understand that during the latter part of 1955, and last year, beer making in excessive amounts had been made, which did at that time cause many disturbances among the people here, and resulted in some receiving minor injuries, and others their injuries were serious, which apparently were inflicted rather cruelly ...

Late in November I commenced once more the sale of yeast on a ration basis, at the rate of three packs per week, per family, depending of course on the size, no single person is permitted to buy yeast (because much of the beer made was by unmarried people) and this is controlled by me from the office. No molasses is for sale as yet.

This same procedure outlined above was followed by me during my previous stay here, and the results were very good, naturally there was some beer making, going on at times, but no disturbances was made in the village, to my knowledge. And so far everything has been going rather smoothly in that respect. (Letter to Mr. W. Rockwood, January 27, 1957, PAN Dept. of Labrador Services GN 56/2)

Walter Rockwood: ... if the contention that Hebron has been neglected is correct I think there should be more frequent and extended patrols ... Perhaps the most aggravating factor in this situation is the isolation of Hebron which is about 140 miles north of Nain. Travelling conditions are extremely difficult and more so now that Nutak has been closed. There is one policeman for the Nain and Hebron districts with a total population of 625 or 650 people. Hopedale district, with fewer people and easier travelling conditions has two (2) policemen ... One other point, Hebron is perhaps more accessible from Goose Bay at certain seasons than from Nain. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Re: Police Service for Hebron, February 12, 1957, PAN Dept. of Labrador Services GN 56/2)

Helge Kleivan [Danish anthropologist]: The superintendent of the Labrador mission, who to a greater extent than the remainder of the missionaries appears to have gone in for a complete modification of the mission's policy, has personally taken the standpoint that the Eskimos must be given new economic possibilities, if necessary by a

transfer of the population to the south. He has personally influenced both Eskimos and Settlers to move down to Happy Valley. In 1957 he managed to accomplish the radical step of moving the headquarters of the mission from Nain to Happy Valley. This initiative appears all the more remarkable, as the majority of the Eskimos (as well as Settlers) continue to live along the stretch of coast north of Cape Harrison. It may be interpreted as an attempt to encourage a general transfer of the population away from the old mission area. Whether this will be achieved appears to be uncertain today. (*The Eskimos of Northeast Labrador: A History of Eskimo-White Relations*, Oslo: Norsk Polarinstitutt, Skrifter Nr. 139, 1966, p. 89)

Rev. F.W. Peacock: 1. The cost of operating the Labrador Mission is beyond the means of the British Mission Board. Three suggestions came before General Synod.

(a) That the work in Labrador be made the continuing financial responsibility of the whole Unity.

(b) That the work in Labrador be handed over to some other denomination.

(c) That the work in Labrador be abandoned.

What is obvious is that the cost of the Labrador work must be cut down wherever possible. How can costs be cut down on your station?

2. This summer Brother F.M. Grubb retires and there will be no replacement. What do you suggest shall be done as regards to staffing? The alternatives seem to be:

(a) The closing of Makkovik and the serving of Makkovik from Hopedale.

(b) The closing of Hebron as a step in forcing the Government scheme to eventually shut down Hebron. (Questionnaire to all missionaries, April 1958, TCC)

Rev. F.M. Grubb [Moravian minister, Hopedale]: The fish we get here on the northern part of the coast especially are very small and of poor quality for salting, and have very little value on the market. We are also a long way from the markets, and the distance, coupled with the small total catch of fish that are of poor grade, all tend to reduce profitable prosecution of the industry. This in turn throws a heavy burden on the Government, and is also a morale-destroying condition for the people. We hope that the reports of mining in the Makkovik area will materialize, as that may give our people a chance of regular

employment. The policy of congregating our people into larger communities without a means of gainful employment greatly restricts their opportunities of hunting to help provide some of their food. They will in such cases drift into destitute trouble makers living on Government relief with no ambition for anything else. The only solution seems to be to face up to the fact that apart from mining this coast has no living to offer commensurate with modern needs of mankind. So they should be either moved to a place where employment is possible, or employment found here locally. (Annual report for Hopedale, 1957–58, *Periodical Accounts*, 166:22)

Rev. Siegfried Hettasch: However much I regret it, I see no other way than to suggest that the Mission withdraw from Hebron this summer. Then the Station expenses of this most northern Station would be saved, and a Missionary would be free to jump into any vacated station further south. — The PROBLEM would be the people. But as Br. Peacock suggests, they would more likely follow to the south, once the Mission is closed.

BUT HERE I would like to infer one, perhaps new suggestion, which is not quite in place here, yet it concerns the Hebron people, which we also have to consider in some way as we close this station, as I am strongly convinced that <u>not</u> all the Hebron folks will move south, and I feel that some would rather move North instead of South, at least if they were given the choice and the opportunity to do so. — Could the Government be approached on this matter, if they might be willing to let those who wish, go north, making the needed arrangement for them there, as well as transportation and let them be rehabilitated, say in Ungava Bay, Cape Chidley, or Frobisher, if acceptable there. — If this idea is acceptable, I would like to see the Government allow these people to choose, those who wish to go north let them, and the others south. To stay behind, eventually without a store, they will hardly be able to do, though some talk about this.

And again to have the people go south against their wish (this does not mean all, but a good number, who wish not to move) would be very regrettable. So if they could choose between either north or south they would all be happy, and we all would feel happier too. I am sure that this would apply to only a few families, the bulk, I am sure would follow south.

Furthermore cutting down costs of my station, I shall have to join my servant with snowshoveling and raking and boat etc. to avoid wherever I can having to employ anyone else. If we stay on, Hebron will need more repair, but if we move soon then we can put up with it til then.

To Question No. 2). I am sorry that there are no Missionaries to fill the gaps. Here I would suggest, if I may, that both alternatives, Br. Peacock gave us on the questionnaire, be carried out, and preferably this year yet, it would cut expenses more quickly and effectively.

(a) Close Makkovik this year, and run Makkovik from Hopedale, however much regrettable it may be, it seems the only way to avoid a still more rising Mission-debt.

(b) Close Hebron this year, to cut out further expenses up North or Down North. (Letter addressed to Brethren, April 9, 1958, TCC)

S.J. Hefferton [Minister of Public Welfare]: Since [the closing of Nutak] careful consideration has been given to the future of the Depot at Hebron by both the Moravian Mission and the responsible officers of the Department of Public Welfare. Representations have been made to the Department from time to time by the International Grenfell Association authorities at North West River. In a letter dated October 30th, 1956, the Hebron people were informed that they would be given a year's notice of the close of the Depot. However, this year the Labrador Field Conference of the Moravian Mission passed unanimously a proposal to close down the Hebron Station as from August, 1959. This proposal has now been made to close the Station and withdraw all missionary personnel as from August, 1959. It is understood that this decision will be made known to the Hebron people during the next two or three months. After it is made known an announcement should be made regarding the future of our supply depot in that area.

If it is decided to close the Depot at Hebron it will be necessary to provide assistance for all the families, approximately fifty, in Hebron to move to communities further south, and while four or five families might be transferred to Nain and Hopedale, it will be impossible to accommodate any large number in either of these two places. The only community which has the necessary space is Makkovik. The cost of re-housing the Hebron people will be approximately $90,000 and although it is possible that the cost of this project may be shared by the Government of Canada it could not be done under the arrangements made in Mr. Pickersgill's letter of April 12th, 1954, to my predecessor as the entire amount provided at that time will have been spent before March 31st, 1959.

It will also be necessary to expand our facilities at Makkovik at an estimated cost of $15,000. It will probably take two years to complete

the transfer of the people but the materials required for re-settlement will have to be purchased during the financial year 1959–60.

I recommend that:

1. An announcement be made early in 1959 that the supply depot at Hebron will be closed in August, 1960.

2. That an amount of $90,000 be provided in the 1959–60 Estimates for re-housing Eskimo families and

3. That an amount of $15,000 be provided in the 1959–60 Estimates for the expansion of our facilities at Makkovik.

4. That the Department of Public Welfare be authorized to approach the appropriate department of the Government of Canada with a request to share the cost of this project. I request my colleagues' approval of these proposals. (Memorandum to the Executive Council, "Proposed closing of the Supply Depot at Hebron," December 8, 1958, CNSA)

Executive Council: (1072-'58) P.Welfare 57-'58. Ordered that the Honorable the Minister of Public Welfare be and he is hereby authorized to announce that the Supply Depot at Hebron will be closed in August, 1960. Ordered further that:

(a) An amount of $90,000 be provided in the 1959–60 Estimates under head XI (Public Welfare) for re-housing Eskimo families;

(b) an amount of $15,000 be provided in the 1959–60 Estimates under Head XI (Public Welfare) for the expansion of facilities at Makkovik; and

(c) The Department of Public Welfare be authorized to approach the appropriate department of the Government of Canada to ascertain if it will share the cost of this project. (Confirmed 5/6/59) (Minutes of meeting on December 30, 1958, PAN)

S.J. Hefferton [Minister of Public Welfare]: ... Included in our original plans was a proposal to relocate the fifty families in Hebron to other communities along the coast south of Nain. Most of them would be resettled in Makkovik. Recently the Moravian Mission decided to withdraw its staff from Hebron. This decision has been communicated to the people there and the Government of Newfoundland has also agreed to close its supply depot and withdraw its staff. The transfer will probably take place over a two year period beginning in July of this year. If as is hoped most of the Hebron families are resettled at Makkovik, additional school accommodation will be required and it

will be necessary to expand our supply depot facilities in that area ... I shall be glad if you will consider this as a formal request for an extension of the project approved in the letter of April 12th 1954, from the Secretary of State of Canada to the Minister of Public Welfare in Newfoundland. (Letter to Hon Ellen L. Fairclough, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration [Ottawa], March 26, 1959, PAN Dept. of Labrador Affairs GN 56/2)

Rev S.P. Hettasch: The Easter Monday Lovefeast is usually the final big occasion before life returns to the normal week-day activities. At this Lovefeast many important matters are usually being announced to the congregation, as it is one occasion when we are all together ... But this year it was urgent to tell the congregation once more, and that understandably that our Moravian Mission unfortunately was compelled to cease its labours at Hebron in the month of August, as it very much appeared that this was not clearly believed. Ever since Christmas had we expected that the Government would join the Mission in closing Hebron, and we had good reason to believe that closing orders would be given by the Government at any moment. The suspense seemed almost difficult to bear. And it was difficult to realize the continuation of Hebron by the Government, but without the Mission. Especially since we knew how very dependent the people were on the Mission. Of course it was our hopes and desire that the people should not be forced to move to the south, but rather move on their own initiative, or at least follow the Mission south in loyalty to it. Well no one really knew what of it, and quite understandably did most of the Hebron folks love their own country and habitation most, regardless of its lack of fuel, which every winter becomes always such a problem, apart from many other hardships. But for them home is home, and the unknown future in a strange south a dread.

So at that Lovefeast they had to be told plainly, that the Mission was definitely moving away from Hebron, and that it was even very uncertain what the Government would do, but that it would be rather unlikely for them to continue, for the matter of medical service as well as school was also very questionable. They were asked to thoroughly think the matter over.

A week later we received an official visitation by a Government agent, and our Superintendent and Dr. Paddon, when after a brief discussion of the situation, a message from the Government was read, effecting the closing of Hebron also by the Government. After this the bells were rung and all the people gathered in Church, where first we sung a hymn, then Br. Peacock spoke a few words, followed by the Message

of the Government read out by the Government agent, which was then translated to the people, and we closed with a prayer and a hymn. This relieved a tension which had existed for a long time, not a tension of joy for the move so much, but it relieved the tension of uncertainty. At various occasions, Mr. Rockwood the Government agent, during his further stay of a few days, made the people feel his full understanding for their love of Hebron, but that we hoped for a better future, as well as better housing conditions provided by the Government in the south.

After this visit lists were made of all the families, and the people could choose which of the southern communities they would like to join. Although limits were set: that Nain could take five families, Hopedale about ten and Makkovik the remaining forty-three families. From then on all went smooth and happy, and much planning was done. (Annual Report for Hebron 1959, January 1960, TCC)

Walter Rockwood: I reached Hebron about noon on April 10th, a few minutes after Rev. F.W. Peacock, Dr. W.A. Paddon, and Rev. F.C.P. Grubb had arrived there in another aircraft. Shortly afterwards, I met with the above-named and Rev. S.P. Hettasch of Hebron to discuss the closing of Hebron, and the manner in which the Hebron people were to be informed of the Moravian Mission's and the Government's decisions in the matter. A meeting of all the people was then held in the church. Rev. Peacock confirmed the Mission's decision as announced earlier by Rev. Hettasch, following which I read the telegram received from you on March 25th as follows:

"YOU MAY INFORM HEBRON PEOPLE THAT FOLLOWING THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE MORAVIAN MISSION GOVERNMENT OF NEWFOUNDLAND WILL ASSIST FAMILIES TO MOVE TO COMMUNITIES SOUTH OF NAIN AND THAT THE SUPPLY DEPOT WILL BE CLOSED."

The contents of the telegram as quoted above were translated into Eskimo by Rev. Peacock and read in the meeting. The text in both English and Eskimo was then posted up in the church and in the office of the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs. I did not elaborate further at that time.

Rev. Peacock left Hebron again on the following day, but I remained there until April 15th for further discussions with Rev. S.P. Hettasch, Mr. T. Baird, Depot Manager and the Elders.

On the advice of Rev. Hettasch and Mr. Baird it was decided that an all-out attempt should be made to resettle all the people during 1959. It

was feared that if, as originally planned, the store remained open during the winter of 1959–60 all the people may decide to remain at Hebron until the summer of 1960, and if the Missionary were withdrawn as planned in August, 1959 the entire responsibility for the people during the coming winter would be thrown on the Depot Manager. This situation must be avoided at all costs.

On April 14th, therefore, the Elders were informed that

(a) The action now being taken is in accordance with instructions from the Government.

(b) There will be no trout fishery in 1959.

(c) Five families may settle at Nain, ten families at Hopedale, and the remainder at Makkovik, or if the whole congregation wished to settle at Makkovik, we would agree.

(d) Transportation and re-housing will be arranged.

(e) We hope to be able to withdraw our staff at the end of September, 1959.

Altogether there are 58 families to be resettled, but it is possible that in a few cases 2 families may prefer to share the same dwelling so that the total number of units to be built may be about 50. A telegram dated April 24th from Mr. Baird indicates that 7 families wish to go to Nain, 7 families to Hopedale and the remainder to Makkovik. Further details are given in the following table:

	Families	Persons	Total	Revised
To Nain	7	29	450	449
Hopedale	7	28	230	206
Makkovik	44	168	350	339
	58	225	1030	994

N.B. The figures in the total column give the estimated population of the settlements named after the Hebron people have been added. A request has been forwarded for accurate population figures for Makkovik, Hopedale, and Nain, and if necessary figures given above will be amended.

As stated in paragraph 10 of my memorandum dated October 30th, 1958 it will NOT be feasible for our staff on the Coast, particularly at Makkovik, to undertake the additional work which this resettlement project involves. A contractor must be engaged for the work. The next, immediate step is to find the contractor, and work out the details. Building materials must be shipped as soon as navigation opens or

around June 1st, and actual construction should be begun around July 1st. The people will begin to arrive from Hebron as soon as navigation opens. Obviously there is no time to be lost.

In my previous memorandum on this subject I estimated the cost of each unit at $2000, but I cannot guarantee that the cost per unit will not be higher. (URGENT Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Re: Closing of Hebron, May 1, 1959, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Hebron Visitors Book, Signed entries for April 10, 1959:

W. Rockwood	On the occasion of the Mission "Confirmation" of closing Hebron station
F.W. Peacock	On the occasion of the Government decision to close Hebron
W.A. Paddon MD	(Innocent by-stander)
Geoffrey Henderson	Pilot of the get-away car EYW
RC Shyre (RCMP)	Pursurer of the above car
Ian W. Mackie	
F.C.P. Grubb	How are the mighty fallen

Walter Rockwood: 1. I wish to state for the record that, while the pros and cons were stated fully in my memorandum of October 30th, 1958, I did not include any recommendation either for or against the transfer of the Hebron people to other settlements, or regarding the closing of the Depot at Hebron. I did point out that in closing Hebron the immediate problems of the Moravian Mission, medical and other services would be greatly solved, but that the brunt of the resettlement and [19]56 integration programme would fall on the Department of Public Welfare.

2. The Federal Department of Northern Affairs' proposed developments at George River and Port Burwell, of which you have been informed, may have some bearing on the Hebron situation. George River is approximately 120 miles west and 30 miles north of Hebron, or about the same distance from Hebron as Nain. Port Burwell is near Cape Chidley 180 miles north of Hebron. I suggest, if the Federal Government's plans materialize, that it will be very difficult to proceed with the plan for closing Hebron in 1960.

3. I have recommended on previous occasions that there should be closer liaison between the Federal Department of Northern Affairs and this Department. If there had been closer liaison we would have been aware of the Federal plans for George River and Port Burwell months ago. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Re: Hebron, June 5, 1959, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Walter Rockwood: It is proposed to close Hebron in the near future, but thus far there have been no surveys by qualified personnel of the locations where it is proposed to settle the people. It is hoped that the services of a contractor will be available to carry out the construction programme. ('Report on Departmental Organization for the Administration of Labrador," June 1959, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Rev. S.P. Hettasch: The people still short of fuel, began to break down some of their houses for fuel. The Village hall was taken down and the material was used for making boxes. The store started packing up its sealing equipment and trout nets, and baring up with boards many of the windows of sheds no longer used. As the weather came warmer many people put up their tents, burning in their tent stoves bits and pieces of some houses, and outside their tents were the newly-made boxes, some of them painted. It was then on June the 19th, a few days over two months since the official visit and the announcement of the closing of Hebron, that a message was received from the Government that after all the Government could not close Hebron this year, nor provide the houses. This seemed incredible, now that everybody was finally tuned to moving south quite happily, and many were just about packed up to move south on the first boat. Five houses had been burned up for firewood and nine more houses were partly demolished in view of moving. Up to now the Exodus to the south had been well planned and organised, but this message spilled chaos over it all. It did not seem to make sense. Of course this did not change the course of the Mission, but it did throw the people into confusion and disharmony. Quite a few weeks elapsed again when word came from the Government that finally twenty families would be able to have houses in the south this year, the remainder was asked to wait for the next year. Up to now much valuable time had been lost for the trouting season which was now ordered to materialize for the families staying over to the next year. It was further delayed because of lack of salt. So it became a real upset summer. Finally the Government sent a nurse to Hebron to take over the medical work from our Mission and we were asked to leave some of the furniture for her. At times it was difficult to know what to pack and what not. The thing appeared an upheaval. (Annual Report for Hebron 1959, January 1960, TCC)

Walter Rockwood: [Telegram to T. Baird not sent, June 18, 1959] As far as I can ascertain plans for resettlement Hebron people and closing of Depot at Hebron cancelled for this year stop Please advise Hebron people not to leave for south as no plans ready build houses for them and no transportation arrangements finalized this date stop Advise people continue with trout fishery as in previous years and you are authorized to outfit accordingly stop Supplies as per your requisitions dated March 23rd ordered for shipment Hebron next *Trepassey*.

Discussed the attached telegram with Mr. Godfrey. He advised not to send telegram, as he had been requested in a telegram from Mr. Andrews to take the matter up [with] the Attorney General. Mr. Godfrey will contact Attorney General tomorrow morning, 17-6-59.

(17-6-59) 'Phoned Mr. Godfrey at 11:40 a.m. He informed me that he was trying to contact the Attorney General, and that he would let me know the results. I pointed out that a telegram should go out today advising people not to leave Hebron, as they may do so immediately the ice moves off. Mr. Godfrey phoned at 12:30 p.m. to say that he had talked with the Attorney General, who requested that copies of telegrams "which had transpired between us" should be sent to the House [of Assembly] this afternoon. Nothing should be done until we hear from Attorney General again, possibly tomorrow morning.

(18-6-59) Mr. Godfrey informed me about noon on this date that he had heard nothing further from the Attorney General. Agreed to wire Depot Manager T. Baird at Hebron as follows: "SEE TELEGRAM ATTACHED".

[Telegram sent on June 18, 1959] I have been instructed to inform you and the people of Hebron as follows quote it will not be possible for the Government to move the people of Hebron this year stop Therefore the necessary steps to look after them at Hebron should be made immediately unquote Advise people not to leave Hebron for other settlements stop Outfit for trout fishery and carry on as in previous years stop Supplies as per requisition March 23rd ordered for shipment next *Trepassey* stop My letter of June 8th refers.

[Telegram sent to T. Baird, June 22, 1959] Re tel[egram] please assure Hebron people of my sympathetic understanding present circumstances stop All requests passed on for Deputy Minister's consideration. (PAN, Rockwood Collection)

H[?]: The Attorney General called and gave me the following message: "It will not be possible for the Government to move the people of Hebron this year. Therefore the necessary steps to look after them at

Hebron should be made immediately." You may telephone him if there are any questions. (Note to Mr. Godfrey, undated, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Ted Baird [DNLA manager, Hebron]: On June 19th the above carefully made plans were torpedoed by a second telegram, to the effect, that because of the Government's inability to house the fifty odd families in one summer, they would assist up to twenty families to move this year, and that the trout fishery was to be prosecuted. This was promptly relayed to those concerned and as soon as the waters were navigable a trip was made to Hopedale to procure sufficient gasoline for the operation of the trout fishery. The trip was completed with little difficulty and the trout fishery was underway by the middle of July and was completed by the latter part of August which yielded a total catch of approximately three hundred and fifteen barrels. (Letter to Director D.N.L.A, March 4, 1960, PAN Dept. of Labrador Services)

Peacock and Paddon: Re telephone conversation of today feel Hebron people are facing impossible situation since these people had explicit instructions from Government that they were to move this summer and have complied by demolishing nearly half their housing and their community hall and readying all fishing gear for shipment south instead of making usual preparations for seasons fishery stop If it is absolutely impossible to finance resettlement of their town this summer urge you to assist in resettling and housing those who propose to move this summer regardless and all those who have no housing left perhaps favouring homes with invalids or numerous school children stop If fifteen to twenty selected families could be resettled this summer Hebron problem would reduce to more manageable size and hardship inflicted on this bewildered and wretched community would be reduced. (Telegram to Premier Smallwood, June 24, 1959, CNSA J.R. Smallwood Papers)

Walter Rockwood: In reference to the attached letter dated July 7th, 1959, I have contacted Mr. W. George Hawkins, Managing Director, Twillingate Engineering & Construction Company Limited, and he has informed me that his company is prepared to construct dwellings for unit prices as follows:

At Makkovik	$3150.00 per unit
Hopedale	$3450.00 per unit
Nain	$3800.00 per unit

(Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Rehousing Hebron Families, July 10, 1959, PAN Rockwood Collection)

George Hawkins [Contractor]: Offer to construct twenty houses on Labrador at cost plus ten percent with a guarantee that total cost to your Department will not exceed $3150 at Makkovik, $3450 at Hopedale and $3800 each at Nain provided we have the order proceed with work by Wednesday the 15th. (Letter to R.L. Andrews, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Walter Rockwood: I arrived at Makkovik on July 21st, and on the same date decided on the general location for the new houses to be built for Eskimo families being resettled there. A letter, see copy attached, written Twillingate Engineering and Construction Company Limited on July 22nd will explain fully the action taken regarding this aspect of the work ... Leaving Makkovik on July 23rd I arrived at Hebron at about 2 p.m. and remained there for about two hours, for discussions with Rev. S.P. Hettasch, Missionary in Charge, and Mr. T. Baird of the staff of the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs.

Fifteen families, including two families who went to Happy Valley in 1958 and have now returned, one to Makkovik and the other to Hopedale, have already left Hebron. Six of these families are now at Nain, three are either at or enroute to Hopedale, and the remaining families are either in or enroute to Makkovik. The majority of the families, who have not already left for south, have gone north to prosecute the trout fishery. Both Rev. Hettasch and Mr. Baird expect that there will be difficulty in getting the remaining families to fill the complement of twenty families to leave Hebron this fall. As some of the family units are small, it is believed at this time that more than twenty families can be accommodated in the twenty houses which are to be built. It may be necessary to provide air transport for some of the families leaving Hebron later in the season. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Re: Hebron Resettlement, July 24, 1959, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Rev. S.P. Hettasch: On the first Sunday of August we held our farewell services and our thoughts were linked at the same time with the August 13th celebration with Holy Communion at night. We were nearly ready to leave, but could not be certain on which day we would leave, and if the weather would be favourable at the time we would be ready. As it happened we spent one more Sunday at Hebron afterwards, closing our Hebron Missionwork with our departure on August the 13th. With our new Motorboat, the "Hebron" we travelled down the coast, visiting first some Hebron people, then on to see once more the pathetic remains of our old Okak-station and on to Nain, and finally

after about five days we reached Hopedale our new residence for the coming winter.

What happened in Hebron in the meantime. Sister D. Jupp [nurse] did the medical work. Our two Chapel servants continued to hold services in the Church for the few that were on the place, while many others had scattered along the coast for the trout-fishery. About ten Hebron families had left for the south early in the summer. With the first parties to leave it became quite a celebration, some speeches were made and at other departures the brass band would play. Some of the families moved south in their own motorboats, others again travelled south on the mailboat. Every mailboat took a few families along. In September the Nurse left Hebron and was placed at Makkovik to ease the burden off Sr. Kate Hettasch. After this the people returned from trouting and decided contrarily the Government's plans to wish to move south. And when in the beginning of October the Mailboat made her last visit to Hebron, everyone left at Hebron, including the Storekeeper and his family, were packed, so that Hebron was finally deserted and closed with the departure of the last Mailboat the *M.V. Trepassey* on October the 9th 1959.

This closes then another chapter in our Labrador Mission history. Hebron was commenced in 1830 and we have to thank the Lord for the privilege of working in His Vineyard there for 129 years, we ask his forgiveness for where we have failed in our duties and the dark corners which were not filled with His glorious Light, but we praise Him too for His many Blessings amidst all trials of this rugged north, and for the fruits He permitted to mature unto His Glory. (Annual Report for Hebron 1959, January 1960, TCC)

Ted Baird: Now that the people were back at Hebron from the various fishing stations, they were anxious to know what was being done in the way of nursing facilities for the coming winter, since the nurse stationed there during the month of August had apparently received word from her superiors that there were insufficient families at Hebron to warrant her remaining there, and she was to transfer to Makkovik in September. The thought of not having a nurse at Hebron for the winter created a rather unpleasant feeling among the people and after a brief "kut-e-muk" it was decided that the remaining families wished to move as soon as possible, whether a nurse was stationed there or not. This in turn was passed on to the Director.

After a brief lapse of time radio contact was made with the Director and Mr. R.S. King at Hopedale and it was decided that the remaining families at Hebron move to Hopedale for the winter pro tem and they

would be housed in some of the buildings obtained from the lower campsite at Hopedale and houses belonging to some of the people at Hopedale.

On October 9th-59 the remaining fifty odd persons with their dogs were put on board the "Trepassey" and at approximately 11:30 p.m. the "M.V. Vida Gertrude" and "M.V. Trepassey" got up steam and left the now vacated Hebron in the stillness of night. (Letter to Director D.N.L.A, March 4, 1960, PAN Dept. of Labrador Services)

Michael Harrington: On board the *Vida Gertrude*, a 16 and a half-ton boat owned by the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs, were Ted Baird, depot manager, Job Hunt, the fishery foreman, and director Rockwood, as well as an Eskimo member of his staff. The night was dark and cold and the decks of the vessel were soon coated with ice from flying spray. The *Trepassey* had two large trapboats in tow, and before reaching Mugford Tickle, these had their stems jerked out by the heavy seas and had to be cut adrift.

But otherwise undamaged by the incident, the boats with two men and a few dogs in each, continued on in the darkness under their own power to Mugford Tickle, where the *Trepassey* and the *Vida Gertrude* were waiting for them. After leaving Mugford Tickle, the *Vida Gertrude* accompanied the smaller boats for several hours but lost sight of them again before reaching Cape Kiglapait. The *Trepassey* reached Nain around 5 or 6 pm and the others reached there later the same night. Late on Sunday afternoon the last of the Hebronites landed from the *Trepassey* at Hopedale, where they found shelter with the families who had arrived there earlier in the season. Hopedale, its population nearly doubled in a matter of weeks, opened its doors to receive the 150 or so people from Hebron who could not find shelter elsewhere. ("The abandonment of Hebron," Offbeat History [based on information from Walter Rockwood], *Evening Telegram*, St. John's, October 11, 1983)

Walter Rockwood: With only a few weeks left before the onset of Labrador winter, temporary accommodation for some thirty families had somehow to be found. Through the help and co-operation of personnel of the United States Air Force, and C.A. Pitts Construction Company Limited, at Hopedale, and a great deal of hard work by the Missionaries and the field staff of the Division what at first seemed an impossible task was accomplished by the end of October. By this date all the people had been evacuated from Hebron and were under shelter. Needless to say some of the arrangements were of the most temporary nature, and that some overcrowding was inevitable.

However, the best possible was done under very difficult circumstances. (Government of Newfoundland: Northern Labrador Affairs, Annual Report for year ended March 31, 1960)

Walter Rockwood: The supply depot at Hebron, Labrador was closed under the authority of MC 1072-'58 approved by the Lieutenant-Governor on 5th June 1959 and relating to P. Welfare 57-58. The date given in MC 1072-'58 for the closing of the depot in question was August 1960. Events moved more quickly than was anticipated and the last families including the staff of the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs were removed from Hebron on October 9th, 1959.

[Loose notes — The reasons for abandoning Nutak and Hebron were, I think, social rather than economic] (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Re: Buildings abandoned as a result of the closing of Hebron Depot, undated, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Walter Rockwood: I would like you to know that I did and do appreciate the difficulties and perplexities of your last six months at Hebron, which was in some ways only the climax to a longer and altogether difficult period. (Letter to T. Baird, Hopedale, March 21, 1960, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Dr. W.A. Paddon: I have just sent a number of people in the Government letters about the urgency of the public health problem inherent in the 35 or 40 families from Hebron temporarily at Hopedale. These people are more or less transient and they do not come under the normal controls and it is impossible to do much with educating them. We have had three deaths from botulism and will be seeing a good deal of the progress in TB. control set back as a result of the conditions under which these people are living.

I am urging the Department of Welfare to try and complete the sound and excellent programme of last summer of real resettlement and rehabilitation, which was provided for the first half of Hebron. If they could do as much for the half now stranded at Hopedale, moving them on to Makkovik and resettling them there, we have the chance to do something with them. I told the Department that they could, I thought, be very proud of some extremely far-sighted work in the rehabilitation of the Eskimo in Labrador, work which is way ahead of the Federal work. The group in temporary hovels at Hopedale is a real threat for a disastrous epidemic and I do hope that something can be done for them this summer. (Letter to Dr. Leonard Miller [Deputy Minister of Health], June 12, 1960, CNSA J.R. Smallwood Papers)

Walter Rockwood: Nain is now the northernmost settlement, as Hebron 140 miles farther north was closed in 1959. Nutak which was between Nain and Hebron, closed three years ago. The abandonment of these settlements involved the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs in a housing programme for the Eskimos, and to date a total of 45 dwellings, not including temporary accommodation for the last thirty Hebron families to reach Hopedale in the fall of 1959, have been built. The Hebron and Nutak people have settled at Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, North West River and Happy Valley. All the Nutak people have been rehoused, but at least 20 more units will be required for the Hebron families.

Nutak was abandoned because there were no services or facilities except those maintained by the Department of Public Welfare, and the advantages in moving to communities where churches, schools, medical services and other facilities were already available outweighed those to be gained by remaining there. After Nutak was abandoned, Hebron seemed more isolated than ever.

The Moravian Mission decided to close its station there in 1959 and the Government followed suit. It will be noted that once the Mission withdrew there would be no church or school at Hebron, and medical services would have to be provided solely from North West River, 350 miles away, and under the most hazardous flying conditions. The only firewood supply was at Napartok Bay twenty-five miles away, and even this was severely limited. It must be said, however, that the social at least as much as the economic factors involved brought about the abandonment of both Hebron and Nutak. (Report, Northern Labrador Affairs in Retrospect, 1961, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Walter Rockwood: Oh yes! one more point. I don't know the exact count, but off-hand, I would say about half the Eskimos who moved to Happy Valley have returned to the North. Why? — a good question. (Letter to John Melling [Executive Director, Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada], February 5, 1962, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Walter Rockwood: About a month ago Dr. E.P. Wheeler [geologist, Dartmouth University]... called at this office ... Dr. Wheeler expressed the opinion that everyone except the Eskimos had his own private reason for closing Nutak and Hebron, and that those who had an interest in abandoning these settlements ganged up on the poor Eskimos. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Proposed New Settlement in Okak Bay. October 28, 1963, PAN Rockwood Collection)

> Walter Rockwood: It is noteworthy that many of the Eskimos who went from the northern settlements to Goose Bay during and after World War II have returned. Lessening opportunities in the south and improving conditions in the north were without doubt factors in this development, but in all probability they wished to return to [a] more familiar environment ... However, most of the English speaking people who moved to Goose Bay have remained there. (Government of Newfoundland: Northern Labrador Affairs, Annual report for the year ended March 31, 1964)

> Walter Rockwood: I was acutely aware that solving some problems of administration, and reducing costs of transportation, medical, education and other services could not in themselves solve the problems of the people who had to exist in the one way open to them, hunting and fishing. ("The abandonment of Hebron," Offbeat History, *Evening Telegram*, St. John's, October 11, 1983)

Commentary:

These extracts from letters, memoranda and reports reveal how a program evolved to remove the Inuit population from Okak and Hebron, and the factors that contributed to a chaotic situation regarding the closure of Hebron in 1959. The notion of relocating the northern population did not originate in the DNLA or in any other department of the provincial government but emerged from correspondence by officials from two institutions which were involved with providing services in the coastal region: the International Grenfell Association and the Moravian Mission.

Until 1954 the DNLA was making plans to support the existing residents at Okak and Hebron by improving fisheries facilities and constructing one-room schools. The possibility of establishing a new community at PusseKartok in Okak Bay, following an earlier Moravian Mission proposal, was also being considered but only in reference to the location of services in the Okak region. This prospect was encouraged in an independent essay by Dr. W.A. Paddon, IGA Director of Northern Medical Services based at North West River, who advocated creating a new community. The objective was to provide families with better housing which would improve their standard of health, as well as access to education and other community facilities. However, his proposal also suggested amalgamating the Okak and Hebron populations, as had the original Moravian plan, in order to resolve the shortage of firewood at Hebron. By stressing that the ultimate site for a community should be selected on the basis of public health and community needs, he minimized the value of seasonal resource harvesting activities that were conducted in the region.

Dr. Paddon had the opinion that the traditional Inuit harvesting economy was not viable and the culture of living off the land was "irretrievably lost." The same view was expressed by Rev. Peacock, the Superintendent of the Moravian Mission, who considered that Inuit were hindered in their social and economic development by being dispersed and isolated due to their fishing and hunting activities. He advised integrating Inuit in a permanent community not only so that they could benefit from medical and educational services but also to introduce people to the economic alternative of employment. The Moravian minister believed Inuit, like Newfoundlanders, would prefer regular incomes from jobs to the low incomes that they were then receiving from the cod and seal fisheries.

Rev. Peacock supported the creation of a community in Okak Bay until Dr. Curtis, Superintendent of the IGA, circulated a proposal to government officials recommending that Okak and Hebron Inuit should be taken entirely away from the northern coast and moved to southerly communities. After making a single visit to Nain, Dr. Curtis was appalled both by the housing conditions there and even worse circumstances reported farther north, as by the absence of an effective program to improve housing and health standards. His criticism and reference to the lack of coordination between the three institutions committed to advancing local conditions certainly touched sensitive nerves. Subsequently Rev. Peacock supported the notion of removing Okak Inuit but advised placing them mainly at Nain; his position on the Hebron population was not clear.

All of these views were expressed in 1955 at a critical time for decisions by the provincial government regarding the allocation of funds for capital expenditures that would be cost-shared with the federal government in their agreement made the previous year. In addition to the practical arguments for relocating the northern Inuit, Rev. Peacock and Dr. Curtis suggested that the administrative expenses of their own institutions and the provincial government were excessive for providing services to the small Labrador Inuit population and could be reduced by concentrating people in fewer communities. These considerations made a strong impression on the Acting Minister of Public Welfare, Dr. Rowe, who was also the Minister of Mines and Resources and the standing member for Labrador.

Dr. Rowe was convinced that the traditional resource harvesting economy was without value and there was no reason to continue supporting the population at Okak and Hebron. He took swift action in recommending the "transfer" of Inuit from the Okak area and a housing program estimated at $90,000 to the provincial government's Executive Council in October 1955; final approval for the closure of the DNLA depot at Nutak was confirmed in April 1956. The cost of the housing program would be included in the capital

expenditure agreement with the federal government allowing the province to recover two-thirds of its expenses. In his brief term as Acting Minister of Public Welfare, lasting just over one year, Dr. Rowe introduced a measure that would be applied for the removal of the Okak Inuit population and later the Hebron Inuit population from the northern Labrador coast.

At a Labrador Conference held in St. John's and chaired by Dr. Rowe in February 1956, the resettlement of Inuit from Okak or Hebron was not an issue on the agenda. Instead, the integration of the northern population in southerly coastal communities was described as a transitional step for replacing people who had already left the coast to find jobs elsewhere and for introducing the northern Inuit to a higher standard of living and employment options in the established communities. Although the government had reached a firm conclusion about the future of Okak and Hebron Inuit, the residents of the northern coast were not informed about their fate until much later.

The DNLA Director, Walter Rockwood, clearly recognized the multiple value of fishing and hunting to the northern Inuit as a means for them to earn some cash income, supply their own food needs and maintain their culture. He understood that resource harvesting enabled Inuit to be self-supporting especially at Hebron which contributed the greatest amount of char and seal products of all the coastal communities. But Mr. Rockwood's view was evidently dismissed, probably as an outmoded perspective on the rapid economic changes occurring due to employment in central areas of the Labrador region. Once the decision to close the Nutak depot was made, he stressed the need for advance planning and organization to build houses for Okak families. However, the authority to proceed with the relocation program was not given until May 1956 which caused a number of problems in preparing building sites and completing houses before winter.

Walter Rockwood seems to have been ambivalent about the closure of the Nutak depot because of the absence of community services in the area but he definitely did not support a withdrawal from Hebron. Yet the impression given by the translation of the Hebron Elders' petition to the Minister of Public Welfare suggested that Inuit residents would agree to move if they had an assurance of "steady work with good wages" and "good homes". Nevertheless Mr. Rockwood advised the government to first assess the assimilation of Okak Inuit at Nain and employment prospects in the coastal region before making "a leap in the dark" by moving the Hebron population. Regular employment was not even assured for Okak Inuit who would have to return to cod fishing after on-going construction projects were completed. Mr. Rockwood perceived that most of the employment being generated by construction in the region was essentially short-term so resource harvesting

activities would continue to be a major source of revenue for many coastal inhabitants.

His advice may have been instrumental in delaying any action to close the Hebron depot for two years. However, the Moravian Mission's decision in 1958 to shut its Hebron station by August 1959 was effective in forcing the provincial government to resolve the status of the community. The Minister of Public Welfare recommended and obtained approval for the closure of the DNLA depot at Hebron from the Executive Council in December 1958. An estimate of $90,000 was assigned for a housing program, comparable to the sum previously allocated to provide houses for Okak Inuit.

While Okak Inuit were moved primarily to Nain where they were near their former harvesting areas, Hebron Inuit would be concentrated farther south at Makkovik which would not allow them easy access to their customary harvesting areas. Makkovik was selected as the destination for the majority of the Hebron population because it was apparently the only community with sufficient space to build houses for over fifty Hebron families. The transfer of the Okak population to Nain in 1956 had already expanded that community from about 285 to 420 residents, and Hopedale was located on a rocky knoll that had little space for housing.

One other important provision in the Minister of Public Welfare's proposal was a suggestion that the "transfer" of the Hebron Inuit population would occur over a two-year period, beginning in July 1959 and concluding by August 1960. This time provision was presumably included because constructing houses for the entire Hebron population could not likely be undertaken in one year, and also because the provincial government would need financial assistance from the federal government to pay the cost of the housing program. The inter-governmental capital expenditures agreement, which had covered the construction of houses for Okak Inuit, terminated on March 31, 1959. Consequently a new agreement was needed to ensure that two-thirds of the cost of housing for Hebron Inuit would be paid by the federal government. A renewal of the agreement did not actually occur until 1964.

The Moravian Mission had a valid motive for terminating its presence at Hebron in order to economize on operating expenses and staff due to its poor financial position. However, its motive for forcing the provincial government to withdraw services from the community was likely an attempt to preserve the Moravians' pride in having to abandon a mission station and population for which they were historically responsible. By departing from Hebron before the provincial government closed its depot, the Moravians left the maintenance of the community and welfare of the population, as well as the eventual transportation of people away from the region, for the

government to take charge. Their action allowed the Moravian Mission to divert responsibility for the termination of Hebron on the provincial government rather than on itself, as shown in comments by officials made in the Hebron visitor's book following the official announcement of the community's closure in April 1959.

Had the Moravian Mission remained at Hebron, the provincial government might not have taken any action to close its store for a long time, if ever. The community was more isolated after the removal of the Okak population, and both the IGA and the Winsor Trading Company operating the coastal freight service did not care for travelling the extra distance and contending with climatic hazards in the northern region. However, an assessment of the integration of Okak Inuit and actual employment opportunities available for Hebron Inuit — as Mr. Rockwood advised in 1956 — would have revealed the mistaken assumptions being made in the program to relocate the northern Inuit population. Instead of taking a "leap in the dark" in proceeding with the closure of Hebron without adequate information, the provincial government might have realized that keeping Hebron in place was a better economic and social strategy. Then plans could have been directed, as they were prior to 1955, at improving health, housing, education and economic conditions in Hebron rather than in the southerly coastal communities.

The departure of the Hebron minister was critical because the DNLA store manager would be left alone to handle any social, medical or other problems that might arise in the community until the depot was finally closed in August 1960. Walter Rockwood recognized that this responsibility was formidable for one person and because he thought that most of the Hebron families would choose to remain in the community until the last moment, he decided to aim for a complete closure of the depot in the summer of 1959. He had one other important reason for advancing the date for removing the population from Hebron.

Rockwood learned that the federal government was encouraging Inuit in Ungava Bay to settle in a new community that it was forming at Port Burwell to promote cooperative fishery enterprises. He evidently believed that closing Hebron in 1960 might have been difficult for the provincial government if, at the very same time, the federal government was creating a community based on a resource harvesting at the extreme northern end of the Labrador coast. The provincial government would certainly have been in an awkward or embarrassing position if any number of Hebron Inuit chose to move northward, joining a community which was officially in the Northwest Territories, rather than moving southward where they would remain wards of the Newfoundland government. In 1958 the Hebron minister had suggested

that the Inuit should be given an option of moving north or south, and hoped that community members would follow the Moravian Mission from loyalty to it. The Moravians would have also been embarrassed if Hebron Inuit ever decided to abandon their relationship with them.

Walter Rockwood's goal to close Hebron in 1959 backfired when authority to proceed with plans to construct any houses for Hebron families or to transport people to other communities was not given by June. Provincial officials may have delayed making arrangements because the federal government had not responded to a request for an extension of the capital expenditures agreement. Furthermore, the Executive Council minute specifying the closure of Hebron by August 1960 was approved by the Lieutenant Governor on June 5, 1959 which fundamentally committed the provincial government to proceeding with the closure of Hebron whether or not it was actually prepared to do so.

The demolition of fourteen houses at Hebron by families expecting to move in July 1959 obligated the provincial government to make hasty plans for constructing twenty houses mostly at Makkovik and to proceed with its original intention of moving part of the Hebron population that summer. But the government's program then backfired when the IGA withdrew a nurse who had been sent to the community in August to provide health care after the Moravian minister departed. The claim that the nurse was transferred to Makkovik because the remaining Inuit population at Hebron was too small to justify her attention suggests an action by the IGA to hasten the termination of the community.

The sudden loss of the nurse, following earlier indecisions about whether the entire community would be moved and whether the char fishery would be conducted, was the last straw for Hebron Inuit. They had no reason to trust that their health care needs would be met by the IGA hospital in North West River, 550 kilometres away, or that other uncertainties would arise from remaining at Hebron. Everyone preferred to leave the doomed community by the fall of 1959 but Hebron Inuit had long since been evicted by a policy on their development dating from 1955.

Despite the variety of factors that were cited in correspondence over the years to justify the elimination of Hebron, Walter Rockwood gave an honest summation of the event by stating "that in closing Hebron the immediate problems of the Moravian Mission, medical and other services would be greatly solved, but that the brunt of the resettlement and integration programme would fall on the Department of Public Welfare." The element he omitted was the shock of eviction on the Hebron Inuit.

CHAPTER III

THE CHAOS OF DEPARTURE

As clients of the Moravian Mission, International Grenfell Association and Division of Northern Labrador Affairs, Hebron Inuit were not informed about the issues regarding their future that were advanced by officials outside the northern region, nor did they have a chance to give their perspective on officials' opinions that were readily accepted. When they heard that the closure of Hebron would follow after Nutak, the community Elders held a meeting to decide on a response and sought more information directly from the Minister of Public Welfare. The Elders' handwritten letter composed in August 1956 and translated by the Hebron missionary clearly stated that they did not wish to leave their homeland, but the content also suggested that people would comply if they were assured "steady work with good wages" and "good houses" (see above pp. 70).

These conditions are remarkably similar to the primary arguments being made particularly by the Moravian Superintendent, as well as by other officials, to justify integrating the northern population in the other communities. This attitude, however, sharply contradicts the expressions of satisfaction indicated by Hebron Inuit with their traditional lifestyle based on fishing and hunting activities. The inconsistency is due to the way in which the Elders' letter was translated from Inuktitut to English by the Moravian minister at Hebron. A second effort at translating the letter made for this study provides a different version of the Hebron Elders' message to the Minister of Public Welfare; the original letter in Inuktitut is contained in Appendix 2. The complete text of the letter is reproduced here:

Dear Dr. Rowe,

We people from Hebron have heard that Hebron is going to be closed down without giving us enough information about it. We would like to know if this is true or not so that we can be prepared for it.

We are asking not to be removed from our community because we are used to our traditional ways of hunting and it is very excellent. Hunting seals, char, caribou and other animals is our livelihood and are plentiful. Because we feel that we would be poor when we can't make any money, if there are any ways of earning money if we are moved, perhaps we might not be making a wrong decision in moving.

Also if we are asked to move, our houses would have to be replaced and then we would agree to move.

We would be very thankful if we are not moved from our community, and we would appreciate it if you could consider our interests in not moving. And also we would be very thankful if someone could let us know what is going to happen to us in the future.

Sincerely

I myself have been asked to write this

Chief Elder Levi Nochasak

(Elder) William Millie

Representing men at Hebron in their decision what to do (translated by Rita Andersen, Nain from the original handwritten letter in CNSA F.W. Rowe Collection)

This translation of the letter emphasizes the desire of the Inuit residents of Hebron to remain in their community and the Elders' request to be better informed about their future. In contrast, the version translated by Rev. Hettasch alters the content to make a stronger suggestion that Hebron Inuit would be willing to exchange their community for jobs, high wages and new houses in the south. He inserted the reference to "steady work with good wages" where the Hebron Elders actually expressed uncertainty regarding their ability to earn an income in another place. The difference in the translations may be due, to some extent, to the fact that English was not Rev. Hettasch's first language. However he clearly made inferences, perhaps reflecting his own views on what was best for people's welfare, that he attributed to the Hebron Elders which did not accurately reflect their perspective.

Rev. Hettasch's translation was accepted without question by officials in the Department of Public Welfare and evidently gave them the impression that Hebron Inuit would comply with moving if they were provided with jobs and new houses. The response from the Deputy Minister to the Hebron Elders stated that they would not be compelled to leave their homes but they would be expected to move when steady work was certain for them elsewhere; they were also promised one year's notice before the DNLA store was closed. Whether or not these assurances relieved the anxiety of the Elders and other Hebronimiut about the future of their community is not known.

Two years later an announcement from the minister that the Moravian Church would be leaving Hebron in August 1959 did not summon a major reaction from the community. He conveyed the news in the fall of 1958 and at Easter services in 1959 but he thought people did not actually believe the church would close its doors. However, as long as the DNLA store continued to operate and an arrangement was made for people's health care, Hebronimiut could well have remained in the region. Their options were eliminated when they were officially informed in a meeting held in April 1959 at Hebron that the DNLA store would be closed during the coming summer. This sudden declaration, violating the earlier promise of a year's advance notice, stunned the Hebron population not only because of its implications but more especially the way that the decision was announced.

The manner in which Hebronimiut were told about the termination of their community and the course of events during their departure from Hebron are recalled in these statements:

> Rev. Siegfried Hettasch: It was somewhere around Easter time, immediately after Easter, when we had a visit from Rev. Peacock, Mr. Rockwood I think was there, Rev. Fred Grubb who's not living anymore, who was then the Nain missionary. We had a gathering in church with the congregation, closing the Hebron settlement in an official way. And a church service with God's help and so on. And despite my feeling against the move, or the uncertainty, I should say. I mean I would not obstruct it if that was the better thing; yes, I'd say yes. I wasn't sure. However, the service gave me a greater feeling of happiness, feeling that the people now seemed to understand and accept it as if out of God's hand. We have here no abiding city, but we carry on our life further south (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

> William Onalik, Hopedale: When we were told to move in the church, at that time we were fishing and we went to Hebron to get some supplies from the store. Right after we got to Hebron we had to go to the meeting regarding us moving from Hebron. We didn't expect that.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: We were told that the meeting will be held in the church and nothing about the relocation beforehand. Not one person said "you are going to be relocated" until we were in the church. When it was said, no one said anything because to us the church is not the place for anything controversial. We were really shocked. There was no interpreter for the Inuit, and Mr. Hettasch designated himself as one. Hettasch is one of the members who urged the people to move from Hebron.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: We were told only when we were actually moving; we were told then we were being moved. We had a meeting in church with Hettasch. Nobody spoke a word when we had the meeting because we had the meeting in church about having to move and we were told to move ... I wanted to speak but there wasn't any sign of anyone speaking so I didn't speak. The minister informed us that we'd be moving. We didn't speak or say anything to him. Nobody spoke, not even I. If we had a meeting somewhere else I think someone would speak. Someone could have spoke but not in church.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: No one said anything because you're not supposed to say anything in the church, because they were religious ... If they didn't hold the meeting in church and if all the AngajoKaukattiget [Elders Council] were together at the meeting it would have been a lot better.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: Nobody said anything because it was in church. Because it's the House of the Lord and no one can speak in the House of the Lord.

Jako Semigak, Hopedale: Yes, we never even had a meeting because they only gathered us in church, that time when we had to move. We never had to say anything in church and they put us there. There was a community hall but they took us to the church, maybe because you won't say anything, yes?

William Onalik, Hopedale: The only person I talked to about the meeting was Jefta Jararuse. I told him that I thought they gathered us where no one could speak.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: And there was no community meeting as such that they normally would have concerning such an event. They were just told and it happened. It was a terrible injustice.

John Jararuse, Nain: All of a sudden, how can a person tell people to move away from their place? That's a very cruel thing to do. I've been told before and I know that there was a small community hall in

Hebron already before we moved. I used to think, why didn't they know how to tell the people that they had to move. Instead they used the church and later on I used to think and other people think, maybe because we wouldn't say anything if we used the church. If we used their hall, community hall, people will say something that, for instance people might say, we don't want to go. It's only my opinion, like the way I think about it anyway. Maybe that was the only way that they could do it for sure that way. They will not say anything because they are scared of ministers or something, scared of God.

Rev. Siegfried Hettasch, retired, Perkins: They should have had a chance if they had spoken about it. But they were afraid, I guess, and they should have known that I was not 100% for the moving, but they knew also that Peacock was my boss. He had decided, Dr. Paddon and some other missionaries, figured that would be alright ... Through father I knew, of course, people followed the Superintendent. The obedience of that was vital.

Paulus Nochasak, Nain: Hettasch used to ask "where do you want to go?" No, I'm home is what my response was. I'm at my own land, Hebron. That's what hurts me. We had a minister in Hebron.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: I don't even know why we were moved and our leaders, I don't know what they were told. It was like unexpected when they had to leave. Our parents said where they wanted to go. They knew where to go.

Augusta Jararuse, Nain: We were all in shock when we had to move from Hebron. I don't even know who told us to move.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: The closing of Hebron was a very traumatic and trying experience for everyone in the community, particularly the elderly as they were terribly confused, frightened and disoriented. They did not want to leave Hebron and strongly resented the closing of their community. The prospect of leaving the place where they had raised their families and buried their loved ones was especially disturbing and the thought of never seeing their community again was difficult to comprehend.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: They said that we're moving to a place were there is lots of things, lots of seals everything, lots of animals and fish. That's what they said. That there were jobs available also.

Rev. Siegfried Hettasch, Perkins: However, the message from Rev. Peacock, I think, and Dr. Paddon, was "oh there are lots of seals down around south of Makkovik and those bays going towards Goose Bay."

There are lots of seals. In other words, that part was acceptable and probably helped people in the north to a degree, as long as we have seals. And that's the condition I set. I said, you have to consider that there must be enough food. These people will be unhappy and helpless if there isn't any. I remember stressing that but basically they mentioned it too.

Anonymous: I knew at the time Rockwood was the government. He knew when they were relocated.

Walter Rockwood: At that time the government had a resettlement program going in Newfoundland. And it seems to me that Hebron, the resettlement in Labrador is part and parcel of the Newfoundland resettlement program. Hebron was probably one of the first communities that was, I use the word undermined, by taking away the missionary, and that pretty well took away the medical services, and the school and the store had to follow. It didn't have to, but it might as well, so it did follow.

And I would say the thing was a government decision. I don't remember the wording of the message, and I don't have a copy of it, but I do recall that Rev. Peacock read his message to the effect that the Moravian Mission would be closing their station that summer and the missionary would be taken out. Our message to the people, "In April of this year, the government announced that following the withdrawal of the missionary, the depot would also be closed." That was the gist of the message. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I clearly recall having received instructions via telegram from St. John's to the effect that "following the withdrawal of the Moravian Mission from Hebron the store would be closed." We were also informed subsequent to this that there would be no medical services available for the coming winter and the school would be closed. It was a very sad day for Hebron ... Initially it was decided the closing of Hebron should begin right after spring breakup. Preparations were made to shutter the buildings against the elements when we received word to re-open the store.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: I was in Labrador that summer and went on the *Trepassey* to Hebron in the first week in July, travelling with Tiger Birch, Katie Hettasch and Ted Baird who was the depot manager. At the time that we had arrived in Hebron, somewhere around the 3rd or 4th of July, everybody was very confused about whether in fact they were going to move or not. Word had filtered

down that in fact the government would not have the houses done in time and that maybe they would delay the move. But what was quite obvious already by then was that many of the people had cannibalized their houses, literally used them for fuel and were living in tents in expectation of moving. So, it became more and more obvious to the government that they really had burnt their bridges and that they couldn't delay it for a year.

Rev. Siegfried Hettasch: The people now were beginning to break down their own houses and live in tents in Hebron. That was quite a scene, having tents up and next to it the material from the village hall turned into boxes. Many people had their tent and right next to it a big box or two with belongings to travel south. There were fourteen houses taken down at that time, not existing anymore, burnt up as firewood in their tents.

Then a message came that the government could not move Hebron. That it was not possible. And that brought of course quite a consternation among the natives. They were upset and their feelings, one could well guess, they were unhappy and uncertain what's going to happen now. And if there had been any strong feelings against the move, it came out now. So if the closing ceremony was long forgotten, and here this order, everything, nobody really seemed to know what was going to be next. However, it was at that time when I was told that about, I think they said, about twenty families could move, but not more. The rest would remain. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Ted Baird, Edmonton: ... after we had gone through the turmoil of closing the store and making preparations for the move south we received word to re-open the store. God knows why, but there seemed to be some see-sawing going on somewhere and finally we received word again to close the store. This word was final and preparations now had to be made to transfer south the remaining population of Hebron. It should be noted many families had already gone south after spring breakup in late June, early July. The band wailed as each boat loaded with dogs and personal effects left the harbour.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: In July, that first week in July when we were there, Joshua Obed actually did depart with his family in his own boat and gave a very moving speech on the dock with everybody gathered around. There were quite a few people who had tears rolling down their cheeks. He said, "we don't really want to do this but we don't have any choice. We have to be strong and I will lead the way." A brass band was standing on the rocks up the hill a little bit from the

dock playing "God be with you 'til we meet again." I was standing off to the side with the Hettaschs and probably Tiger and whoever else. I remember Freida chuckling a bit and saying "my, don't these people have a sense of drama." But it was a moving moment, I remember that.

Rev. Siegfried Hettasch: But we were still at Hebron to witness the brass band playing hymn tunes when the first people moved. If I'm not mistaken, I think it was Joshua Obed and family who moved and the brass band playing and there was Joshua speaking once more, I think from his boat to the people. Not that he said very much, but I guess it moved his heart and the heart of the people when he said, "I am now leaving Hebron. I am the first to go, to leave Hebron, where I've been happy. And you will all be following in due time." (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Sophie Lampe, Nain: My mother and stepfather were depressed, crying because they were leaving. The brass band was playing on the wharf. They kept crying, Joshua Obed and my mother Maria, I felt that they both didn't want to leave their land ... I felt that we're just leaving the land we had for a long time; why are we leaving the land? When Hebron was barely showing I said "we've been on our land for a long time, why are we leaving our land?"

John Jararuse, Nain: My stepfather was born in Nain. Joshua and my mother agreed to move to Nain. I didn't really know where I would go. I just followed because I was a child then.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: Only my mother and stepfather Joshua were making the decisions. We were just following the older people, our parents; it was how it was. If they have parents, even if they have a husband, they would just go by what their parents said. That's how my life was ... Joshua Obed was our leader; we didn't know where we were going, both Henoch and I.

Eugenia Suarak, Nain: Only when Hebron was no longer showing, the brass band stopped playing. When Jako Jararuse was a boss, the brass band was playing on Jako Jararuse's boat. We were all crying when we were on the boat, when the brass band was playing.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: William Basto and Julius Basto brought me here. My older brothers were already here then.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: In the week that I was in Hebron a plane flew in; as I recall Dr. Paddon and Dr. Curtis and Dorothy Jupp were on board. There may have been others, I don't remember who now.

Dorothy Jupp had volunteered to stay in Hebron ... I remember it being discussed in Hebron over the dinner table. Katie had also said that she would stay and teach if Dorothy stayed. But Sieg [Hettasch] was going to be, as far as I can remember, leaving anyway to go to Makkovik because he'd been ordered to Makkovik by the Superintendent but I think his sympathies were in staying in Hebron. So that was a state of uncertainty at that time. It was also a time, if people were going to do anything, to get out to the char fishing grounds. And in fact when we were there, they were being outfitted and quite a number of boats were going out with their nets and gear to the arctic char camps.

William Onalik, Hopedale: When we had to leave Hebron that time I went to the storekeeper and asked him if they could keep us here another year; his name was Ted Baird. This is what I told him: since my mother is afraid of the water and it's getting late in the fall and the high sea gets rough at this time of year, could they let us wait another year for us to move. I told him that's what I came to find out about. Sam Andersen was the interpreter; he was August Andersen's father. This was his reply: it's up to you people. If you don't want to move, you don't have to but the only thing is that there won't be a minister and the place won't be without a store. That's what I was told.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I remember explaining to a number of people that for those interested in staying for the winter they could but it would not be realistic to expect any help in the way of medical services and supplies. Several people asked me the same question and the response I received from Rockwood was the same. Briefly, stay at your own risk! The people were not consulted as they should have been and the decision had been made for them by someone who did not have their interests at heart.

William Onalik, Hopedale: After he told me that it was up to us if we wanted to move, I went around to the AngajoKaukattiget and the older people and told them what the storekeeper had told me. They never gave me any kind of support or said anything ... At that time I was in control of four men: Johannes Semigak, Jako Semigak, Clemence Jararuse and Raymond Semigak. They were my crew in one boat. They were all glad that we were staying and that we were not going to move. Both my parents were alive at that time and my wife Tabea; neither of them was disappointed because we were staying. Everyone was excited and we planned to go wooding at Saglek, the American site, because there was a lot of wood in Saglek. We planned to go the next day. Right after nine the next morning Sampson Andersen came to see me

and told me that the storekeeper wanted to see me again. I didn't refuse to go so we walked into the office and he told me that he had something very different to tell me. He said: after everyone found out that the *Trepassey* was on the way to Hebron, the people went down to get boxes for their belongings and their dogs and they got some dog food. He said: you're going to have to leave. There isn't going to be any people left here and the store is also closing down because there won't be a store without people.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: There wouldn't have been any supplies, no medical services and no school. Assuming someone did stay, how would they have contacted anyone for help in the middle of the winter? It may be of interest to note that we have had aircraft sit on the ice at Hebron for five to seven days and not be able to take off due to severe weather. The pilots didn't know what to make of it.

Walter Rockwood: Being a civil servant, I only had to do as I was told. I wouldn't have had any influence. Other groups would have had much more influence. Personally, my sympathies were in favour of the people all along going to Okak Bay and I think that would have been the best solution. My sympathies were with the Hebron people all the way through. At no time did I put in writing that I recommended closing Hebron, at no time. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Ted Baird, Edmonton: Walter Rockwood did not want Hebron closed but I am convinced he was having a difficult time convincing the powers that be to have it remain open. I also sensed Siegfried [Hettasch] did not want Hebron closed.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: I think getting groceries and cloth and tea and ammunition and basic supplies was the most important thing. And it was the threat of that going that I think, even if Sieg [Hettasch] had gone, if the depot had said we're going to remain open, I'm willing to bet they would have stayed there.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: Yes, we talked about it. But it was never put to me in such a way whereby I would have to make a decision about it. It was a non-option. [Rockwood] may very well have used this argument in his discussions with Andrews and Peacock in his bid to have Hebron remain open.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: I wouldn't be surprised if Ted would have stayed there. That was an excuse being used by head office.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: But the rumour was that if they didn't leave Hebron with the storekeepers and the missionaries, that food wouldn't be coming in from outside. And they were told that they had no choice.

Dr. W.A. Paddon: I really never advocated the type of move that was made. But there were all sorts of strong opinions taken on this. The Moravians had their views and they weren't uniformly the same either. I think some thought they ought to not move at all and others that they should move to better surroundings and some of them that they should come all the way. I don't think that they had a great deal of influence with the government, nor did I. Sometimes when you talk to the government you feel that you're talking into an empty hall. There's nobody listening. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Jako Semigak, Hopedale: We didn't agree with them. We didn't want to move; there was nothing we could do. They said the *Trepassey* was on the way. Then we started to get ready.

Boas Millie, Nain: As soon as one family moved, everyone began following. We went by boat so it was okay. Some went by a vessel called *Trepassey* ... It was sudden; I remember that.

William Onalik, Hopedale: It was in September. The ones who had a motorboat had to leave on their own. Our family and Jefta Jararuse, we started to get ready because we had no choice but to go to the community we had to live in. We already knew which community we were going to. Conrad Jararuse was my stepfather. I just followed his orders because he told me we are going to be living in Hopedale. That's why we came directly to Hopedale.

Jefta Jararuse, Nain: I lived on the south side of Killinek at Ungalingatsuk. The English manager told us to move so we went on the ship *Harmony* to Hebron. From Hebron, I was told to move again to Nain or Hopedale. Because I now had a boat, I moved to Hopedale. I was one of the last to move. (Interview by Boas and Mary Millie, 1975, LIAD)

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: We all didn't want to move but we didn't have a choice. We just moved ... We took our belongings. I left a rowboat in the woods that I used to go fishing.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: One thing I really valued. There was a stove left behind and a gramophone [record player]. That was all we

left behind. We were able to take our dogs, just put them in a box. We went on a ship.

William Tuglavina, Hopedale: When they started packing, we just followed. It was in the evening.

Joan Stedman, Somerset, England: I remember standing on the deck of the *Trepassey* when everything was loaded and it was sunset. I remember hearing one dog somewhere up in the hills howling. It was most eerie; obviously a dog had not been shot because they shot most of them. And I remember that dog howling in the distance in the sunset as we left Hebron. It was very quiet then. It did get rough on the way back down to Nain.

Andrew Piercey, Hopedale: I was the very last one to leave Hebron [along] with Benjamin Jararuse and Ted Baird ... We were the last ones to leave our home. The *Trepassey* was there waiting for us while we were shooting at the dogs in the evening. That same night we left for Nain. What dogs were left were put aboard the *Trepassey* the last time.

Clara Ford, Makkovik: When I was leaving Hebron, I was on the boat and I went out and looked at the community. I looked until I couldn't see anything, until it was out of sight.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: I was on the *Trepassey* when they moved out. Most of the men came in their motorboats on their way out. They took the women and children on the *Trepassey*; they were on the quarterdecks. It was sad to see them crying, looking back at their homes when they were moving out. I had to go inside. I didn't want to watch them because I could understand their feeling, what it must be like to be pulled out of your home against your will.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I purchased the fares for the people who were going south on the *M.V. Trepassey* with money from the Government store. Whether in fact the Mission was charged with this fare later is a matter of conjecture. I know nothing about it. In fact it is questionable whether the Mission paid for any of this move.

Joan Stedman, Somerset, England: It was packed. They put several trap boats on the deck. They towed others behind them and the little old ship was packed to the gunnels with people.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I recall some reluctance on the part of the ship owners to provide the Hebron people with berths and only after discussions with nurse Stedman and Rockwood was this matter resolved. It was Rockwood's view that these people had paid their fare and were entitled to rooms ... eventually rooms were freed up for some

of the people. Mostly women with small children. It was a sad state of affairs. Others had to endure the next sixteen to eighteen hours in the most deplorable conditions. I have always felt a larger boat should have been used to make this move ... It was absolutely terrible. People today would have difficulty believing it. They just wouldn't be able to relate. It was a sad day in the lives of the Hebron people.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: I don't remember when we were really leaving but I remember on the way over here to Nain, on our motorboat. I was only ten; I don't know which boat was there, *Trepassey* or *Kyle*, one of them. They were towing us when we were in our motorboat because it was too rough for our motorboat. The stem part was coming off and it was right rough and we had to go in the *Trepassey* then.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: The transporting of these people from Hebron to points south on October 9th 1959 was not well thought out. The freight boat *M.V. Trepassey* was not equipped to handle more than 10 to 15 fare paying passengers as the bulk of the space was used for freight. It was necessary therefore to put the remainder of these passengers in the hold, like freight, for a sixteen to eighteen hour trip to Nain and points south. Dogs were placed in open motorboats and towed behind the *MV Trepassey*. The night was very cold and dark and seas were mountainous. Some boats were damaged by having their stems plucked out and after we reached Mugford Tickle they were untied and left to proceed on to Nain under their own power. It was considered too risky to continue to keep them in tow. The government boat *M.V. Vida Gertrude*, with Rockwood, Job Hunt, Johannes Semigak and myself on board, was following along behind the *M.V. Trepassey* and at times we could not see each other between the troughs, then just as suddenly we were tossed upon the crest while *M.V. Trepassey* wallowed ahead of us. My wife and our newborn son was aboard the *Trepassey* with nurse Stedman and from their accounts a great many people were seasick. It was not a happy night.

William Tuglavina, Hopedale: It started to get daylight north of Nutak. Then we arrived at Nain, then here in two days.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: It seemed to me at the time that housing was not available at the other end and with winter fast approaching, hasty, very hasty decisions were made to obtain as much material as they could from the military base at Hopedale and elsewhere to erect temporary homes for these people who were now committed to going south. These were nothing more than crude shacks. Many families had to double up and the ensuing winter was a most distressing one for all concerned. Permanent homes were to be built during 1960.

Boas Millie, Nain: Because the people were asked what community to go to, my father wanted to come here [Nain] because he used to stay here. He was then told he wasn't to stay by Max Tiller who was a boss [DNLA manager]. They made him some sort of boss here so he refused our stay in Nain. When he refused we moved to Hopedale ... There was already a place for us when we got to Hopedale ... we had a house to use.

Sophie Kajuatsiak, Nain: Our family, just the four of us, we along with Paulus Nochasak and his family, we just got here in the fall by boat ... We didn't have a house. We stayed with Isaac Suarak. After staying with Isaac Suarak, we then went to Isaac Zarpa's.

John Jararuse, Nain: We lived in a tent when we first came here because we had no place to stay. So we stayed down where the airstrip is now, in that area, for one summer. We had no place to stay so we stayed in a tent.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: We lived with someone else after fishing; we were fishing at Natsatok. When we came here, we lived with Abele Atsatata.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: I thought we would have a house because we were told we would; we are going to have a house when we move. That was not true. They lied.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: My father and mother were told that they already built a house for them. And he believed them. They just had to go into a new house. There were no new houses. They had to live with Annie Lampe, Willie Lampe and they, for three years I think ... They never got a house. Never yet. They had to fix up that house, Abia Green's house. They had to fix that up and we started living down there.

John Jararuse, Nain: ... I remember that we were staying in somebody else's house from Nutak, because Nutak people were already moved in 1956.

William Onalik, Hopedale: Our parents had to say which community they wanted to live in. Conrad [Jararuse] was never in Hopedale before. He had a friend; his name was Elias Nitsman. Elias used to go to Hebron before and they became friends there. Maybe that was his reason to come to Hopedale.

Augusta Jararuse, Nain: Someone said to go to Hopedale so we were brought to Hopedale.

Gustav Boase, Hopedale: Some [Hebron Inuit] used to pass Hopedale. I used to see them going to Makkovik on their boat. Some arrived on the *Trepassey*; there was quite a few of them come on *Trepassey*. I only saw the ones who came on motorboat because they would stop here for a short time. Some used to go straight to Makkovik.

William Onalik, Hopedale: When we arrived here in two motorboats belonging to Jefta Jararuse and Conrad Jararuse, I don't remember not being welcomed by people of Hopedale. We already had a house to go into; a house that was vacant. We didn't have to stay in a tent. We were welcomed by people of Hopedale.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: We just followed along. The old man wanted to come here and live; he was my husband's father.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: We had to go to Makkovik because they said Makkovik had everything. My husband Jerry, his parents went to Makkovik. I urged Jerry that I didn't want to go to Makkovik because I didn't want to leave Elizabeth and William Nochasak behind. That is why we stopped at Hopedale.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: We got on the last boat that went to Hebron; that was the *Trepassey* ... We were supposed to go to Makkovik but we spent the winter in Hopedale, liked it and stayed there.

William Tuglavina, Hopedale: They told us that we will get houses and that they will be built but they weren't finished when we arrived.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: We never had a house but we were given a house to use, a Terriak's house.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: And this whole family that lived in Tikkigasukuluk, they were in the same house. All Jararuses, Onaliks and Semigaks and my grandparents, in one big house ... It was an old house that was scrapped from dump I think and they built it.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: We got an old house which I believe was used for an outhouse before. Stonia and I cleaned it up. We put a stove into it because we had our own stove. The house never had electricity. Manasse Pijogge loaned us an oil lamp and we got another one from Tom Edmunds.

Abraham Nochasak, Hopedale: First time we came down here, we went to Makkovik but only for about a week because we had no place to stay in Makkovik. The same summer we left Hebron, they put us here in Hopedale.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: In the first year [at Hopedale] it was crowded. We had to move into somebody else's house. We were there for about a year I guess. There were lots of people in the house.

Selma Boase, Hopedale: My father was already here when we got here because he was in the hospital. He came directly to Hopedale from hospital. We had to move to Makkovik but I don't think my father wanted to move to Makkovik ... We stayed with Natan Winters for a while. After David Mitsuk moved to Nain, we stayed in his house.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: We got off the boat [in Makkovik]. There was no dock where we landed. They took us ashore on motorboat and they took us to a little dock where there were some people waiting for us. I can't remember what family it was we stayed with but we stayed with the family for about a month I think. Then we had our own house after that.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: I don't remember that part, if they had a choice or not, but I heard they had a house waiting for them but when we went to Hopedale there was no house for us. We had to build a small little house there. From there we moved to Makkovik. They said we had a house waiting for us over there, a new one, but then when we got over there, we had to live in a tent all through the fall and almost until wintertime. We boarded in somebody's house for the winter ... Somebody's house, all of us — grandfather and all there, my father's brothers and that stayed in one house. I don't know who owned the house. All of us stayed in one place.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: My father wanted to move to Makkovik because that's where my grandmother wanted to move. I didn't mind; my grandma was alive then.

Clara Ford, Makkovik: I understood my brother, he wanted to come up here ... So mom said we had to come up here then because he wanted to come up here ... He came up on a motorboat; me and mom came up on the *Trepassey*.

Paulus Nochasak, Nain: Rockwood said that there would be a house available for us in Makkovik and suddenly the house was not available. They only had four houses built. We were in a small house all together. There were nine people.

Clara Ford, Makkovik: We came right to Makkovik, me and my family ... We never had a place to stay but my mother had relatives, I think that was my aunt, so we and Markus stayed there ... Me and mom stayed with her. The rest of them stayed in a tent.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: Yes, we were told we were going to get a house right away. Only the Inuit from Hebron did not get a house. We only got a house when we went to get our house from Hebron and took it to Makkovik ... we had to tow our house to Makkovik ... We went to get it by boat. We went back and forth two times.

Clara Ford, Makkovik: Yes, I was homesick. It was especially hard for people who had no houses. They stayed along with somebody else which was not very good.

Natan Winters, Hopedale: They should have waited for the next summer when the houses were ready for them in Nain or Makkovik or anywhere else. Some had to stay in a tent looking for a place to stay when the minister told them they would have houses ... They were lied to by the government. They were told they had houses.

Rev. Gerhard Vollprecht [Moravian minister, Hopedale]: The biggest movement we had last summer [was] from Hopedale to Makkovik. Over twenty-five people originally from Hebron left Hopedale again to find new housings in Makkovik. Quite a few more people were supposed to go down, but were unwilling to leave even of being offered brand new houses. So we think, that this moving has found an end and the missionary was asked to conduct an Elders Election to give people a "Government." Three brethren, one of them from Hebron, were chosen. A first time in history, also women were allowed to vote. A second important fact was that the missionary called three more brethren and two more sisters as chapel servants ... Four of them are from Hebron ...

These are some main reasons that our fellow friends from Hebron are feeling home here, and the five marriages last year between "Hopedale and Hebron" show clearly that we are growing together. (Annual report from Hopedale 1960–61, *Periodical Accounts*: 10)

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: They just came in. There was some talk about it but we weren't sure if they were moving or not.

Toby Andersen, Nain: People were herded in like cattle sure, like they do with dogs you know? Just pick them up and move them wherever you want to take them.

Rev. Siegfried Hettasch, Perkins: I had asked Bill Peacock if I could go with the Inuit south, with the bulk of Inuit. I wanted to go to Makkovik to help the Hebron Eskimos settle in. In Hebron I had asked the Elders and all and so on, to please remember when they go south, now I was not going against the Hebron people, I was wanting

to make it easier for you. When they moved south, not to feel that they are in charge of the sort of settlement and the customs of the people living in the southern areas. They will have to learn to accept after getting to know what's going on. That's what I begged them, not to create problems. I could foresee that was possible. But maybe, because I begged them, I think that they were listening to me pretty well that they accepted my viewpoints.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: When I got back to Nain the construction of the seven houses for the families relocating there from Hebron was already underway, down at the lower end of the village. I remember they said they cost about $2,700 each or something.

Toby Andersen, Nain: They were all put there in one end of the community [Makkovik] where it was solid rock, and prior to the moving taking place there was absolutely no Community Council in place at that point in time. There was no consultation with the Elders and there was some rumour that people would be moved, didn't know how many or how large families or anything like that. There was no, absolutely no, planning done for moving in a large number of people with a different language.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: ... some Nutak people came and they built their houses inside the village. There was three families there before that: Tuglavinas, Onaliks and then there was Hans Andersen ... They took up all the room for new houses in this community unless you had some equipment to clear land. That only came after when they started the water and sewage here. They cleared the land to build more houses.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: Makkovik was really a small settlement. There were hardly any houses there when we moved there. And the houses were more like shacks, not like they are today, but the people were friendly. Maybe that's why my father decided to stay there because the people were so friendly. The Government built houses for us there, for people who wanted to live there; they built houses for us.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: Rockwood was one of the people who was involved in moving the Hebron Inuit. He asked the Inuit people if they wanted to have land across the harbour. We've chosen that end and called it Hebron. I did not have any choice but to have that site and that's what Rockwood recommended to us and I did not agree to it.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: They built 34 houses here, or maybe 35, and they needed some equipment to clear land or it would be very expensive. Also they would have had to live in tents for a year or more

but that land over there was free to build on along the shoreline. So the Government decided that's where they would build the houses.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: I walked up in the morning to go to work. I went up to see the foreman and the first thing I came to was a little bush, a white spruce bush. I guess it was probably about three feet high. And on that bush was a tag that said, "Go west" and it was tied on to the tree with a piece of wire, bailing wire, or something. It was tied on and it said go west, which meant that the houses from here must go west which were for the Inuit people. This was where they were going to be put.

Rev. Gerhard Vollprecht [Moravian minister, Makkovik]: We can report that the settle down of our brethren and sisters from Hebron is almost finished. More houses were built this summer, so that "Hebron" is a little village for itself. What has to be done now is to bring those two "villages" together into one congregation, and that is a task for itself and will take years. Makkovik is a settler's settlement, formed by settlers in rules and regulations. Our Hebron people will have to fit themselves into this situation and our Makkovik folks try to make them room as we hope in their hearts. (Annual report for Makkovik 1960–61, *Periodical Accounts*: 15)

Clara Ford, Makkovik: I didn't like it very much. There was no road and only little houses down in the village, down in the cove along the shore. Nothing up this way. And I was lonely as well. I couldn't get used to it for a long time. It was a long way to go to come down the village, to go to the post office and to the hospital. That's what I didn't like very much. Like you know, for an older person like my mom, they had to go a long ways down to church, down the end and way up here.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: They were nice little homes but not really warm. They built them in such a rush.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: They were very small little houses with two bedrooms and one little kitchen, and a lot of them were not insulated. I think the people could bear them. The contractors got away with this stuff. I think in the plan, they were supposed to be all insulated. But since then, some people got these houses and took them down, they found they didn't have any insulation at all ... Some of them had one side insulated and the other side not insulated. I guess when they [contractors] put in for the contract, they probably said they insulated it. They just nailed up, put them together as fast as they could do them and that's why they were so cold. They were awful cold.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: They were well built houses but they wasn't built for wire, for electricity, they weren't built for plumbing, they weren't built for anything. They were just something for these people to stay in.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: They got their own house. My father still lives in the same house that was built in 1962 or 1963. It was my grandfather's, so that was my grandfather, my parents, my two brothers. We still have that same house, dad lives in today.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: And while we look at those houses now and say isn't that shocking, when they were built and finished new they looked rather fine compared to some of the older houses in Nain at that time, except they were in this great straight line ...

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: ... they were all in one big line up, those little houses, there were twelve of them, I think. Mostly people from Hebron lived on that side, north side of Hopedale.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: But a house does not a home make. That's my feeling about that. I felt very sorry for the people of Hebron. I liked working with them and worked with them for years. I had a lot of good friends there. It just bothers me to this day that such a hardship should have been perpetrated upon these people. It's just unthinkable that somebody could do that but those were the times and the deed is done.

William Onalik, Hopedale: [Conrad Jararuse] was born in Killinek; that was his real hunting ground. He told me when we were leaving Hebron not to be looking back, that life does not belong up north. If we move south, I was to move on south ... What was said to me I will follow because he was an old man and I don't know what he went through when he moved from Killinek. [He said] that life does not move in the past; life belongs to our Saviour towards the south ... I got to understand that I was raised by Conrad who was also moved from Killinek, from the land he loved so much. He was also told by his uncle not to be looking back.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: I just want to say that we were all brought here and we have memories. We moved because of God's will.

John Jararuse, Nain: It has real meaning. Hebron was a community; I think it has been for a long time. When the church there was built in the early 1800s, people have always been there. Now that there is no one there — just to think of that — why did this happen is something to also think about. Hebron.

William Onalik, Hopedale: This is very difficult for me. If you compare yourself to me and you were moved from Hebron, how would you feel?

Commentary:

The meeting held in the Hebron church on April 10, 1959 to formally announce the provincial government's decision to follow the Moravian Mission in withdrawing from the community began a trend of silence, subordination and exclusion that Hebronimiut would experience in many situations thereafter.

Because the Inuit respected the sanctity of the church, they thought that they could not voice their reaction or opinions on the announcement. They faced a group of chief officials representing institutions on which they depended for essential services to maintain the community. They were presented with a conclusion that did not suggest any options for negotiation. Their leaders and method of dealing with serious subjects through discussion in the Elders Council were ignored. Under these circumstances, Hebronimiut felt that they had no choice in having to leave their home.

The Moravian minister and Superintendent would have known the Inuit attitude to silence in the church because the Moravians had always expected respect for religious services as well as for the men who wore the cloth of office. They were the only ones on the platform in the church who were fluent in the Inuit language, Inuktitut, which was used to announce the final closure of the community. If Hebronimiut had been encouraged to voice their reaction to the statement, the Moravian ministers would have had to translate their comments into English. However, the way in which the Hebron Elders' letter was translated in 1956 indicates that they sometimes took liberties in interpreting Inuit statements.

All of the officials in the group would have known about the community hall near the church which, although smaller in size, would have been an informal area allowing for open discussion of a subject that was a crisis for the population. The church, however, symbolized authority and compliance rather than debate which appears to have been the meeting's objective. Members of the group would also have known about the role of the Elders in the community, although they might not have understood or welcomed the value that Inuit placed on consensus in decisions affecting the community.

Following this monumental meeting, Hebronimiut were not free to choose a community to which they could move but were told of a quota allowing five families at Nain, ten families at Hopedale and forty-three families at Makkovik. Their only choice was a decision on the separation of relatives and friends. Knowing little about the three communities, families

selected places on the basis of tenuous associations and scraps of information about local conditions, or simply to remain with the senior members of their family and with friends.

Hebronimiut left their home as exiles, carrying only their portable belongings and arriving as strangers at the communities to which they moved. Because their only act of defiance was to declare their desire to leave Hebron in 1959 instead of satisfying the government by lingering until 1960, the majority of families were crowded in old or makeshift structures at Hopedale until houses were constructed for them. Here their living conditions were far worse than they had been at Hebron, especially during the first year or so after families arrived.

Only five cottages were constructed at Hopedale and twelve at Makkovik by the late fall of 1959. All of the houses needed to accommodate the Hebron population were not completed until about 1962. The dwellings were small and badly built to meet construction deadlines. They were identical in design and placed in neat rows giving the illusion of an ordered town site, but the areas were all located away from the core of the original communities. The new houses formed little "Hebron" villages where the exiled Inuit were permanently segregated from the rest of the population.

Once they were fixed in these enclaves, Hebronimiut added an attitude of resignation to the silence, subordination and exclusion of their experiences since they were told about the loss of their community at Hebron.

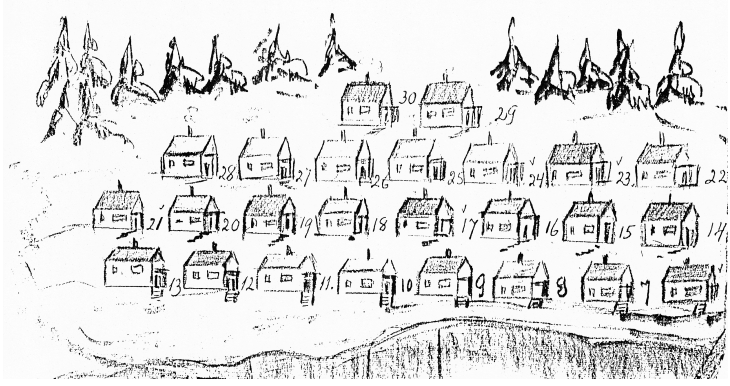

Figure 2. Sketch of the "Hebron end" at Makkovik (PAN Department of Labrador Affairs GN 56/2)

CHAPTER IV

FIRST YEARS OF DISLOCATION

In late October 1959 a flood of exiled families from Hebron invaded Hopedale because it was the only community where a large number of people could be accommodated on short notice. Due to the construction of a military radar site overlooking the village, shacks used for labour crews and materials to build temporary housing were available to provide shelter during the winter for the displaced Hebronimiut. Along with the five new houses completed by a contracting firm for the DNLA, ten temporary structures were assembled and two unoccupied houses were rented for thirty-seven Hebron families, including 148 people. These seventeen dwellings each had an average of two families and nine people, but five of them had over ten people. There were another fifteen families at Makkovik where twelve houses were completed, and seven families at Nain where people shared accommodation with relatives and friends.

Hopedale was familiar with upsets because the creation of the radar site on a nearby hilltop from 1952 to 1956 had brought a considerable number of American servicemen and construction workers to the area, as well as many families of mixed ancestry from surrounding bays into the community. The resident population had grown quickly in this period but the sudden arrival of Hebronimiut increased its size from about 180 to 305 inhabitants. While there were notable differences between families who were already settled at Hopedale, the introduction of Hebronimiut added further complexity to a situation in which people were at an early stage of adjusting to their collective residence in the community.

The established population at least shared knowledge of the local environment, family histories and language to some degree. Hopedale Inuit had a particular dialect in speaking Inuktitut, as did Inuit in other communities, but they were learning English and so they could communicate with people of mixed ancestry and staff at the radar site. Hopedale residents were also accustomed to a higher standard of living than was previously typical because during the years of construction every able-bodied person had a wage-paying job at the site. As employment declined after the facility was completed, people returned to the cod and seal fisheries to earn their basic

income. Nevertheless the radar site was a focal point for social entertainment and Hopedale residents were regularly invited to participate in parties, dances, movies and bingo games. Beer and liquor were very cheap at the base and the consumption of intoxicating drinks occurred frequently.

Hebronimiut entered a community that was very different from their home, and they were very different to the residents and transient personnel who were settled at Hopedale. The relative isolation of Hebron had allowed the Inuit to preserve many cultural and lifestyle practices that Hopedale Inuit had already replaced with commercial products, particularly articles of clothing, hunting equipment and store-bought foods. Arriving with only their personal belongings, Hebronimiut were poorer than Hopedale residents and without even a house to live in, they had the lowest status in the community.

Hopedale was intended to be only an emergency stopover for the Hebronimiut until enough houses were constructed for them at Makkovik where the majority of the population was assigned to live. Only ten families were supposed to remain at Hopedale but about ten more families wanted to stay in the community after waiting there for a year or two. Hebronimiut had been rapidly included in community affairs by being elected to the Elders Council and as chapel servants, and through marriages with Hopedale Inuit.

By 1962 about thirty Hebron families finally moved to new houses at Makkovik that were clustered in a small sheltered cove and came to be known as the "Hebron end" or just "Hebron." There were four rows of twenty-six identical cottages in the cove.

Hebronimiut leaving Hopedale for Makkovik had to begin reorienting themselves once again to another strange community and environment. Mainly families of mixed European-Inuit ancestry commonly called Settlers inhabited Makkovik; their primary language was English. Settlers had a long history of residence in the region and formed a unique culture that combined elements of European and Inuit practices and attitudes. In contrast to the barren landscape of Hopedale (and Hebron), Makkovik was surrounded by dense forests and lowland terrain broken by a single prominent mountain. The only Inuit residents were four families originally from Okak Bay who moved to the community in 1956. Makkovik's total population almost doubled in size and included about 325 residents when Hebronimiut filled the cluster of houses built for them at the end of the community. The homes of Settler families were lined along the shore of the main harbour.

As newcomers at Hopedale and Makkovik, Hebronimiut were inserted in communities with established social and economic patterns, leadership and norms of behaviour. Each community had its own particular features, just as had existed at Hebron, and Labrador coastal inhabitants recognized and

respected the privileges that were rooted in being members of a community. Hopedale and Makkovik residents already had a system of land use for harvesting resources with commercial value and they had accepted claims to the best fishing, sealing and trapping areas.

Social and economic patterns were based on the size of the population in the communities before Hebronimiut arrived and would be strained by the sudden increase in people seeking game for food and income. A different variety of species and smaller amount of wildlife was found in the areas surrounding Hopedale and Makkovik compared to Hebron. As new residents, Hebronimiut could make virtually no claim to resources in these communities but yet they had to find some way of supporting themselves; their own resource privileges remained at Hebron.

The assumption made in removing Inuit from Hebron was that they would easily adapt and integrate into the communities in which they were placed. A relatively effortless transition seems to have been expected by most of the officials who devised the resettlement program because they believed that Inuit hunters and fishers could transfer their activities to any environment so long as it had wild game. The reality of dislocation for Hebronimiut is described in these statements:

> Nicodemus Menzel: To Hopedale, Makkovik and Nain, people from Hebron, people from Nutak, going against the wind. Some of them, even close relatives, were separated from one another by being placed in other villages. That is why it seems some of us are poor here. We are also hungry for seal meat, for caribou meat and trout. In the winter we are always hungry now when we always had these foods in Hebron. Now we are living like nothing, like a void. Some of us, some of the Inuit, the men, those who are able are okay. We're not hungry for Kablunat food (National Film Board, *Labrador North*, 1973)
>
> Lizzie Semigak, Nain: We just kept separating. We were so close together, then we were just separating all the time.
>
> Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: The relocation separated family traditions and affected their lives so much. They don't see each other anymore and it resulted in dividing the family.
>
> Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: While we were in Hebron and began moving, our family had to be separated. There were a lot of us; our family went to Makkovik and Hopedale while we came here. We separated a great deal from Hebron.
>
> Mark Nochasak, Nain: We got separated from some of our family members, our relatives. And we left our hunting and fishing areas

where we could always go every year. There was something every year for us.

Augusta Jararuse, Nain: Our family was separated. That's how we were affected.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: What hurt me is the elders who didn't want to move. When they were moving, it seemed as if they were worrying; it was obvious. I think they were thinking about their land when they were leaving. I think some were dying even because they were moving, even if they weren't sick, because they didn't want to move or even when they wanted to go back.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: I feel that it did not affect me all that much but it was very different for our elders. I could see that their hearts were crying out for their homeland and it was very emotional and hard to bear. Because the older people were reluctant and did not want to leave Hebron, they were shocked when they were told that they had no choice in the matter. We were not notified beforehand, and it was such a shock to the older people. I believe that this is why the elders did not live for very long after the relocation. It took a big toll on their lives having to leave the land they loved so much.

John Jararuse, Nain: I did mind living here in Nain. I missed being outside of the community, you know what I mean? Because I was used to staying outside of the community. And it was hard for me, our family, because most of the time they used to get together and when we moved from Hebron, maybe it was really hard for other people like separating from their own families. It must have been very sad for my mother knowing that she will have no contact with her daughters for a long time because they moved to Hopedale and Makkovik. It must have been very hard for older people. To me it was hard knowing that my sisters are still alive and not getting in touch with them and not seeing them for a couple years was hard.

Winnifrieda Jararuse: We never separated when we were in Hebron. We didn't like being separated. It wasn't good because we don't have all that much money to go and visit relatives. Every year I used to go and see my mother when she was alive. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Sophie Lampe, Nain: When I got here it seemed as if I was on a pond; it was just like a pond here in Nain. Because it seemed like a pond, it seemed like there was no way out. That's how I thought even though I was just 20 years old.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: It's not the same, not even near the same. The hills are very high. We came here and discovered how low the mountains are.

John Jararuse, Nain: No, I wasn't scared. I don't think I was scared but I was surprised. I thought, to my mind I was thinking maybe we were going to a big place. It was hardly any bigger than Hebron. And I was surprised that there weren't many houses when we first came here. And the funny thing is maybe I was not used to other places. I found the place here when we landed at one of the small wharves that used to be down there before. First time it was in July maybe, around July, August. The smell, for a while I couldn't get used to the smell. There was no wind, the water was calm and what a smell! Smell of fish, rotten fish, like fish heads. Because they were fishing and they had a small wharf down here in Nain. For a while I couldn't get used to it, it was smelly; it was bad you know. It wasn't like the Hebron area.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: I wasn't happy when we got here. All I could smell was a smell of cod because our land was different and right here people worked on cod fish on the wharf. I thought to myself that we didn't do anything like that in Hebron. We, our land, didn't smell like cod fish.

John Jararuse, Nain: ... it was not easy at all, because where I came from you see animals like birds flying and char, things like that. You see more animals in the north than here in Nain. I couldn't get used to it for a while because there were no wild animals like birds flying. There were no ponds where I could play. The place was like, there were no more rocks around here, and there was a lot of trees around here; I couldn't get used to trees. There was a lot of willows around town, especially down in that area. I couldn't get used to the place for a while because it was a lot warmer, because it was summertime. Things that I missed mostly was, like I said the place, especially in that wharf area, I couldn't get used to the smell for a while.

Paulus Nochasak, Nain: We had to move to a place that's not our land. We moved to Makkovik at that time.

Ted Baird, Edmonton It was no different than putting them in New York. They were like fish out of water. They had no hunting or fishing areas to go to anymore as these places were already being used by the people who had lived in Makkovik for years and understandably, were not about to give up prime fishing and hunting areas to complete strangers.

Gustav Boase, Hopedale: I heard that there is a lot of animals up north. When they came here that is why they found it difficult for getting game, the ones who knew how to hunt. I felt for the men because they found it hard when they first moved to another community they're not used to. It's not a very happy thought when you think about it. I started going to Makkovik, back and forth to Hopedale on a collector boat, and in Makkovik the men had the same kind of experience, the ones who moved to Makkovik, because they missed their home and the hunting grounds. This wouldn't be understood by someone who never hunted before.

Chesley Andersen: The relocation program didn't do what it was set out to do. Maybe in terms of the long-term thinking. No one really looked at the factor that the economic problems that would be associated with a community the size of Nain. I think the older people themselves, when the communities were established, they had small communities because they live off the land. And this is one of the factors that wasn't taken into consideration by the governments and therefore ended up being, putting a lot of hardship on the people who moved. Simply because the people who lived in a community had already established their prime hunting areas and what have you. You bring in more people, you're putting more pressure on the resources and these people have to hunt from longer ranges as well. They have to go further than the local people who already had their prime hunting areas set out for them. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Ted Baird, Edmonton: Common sense dictated that there was only enough resources in a certain area to sustain a given number of people. The Inuit knew this well but it was obviously lost on those planning these moves. The number of people that Hebron could sustain was finite and the same rule applied to any of the communities in northern Labrador that were dependent upon its renewable resource for survival.

Toby Andersen, Nain: And then, of course, probably one of the worst things was that there were a lot of people moved from Hebron who were hard workers — good fishermen, good hunters — but you see in the area immediately around Makkovik, everything was taken. The original people, Makkovikmuits, had their own trapping grounds, their own hunting grounds, their own fishing grounds, and just to custom and tradition, you didn't step on somebody else's territory. That is a real Northern Labrador Inuit tradition and part of their culture. You don't move in on somebody else because you respect their, what is

termed as, their territory. You share in discussion with the person but you don't step in and take over, you know. And that was respected by the Inuit from Hebron.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: They were taken away from their hunting grounds, they were brought here, and with the way they felt particularly about their own areas, they trapped on it and they felt that to bring them here, they were interfering with our way of life. They didn't tell us that then but later they said this is how they felt, that they were intruding on other people. They would like to have stayed in their own place. They didn't want to really move but it wasn't their fault.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: They had good hunting grounds, they depended on the land up in Hebron as far as I can tell from the stories I have heard from my parents. They lived off the land and when you're relocated you're used to surviving off the land. And you're relocated and then there's no place to hunt. All the hunting grounds are already taken. That in itself is a damage to the spirit.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: When we were moved from Hebron, there was no compensation whatsoever, no boats, nothing. We had to find a way to make money by fishing although we were not fishermen. It was very difficult especially in the first few years, in 1959, 1960 and 1961. We did not know what to be doing, where to go, even doing everyday ordinary things. It was a critical situation for all of us who moved away from Hebron. From July to November my family and myself lived in a tent before we could find a place to live in. It was bewildering to me and my family.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: I wasn't used to it here, like there was nowhere to go. I wasn't used to it. There wasn't any wild food like there was at our land, no wild meat as we had, because we came from a place with plenty of it ... There was seal, caribou; that's what we hungered for when we were here. We hungered for seal meat, dried meat, dried fish, fish and so on, like what we had [in Hebron]. We hungered mostly for seal meat; that's what I was hungry for even until today. I was used to seal meat more. I loved it. I was hungry for all the food. There was no wild food to eat; the wild food was nowhere to be found. Even if people went off they wouldn't find it, only further away as at Hebron. We didn't know where to look for any of that around here.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: I talked to Hebron people, some of them, when they came to Nain. I said, do you miss home? Yes, and a lot of people died in Hopedale after they moved from Hebron. They starved, like they were hungry for their home and wanted to go back.

John Jararuse, Nain: My sister told me once there was an old woman in Hopedale from Hebron. She was so hungry for wild meat. She was so hungry for wild meat like seal meat, caribou meat, char, things like that. She even thought she was going to die and because, like I was saying, we were not used to white people's food. Maybe as a kid when I was growing up I was not used to Kablunat food. So just imagine older people, what happened to them; they must have been real hungry. I understand that.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: We were used to only meat, like seal meat. We only used to eat that kind of meat up north. We weren't used to the meat here. Even in the fall we were hungry. I don't think people from Hopedale were hungry but we were hungry. I know mostly everyone was hungry. There wasn't hardly anything to get for our men.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: They were hungry after they left. Yes, of course, they were because they weren't getting the nutrition that they were getting in Hebron. Seal meat is a highly nutritional food ... when it is cooked and I am inclined to believe it is even more so uncooked.

Abraham Nochasak, Hopedale: ... I grew up on fish, salmon and char. There's hardly any salmon here from Hopedale for us. Mostly Hopedale people got all the best places, all taken.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I think it was when they relocated the people here had their own way of living. They had their own hunting grounds whereas people up in Hebron had their own way of living and their own hunting grounds. When they came, when they relocated here, they became very poor people because all the good hunting grounds were already taken and they had to find ways to try to survive. That pain stuck with them. They had to change, I don't know if I should say change, but they had to accept things the way they were, to resign their feelings and their needs.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: We weren't very happy because there was no animals. There were no seals and the cod fish were small. Besides we weren't used to ducks that time because we were used to seal meat all winter long. I believe the older people were worse than the younger people. That is what I think about now. In Hebron they only used to bring back pigeons [black guillemot] when they came back from seal hunting.

Dick Kairtok, Hopedale: What I remember, when we first came here, [the fish] had no taste to them. They couldn't even let us see any trout [arctic char] here. We didn't know there was any trout here. We started searching for places and started to find some ... We started finding out

on our own. We were all hungry when we first arrived here. I remember that, when we first arrived from Hebron.

Clara Ford, Makkovik: My food, I missed my food, like the trout and everything. The food had a different taste than at Hebron.

Boas Millie, Nain: It changed a great deal when we moved from [Hebron] because there were many things to do there. When we were in Hopedale we were hungry because there wasn't anything to eat.

Daniel Jararuse, Nain: It wasn't very good because we were always hungry, even in the fall, because we didn't have anything to eat [at Hopedale] like we did [at Hebron]. When we just moved, we didn't know where to hunt and even if we hunted, there wasn't anything.

William Andersen Sr., Makkovik: The upset about moving to a strange place where they didn't know anything. There was a lot of things that must have been new to them and they never had to deal with up in Hebron and Nutak.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: What I remember about my father after we left Hebron, he wasn't happy in Hopedale and ... it seemed like when you looked at him, he looked really lost. You could almost see the panic in his eyes or just by the way he moved.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: The people never adjusted to the new communities they went to for the simple reason that they were not made welcome there. To be sure there were some exceptions, but for the most part the Hebron people had a difficult time settling in. There were no areas in which they could hunt and fish without encroaching upon an existing claim. They were a people away from home and there was no way to return. It was in my view a great tragedy.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: Well, they were just dissatisfied. They didn't like the place where they were and they didn't know where to go hunting. They were used to their hunting grounds in Hebron, their own hunting grounds. The parents, the old people, told the younger ones where they used to hunt one time, but here they didn't know a thing, where to go to look for anything. I think that was what made them like that.

Sabina Nochasak, Makkovik: We didn't even used to make dried meat (nikkuk) here. I used to make nikkuk once in a long while. I didn't used to make nikkuk at all here. We didn't even have dogs anymore after we moved. There were no seals to feed them with; seals were around, we just couldn't get any. We didn't even know there was any trout here because they were not fishermen when we first came here. I wasn't

even used to using a rod. I didn't even know you could jig the trout, you could even jig them.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: We couldn't feed the dogs even, not like the Settlers here. They even had gravy made for their dogs. While in Hebron, we didn't even do that, it was not our tradition ... At one point, I saw Settlers collecting for their dog food during the summertime. They salted the dog food in barrels and I just couldn't believe what I saw because it was strange to me.

Toby Andersen, Nain: But with the people moved from Hebron, they didn't have to plan those kinds of things in Hebron. They didn't get wood because their heat came for the most part from seals, you know, and the seal fat in their heaters and that was at their doorstep; they could kill it when they wanted it. And so that took quite a long time before they realised that this was the way that they were going to survive in Makkovik. Different, completely different from Hebron.

William Tuglavina, Hopedale: I wasn't used to it. We were hungry the first year we were here. I wasn't too happy when we moved because the baby was sick, because there was hardly any water.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: When we were here I found it colder because we had a house in the woods [at Hebron]. There I didn't find it cold in the winter.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: The only thing is that the men used harpoons and fish spears up there. They hardly used them here; hardly anything to use them for.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: I thought you could only get trout with a net. When I started to get trout with jiggers, I said to Dick who was standing by me, two fish passed by. We were in the pond then. I think two little rock cods passed by my hook. All that time they were brook trout. That was the first time I ever saw them because there is hardly any brook trout up north. Maybe there is some. I got the other one which I called rock cod earlier and it was a trout. Those things were really unknown to me.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: One notable thing was they never used to burn a lot of firewood. They would go and cut the boughs off big trees up by the river and just cut the limbs off. They were here more than a year, just a few of them, before they would cut down sticks and haul the wood. They would haul the big boughs and that's all that they could reach with their hands.

Toby Andersen, Nain: In Makkovik you were in the woods. People burned wood, you know, for heat. In Hebron they couldn't get wood and so in Makkovik everybody would stock up their wood in the spring and you would have enough for the summer and into the fall until you could start to get your dog team out again and there was snow. These people had nothing like that because it was not part of their way of life. And the same thing happened, like preparing for leaving to go out for all summer to your fishing station whereas in Hebron they get what they want when they want it because it was at their doorstep. In Makkovik you had to move out and look for those kinds of fishing stations and hunting and sealing places like that, you know.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: Really there wasn't [enough room] because Makkovik is not a good area for hunting for seal, for the Inuit, you know, what they're used to doing. And Makkovik, because it's exposed to the sea so much, you could go south of Makkovik and north of Makkovik and be caught for days on account of the two capes that's there. I'm not saying the water's not rough around Hebron area, I don't know. But I do know, it's a different environment.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: When the summer came there were lots of seals and capelin along the shoreline, cod fish and there used to be a school of seals out in the harbour. The men thought that there would be lots of seals that winter. They didn't bother to get after the seals that summer because they never used to go after harp seals during the summer. The only seals they used to get after was natsik [jar seals] up north in the summer time. I didn't make any nikkuk that summer because we thought there would be a lot of seals later on. Further down the bay there used to be udjuasuk [young square-flipper seals] and that time, I didn't bother to make any nikkuk or even misigak [fermented seal oil]. That winter there wasn't any seals, it was a really bad time. We weren't used to the land; it wasn't our land. I used to get tired of people calling us avanimiut [northerners].

Simeon Nochasak, Makkovik: When we left Hebron, we went to Hopedale and when we got there we had to wait a couple of years to get a house ... I didn't like it at all ... Like in Hebron, getting wood was just as far ... The seals were not as plentiful in Hopedale.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: We had to go to school. That's the time I started school in Hopedale. I had to stick in Hopedale and not go off. All we could get was rock cods. It was not like in Hebron.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: First I remember, when I first came to Nain, I was scared. Everybody calling their dogs "devil." I was scared of that because I never heard that before in Hebron, not once.

John Jararuse, Nain: My life seemed to change because the people who live in different communities had different ways. For example, during Christmas I felt this, in Hebron when we were children, we had a school in Hebron. The American people from Saglek would come to Hebron when the ice was just frozen, just before Christmas. They would come by what you call a snowmobile. When we were in school then just before Christmas holidays, they would come to the school with some toys. They would make us choose what we wanted. They were always packed in bags; we would pick out of the bag not knowing what they were. When this was over, there would be planes dropping toys. This is what I found different and another thing, Santa would come to the church to bring gifts to the children. Instead they gave gifts in the hall rather than the church.

Gustav Boase, Hopedale: There were a lot of families and they had to stay in a small house ... There wasn't enough for the winter and they were cold. And there was nothing we could do and there was nothing here. Because they only moved in the late fall, there was nothing else we could do here to help. They managed the best way they knew how, the AngajoKaukattiget [Elders Council] and the kivgait [chapel servants], the older ones.

Eugenia Suarak, Nain: It was worse because we were hungry, because my husband couldn't do anything; only when his brother got something to hunt. My husband didn't have his other leg.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: I didn't know anything about Makkovik; I'd never been here and I'd never visited Makkovik ... It was a strange place, not knowing the people, the land and the area around it. Being put in this situation became very unbearable to all of us, and we didn't know what would become of us and it was very frightening. This place was chosen for us and we did not have any say where we wanted to go.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: Makkovik, I didn't adjust to it for a few years too. Then we had our motorboat so we used to go hunting and start finding out where the ducks and that were. The seals were alright. But we didn't know — my father and them — they didn't know where to go hunting. They were not used to the place.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: They didn't know the routes to take into the country and they didn't know the best sealing places and that so we helped them out as best we could. We went to Ailik with them

to show them the berthing places and best sealing places. They didn't have any nets so I tried to provide them with some nets through the government.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: Before the relocation, I was told by young Grubb [Moravian minister] that there were a lot of seals in Makkovik, even before I found out that there was going to be a resettlement. So I came here knowing what I was told, and thought that it would be alright for us. In Hebron, we put our seal nets out in the fall, so we tried that method to catch harp seals at Ailik while we thought the migration was still on. But nothing showed after waiting and waiting, so we just decided to return home.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: But the problem Hebron people faced in Makkovik aside from being uprooted from an environment where polar bears and walrus and seals and white fox and caribou and arctic char was their world, to one where cod fish and closed crown forest and salmon was the world. They were put into a community long inhabited by a Settler population that had all the niches occupied as far as the salmon were concerned. The only niche open to them there was cod fishing which was from the northerners' point of view, women's work maybe or child's work. Certainly not on a commercial basis anyway, did they bother with cod fish to any extent. But there were resources there that were similar to their own that they certainly exploited. I'm thinking here specifically of Andreas Tuglavina and somebody else who's name escapes me right now, who between Cape Harrison and Makkovik very diligently over the first few years they were there, hunted ranger seals, kassigiak, up the rivers.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: It's a different kind of fishing and not the kind of fishing that they were used to. I don't think they bother the cod fish that much. Some of them fished it down there but mostly they went at the char and a little bit of salmon. They told me they used to move with the char; when the char would go up the bay, they'd put up their tents. And when they'd move further out, they'd move again. And when they had to come back, they'd come back and put their tent in the same place again. After a few more days, they'd move again. So they followed the char out and followed them in, just living in a tent all summer. And they used flat bottom boats for going around. I don't think there were any speedboats down there.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: Daddy would ask some people down there [in Hopedale] where you could go hunting and he would get enough stuff before they ever told him.

Simeon Nochasak, Makkovik: My brother and I would go out hunting and find out where the best places were. In the summer I used to go with Andreas when he went fishing and seal hunting.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: [They hunted ranger seals because] number one, there was a bounty on them; number two, the fur from the ranger seal fetched more money than all the others, it was softer, a better quality fur; number three, for the meat. Because I'm sure that if you were there in those initial years a common complaint was not enough food, meaning Inuit food, not enough seal meat.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: Fishing was the only way of trying to make a living. There was no other way of making money in Makkovik. Other than that, we had to depend on welfare. There was no other income other than fishing.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: Up in the Hebron area, they got their char, they got their seals; this was their lifestyle. Our lifestyle was getting the hundreds of pounds of cod that we could get out of the cod trap. I'm not saying that they never fished up in Hebron but what I'm saying is that our lifestyle was completely different. It was more like the island portion of the province. We were a bit different in that respect; they respect us, I respect them.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: I guess they asked some people here where they could put a cabin or a camp. Only a couple of them had a cod trap and had a crew of men. Where they got that from was some of the people around, like Bert Winters, and some of them told them where the berths were. That was all, we don't quarrel with them. We never quarrelled with them about the berths or any fishing places. It was only the other hunting; wherever they went, someone had traps ... Anywhere handy to walk; they were setting traps next to yours. I never ever heard tell of anybody saying anything to them about it but I think it was their own common sense. They knew they were putting traps where other people had traps which made them feel a little bit uncomfortable, I'm sure.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: There is one thing I could say, I don't think there was anybody that was down on them. Anyone going deer hunting would always let them know. They'd go along together. Some of them used to build snow houses and in the woods they'd put up a tent. After a few years they got out of that. They started using tents.

Dick Kairtok, Hopedale: There didn't seem to be any wild game here when we first arrived. I myself remember quite well because we were all hungry in the fall. Even our relatives here, they weren't supposed to

fire their guns at the first freeze-up. They weren't supposed to fire their guns ... At that time in Kangidluk, in a cove, they used to have seal nets there. No one was supposed to fire their guns because they were netting seals, because they might drive the seals away. Even when they fired a shot in Hebron, they never drove them away.

Gustav Boase, Hopedale: ... the rules that were passed down by the AngajoKaukattiget were followed more at the time. They were the same but each community had different customs and rules.

Renatus Onalik, Happy Valley: One time my father was stopped from hunting in the bay, to hunt seals in the fall. They thought he might scare the seals away because they were getting seals in the bay. My father and others weren't allowed to shoot seals in the bays ... They weren't allowed to shoot guns in the bay because they used to hunt seals with nets.

William Onalik, Hopedale: After they told us that it was their rule and we understood that it was a rule, we didn't disagree with them and we are not disagreeing with them yet. If we had gone to Nain, we would have had to follow their rules because we are residents. We would have to follow the rules, which were theirs before we came, and if they said it was the rule, we couldn't interfere or disagree with them. (Land Use and Occupancy Project Interview, 1976, LIAD)

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: They had regulations on seal hunting. That regulation I will never forget. When the seal breathing hole was first approached by someone, they said it was their own. I saw people at their own breathing holes but I didn't approach them while I was looking for holes.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: There was a very quick freeze-up and thousands of harp seals got caught in the bottom of Nain Bay and were working their way out, coming up in breathing holes all around Pikalujak and Rhodes Island ... Everybody, the whole village came in and got ammunition and went out. I went too with George and Tom Barbour and camped in Pikalujak Bay. Everybody had their own holes which they claimed earlier on and gotten a lot of seals. It was very thin ice too; I remember it moving under your feet. There was a great dispute over somebody getting to somebody else's hole first and killing the seal, and the person said that seal should belong to me because it's my hole and they had a katimak [meeting] over that. Martin Martin said, well, it wouldn't be his seal but he said you can put a sign on that hole and keep it for next year.

John Jararuse, Nain: I know that he [Joshua] was not satisfied once. Our first place to stay outside of Nain was just behind the Pardy [Island] area here. The people who were staying here, they did not like our families staying in the Sivakuluk area. Because Joshua told me that they were saying that we are only in the way. Like seals are trying to come inside the bays and they were saying that we are only in the way, that people from here should get us so we wouldn't be in the way of seals trying to go in. That's how much I know because he used to tell me more than once. He already knew that we weren't wanted; they did not like us staying near to Nain, staying outside of Nain. So he decided and went to Makkovik to ask Andrew Andersen if he could use his house right inside the Okak Bay. So next year in the fall we went over there and stayed over there for one year.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I think a lot of people felt inferior too. I guess they wanted to be better people than people from Hebron. I don't know why, I mean, they were all Inuit but even today my dialect is a little different. Like if an individual from Nain wanted to say something huge they'd say papaluk, and up in Hebron we'd say paluk and pagaaluk. Even the dialect itself is a little different.

Fran Williams, Nain: When they first arrived there [Hopedale] and they came to the house looking for titutik, we didn't know what they meant. We thought they were talking about tea itself or something that goes with tea but all this time they were talking about bread; they wanted bread. In Hopedale we always called bread niakojak, not titutik. We thought they were looking for tea or sugar or something like that.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: The main problem at that time was inability to communicate in English with the Settlers. The people were affected by not being able to communicate with the Settlers.

Toby Andersen, Nain: The majority of people in Makkovik at that point in time, I would say 95%, spoke only English; they didn't understand Inuktitut. And of course when the Inuit families moved in, most of them didn't speak any English. There were very few, and so there was a communication breakdown right from the beginning I think.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: First when they came, they seemed okay; we seemed to get along quite well. We had the services in the church. There was Inuit brought in with the English services. I had no problem with that. Even at that time, I respected that. When we met in the stores or wherever, in the store there, I had no problem with it. I mean, it's okay by me, so I never thought of it as maybe it's a problem for

them. I guess everybody thought that they had to move and that was it. I had no problem or I didn't see any problem around the community.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: No, I didn't understand the language. I don't know how I started talking and I don't know how I started writing in English or Inuktitut. I don't think I used to write anything before unless I don't remember how I started talking it or reading it in Hopedale. When I was going to primary, I was ten years old and I didn't know how to read English or anything. When we were taught, we learned but I don't remember how I started reading.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I could hear most of the kids speaking English but I didn't. I can remember when I first went to school and this teacher was speaking English. I went home and I cried because I thought she couldn't talk because we never heard any English. I never heard any English until we were relocated.

Dick Kairtok, Hopedale: I myself don't remember not being welcome because I was still a youngster at that time. I made friends with Jim Nitsman and the other crowd; they became my friends. I wasn't that lonely when I got friends. But when we first came, I couldn't speak in English ... They only taught us here in English because there was no Inuktitut teacher here.

Renatus Onalik, Happy Valley: I had a schoolteacher, she taught me English. A bit of English for about a year. I didn't know my English very much when I was going to school. I went far as grade five. I quit school when I was 15 or 16... I was bad with my English ... And after I quit school, I started fishing with my father ... I was free from school. So no one was picking at me anymore at school.

Augusta Erving, Hopedale: First when I went to school in North West River, I think I was the oldest one in the kindergarten school. I was 10 or 11 years old, I was in kindergarten. And when I went back to Hopedale, the girls my age, they had higher grades than I did. I was the same age as they were, but I was in a lower grade than they were because I started later ... It made me feel like I'm too old to be in there or something. And I didn't like school ... I quit when I was sixteen.

Toby Andersen, Nain: One of the reasons, in my understanding, for having the two schools was first of all the school in Makkovik couldn't accommodate the number of extra students. So the school was brought from Hebron and was put right by the Makkovik school. And my understanding was that the Inuit students were put in that school, under the teaching of Kate Hettasch who was bilingual. And the reason for that given by the Moravian Mission, the Reverend S.P. [Hettasch]

and Kate, was that if they put them in with the Makkovik students they wouldn't understand each other because of the language. They couldn't speak English. So there was English being taught in the Hebron part of the school but after two years the Elders said that would not work. There would have to be one school because if you are going to have an integrated community then you would have to have both languages. And the place to start that is in the school.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: In Hebron and Killinek, there were no White Settlers although we had a store manager in Hebron who was [White] and he could interpret for the Inuit there. When I came to Makkovik, I was not used to the Settlers and I found it very strange. When Inuit people were having problems in making a living, aside from fishing that is, Bill Andersen was a councillor at the time, and he did what he could to help us when we first came here.

Joe K.A. Tuglavina, Nain: We didn't know that place. We didn't know Makkovik. For me at least I got used to it but I didn't want to live there. It's not my kind of place ... I didn't like Kablunangajuks [Settlers]; I'm not used to them. I only talk Inuktitut. That's why I didn't want to live in Makkovik.

Sophie Tuglavina, Hopedale: Because I wasn't used to White people, I was too shy to get some milk for the baby. I used to go out once in a while.

Natan Winters, Hopedale: It is true Hebron people were made fun of when they came late in the fall ... No wonder Hebron people feel resentment at times. They called them avanimiugaluit [old northerners] when they weren't used to us or we weren't used to each other.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: They would say that Hebron people came to Hopedale smelling nothing but seal fat and make Hopedale stink. It was hard ... Like you are an unwanted person walking around the community or something.

Abraham Nochasak, Hopedale: In the first five or six years we were here, people used to tell us we were not from around here. That's only kids now; I don't know about the older people you see.

Renatus Onalik, Happy Valley: They think I was different, and most people from Hopedale, they think they were different because they were from Hopedale. But they're no different, they're no better or worse.

Anonymous: It's true that people with differences, take for instance for people of the world, if they were taken to our land which they're not

used to and were gathered in one spot, there's bound to be some friction between cultures and different languages. Just because there's a difference, that causes problems. It says in the Bible that once you move people from their land, mix them up with different people, there's going to be some problem.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I can remember as a child, not to me directly, but I can remember my mom being called avanimiuk or Hebronimiuk and that was sort of a slang word to degrade the individual, a person because of where they're from. That was hurtful because, here you are trying to make a home where you're relocated and there are people that are saying things like you're avanimiuk, you don't know anything, I suppose, that sort of thing ... That went on for a few years but it died after awhile. That sort of thing haunts you. You carry it because you heard it said to your parents and it does affect you.

Anonymous: When there were people being moved from Hebron to Nain, it was not so much of a problem but it was later on in the years ... that I felt that there was some tension between Nain people and Hebron people. Like there was some kind of a silent confrontation, like some kind of force, and sometimes there would be people under the influence of alcohol who would say "you're an old Nainimiuk" or "you're an old avanimiuk," you're from the north and that kind of a thing. Maybe when they're sober they think this way and when they're drinking it's easier for it to come out so that causes some friction between the people that wasn't any good. That's no good, it can still be felt.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: I don't know, really, I don't know. But as I was growing older, in my teens, you start hearing "Hebronimiualuit," people from Hebron, that kind of thing. You wouldn't hear them saying that when they were sober, but when they were drunk. They would say "Hebronimiualuit," are you from Hebron?

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: It seemed like Makkovik people were nice enough to us but they always used to say Hebronimiuks, Hebron people, because we had houses on the other side; not the other side but almost in the cove.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: I guess they figured we should take the Hebron name and put it with them but then to me that's pointing a finger. That's making them feel different again to us. I just flew past Hebron quite a long while ago. I've never been there. But I don't think the bottom of Makkovik Harbour got any resemblance in any way to the community of Hebron.

Toby Andersen, Nain: Of course with the move from Hebron they had their own Elders. So what happened because of that and their location in Makkovik, there was a split in the community with the Hebron end and the Makkovik end. And although you had a few Inuks in the Makkovik end, a few were original, then the people who moved from Nutak were also in the Makkovik end, but then you had the Hebron end, you see. And it was called Hebron, that was the name. And they had their own Elders. So when the Elders from Makkovik and the Elders from Hebron section came together, they realized the school had to be integrated.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: They call it Hebron, Hebron side, on the back. Yup, they called it Hebron, Hebron side. Whenever there's a meeting with town council or any kind of meeting, they'd say, if there was something to be done, done on the back, they'd say Hebron side.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: What matters most I think is our lives because it didn't matter at the time of our relocation. I even wanted to cry since then when I was told to move back when I didn't want to move back. I also want to say that when people tell others to move back, it's very sad, and those who arranged the move would not feel that way. I always blamed them when I used to think of that. When we were told to move back by people from here, it is very stressful.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: Sometimes I could hear people talking in Nain. People tell them to go back; they don't want them here. It just makes them upset ... You know it hurts inside. I see a lot of people like that ... Like they feel they are not welcome in this place so they would rather go back, so they wouldn't be kicked out.

Natan Winters, Hopedale: In the summer I used to be the interpreter for the RCMP. William Onalik went to the storekeeper to get some groceries; I'm not going to mention the storekeeper's name. He told William Onalik "I can only help you with food and gas only if you're going to return to Hebron." I overheard the storekeeper when Andrew Piercey was the interpreter at the store. When William wasn't given any gas or food he said "I don't have anything now. I cannot go back. They moved us in the fall." He was shocked. He didn't know what to do.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: People from here, when we can't return, when there was absolutely nothing left there. That's the worst part I didn't like, being told to return. That's what I felt bad about all my life. My parents even felt that way, my parents aren't living now, my stepfather. They felt bad when people from Nain told them to return. Something with no ending began. The government or someone made us relocate

and began not taking charge nor did they care when we were told to return. That's what I found difficult up until today. I don't like being told to return.

Natan Winters, Hopedale: Jerry Sillett and his family, I got married to his daughter. She is also from up north; she is from Okak. She used to defend them when they were called avanimiut because she is avanimiut herself, because she was born in Okak.

Andrew Piercey, Hopedale: I'm really hurt by that. Ever since we moved, they've always call us avanimiugaluit. If someone gets into trouble, only the avanimiugaluit are to blame. I don't like that; I'm always talking about that. I was very easy to act in anger, I used to strike back. I even used to get into fights because I used to stand up for avanimiuks. I'm an avanimiuk myself. I used to get into fights. I still hear that sometimes but it's getting better slowly.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: Before Hebron and Nutak people came here, I've heard that they [Nain people] had a good life. They didn't hear anything or do anything bad. They would have been better off, they said that we [Hebron and Nutak] people are making Nain so bad. That's very hard on us. The Government should be responsible for this behaviour. The people should be saying things like that to the Government, not to the people of Hebron. I think about that.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I think it's changing a lot over the years. It used to be really visible and hurtful when we first relocated but now I think where over the years they've had children here, I think they are more or less being accepted. But the problems are still there where parents were hurt. My parents were hurt by the relocation. My mother had to uproot herself and the pain was there. I can remember stories of her wanting to go back and how she wished she could go back. All these years hearing her say things like "I'd love to go back one more time" and she never did make it back up. The pain was there for the older people that were relocated and their kids hear it and they feel their parent's pain.

Renatus Onalik, Happy Valley: When we got to Hopedale people didn't like to talk to us from Hebron. The kids used to call us stinking blubber or something like that ... I used to get in a lot of fights with kids from Hopedale ... I used to feel strange. It used to hurt me, hurt my feelings. I felt that I didn't belong here in Hopedale.

Mark Nochasak, Nain: And one winter us kids had a war, Hebron kids against Hopedale kids. It lasted more than one winter after we resettled

... I guess they thought we were different because of where you're from, you know.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: I know we used to be called moon face and all those Hebron Inuit people. But when mom used to talk to me, I learned to ignore it but it still hurt. She said, just ignore it because one day they're going to come to you for help for anything, but still you hurt inside.

Toby Andersen, Nain: They fought ... It was outsiders against hometown, that kind of mentality, you know? These are the outsiders who came in, this is our territory ... And the boys would go to wrestle with the boys from Hebron to see who was stronger, you know. And so the Nutak boys became Makkovik boys because they were there a couple of years before the other boys came in. But that was the mentality. It was the outsiders coming in.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: Our lives drastically changed after we moved from Hebron. Our lives were turned around so much from what we were used to. The elders began to die away and on some occasions more than one died in less than a year.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: There was an old fellow at Hopedale who was talking to me; his son was perished there. What was his name — it might be Basto or something like that. He said I'm hungry all the time here. When we lived in Hebron, I had plenty meat, plenty fish. But here I got none and hungry all the time. He died about two months after that, maybe he was depressed or something like that. I think it was common, they got depressed over it, probably living with Settler people and they didn't like it that much.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: It changed — we all became poor. Even I was poor, even I got sick. While I watched my mother thinking about the relocation, she was ill, my stepfather was also ill. Just thinking about both of them being ill, they were very ill. Even people from here, Hopedale and Makkovik were worried and thinking of their former land but I wasn't thinking or worrying about it.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: There was a lot died off. We had quite a few poisoned or something ... We had two drowned one time out at Ironbounds, Wilson Semigak and a fellow Jararuse, only a young man.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: Yes, there were accidents that occurred after the move in the Makkovik area that may well have been the result of this move. I remember two men drowned and a young daughter had to walk a tremendous distance over spring ice to get to Makkovik to let

the community know that her father had drowned, as well as the man he had been sealing with. I've asked myself many times had this been in Hebron or Saglek, would it have happened? You see, the ice is different in the south than in the north. I am sure these men acted on instincts that would probably have saved them had it been north. One becomes accustomed to the land, the sea, the ice and the snow. For example, one doesn't need snowshoes at Hebron. The snow is very hard packed and you can walk all day and not have to worry about sinking into the snow. By contrast, in Nain, Hopedale and south you must have snowshoes. I have observed the Inuit of Hebron walking across the new-formed sea ice while it was undulating under their feet. Not a mean feat. They understood the ice.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: One of the things happened that very first winter in Hopedale, which was interpreted at the time as the Hebron people saying, trying to demonstrate their personhood, manhood or whatever you want to say. I think a number of people died from Type B Botulism eating the rancid seal stored in an oil drum because they said only real men can eat this kind of seal meat and it had gone anaerobic [toxic], as it had once upon a time in Ungalik and killed six people. And that was that first winter in Hopedale. But when people were discussing it that winter, they were saying yes, that was people trying to cling to what was and what separated them from where they were and in this case an oil drum that got botulism [bacteria] in it ... They were making a statement they said ... and it backfired, in this case, on them.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: Some of them died from old age, others from sickness, drowning and accidents. When the Hebron Inuit moved away, they no longer had a kind of life they wanted to live, the kind to look forward to. They started to die off even from loneliness; our elders missed their home so much they were heartbroken. They did not have a choice in the matter of being moved, therefore they could not get over it.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I think a lot of the people, not just my parents, they were spiritually broken because of the relocation. I think it touched their souls when they had to relocate ... The kids that people had that were from Hebron, they saw the broken spirits of their parents and because of that I think a lot of their spirits were broken too.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: I don't think the people here had too much against them. I thought they pitied them because they felt that they couldn't get what they wanted to hunt. Partridge [ptarmigan] was

scarce here, everything was scarce here compared to what it was up at Hebron.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I believe it was downhill after that first year. I saw the writing on the wall in 1965 or so and said to myself there is no way that the moves being planned are going to be of any benefit to these people in northern Labrador. There is no way that it can happen.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: If I was picked up from Makkovik and put down in Happy Valley or somewhere around here, I would be finished, you know, because I don't like it here; it's not my lifestyle. Even when I was a young man and Goose was getting built up in the late forties, I had all kinds of opportunity to come out and I refused. I didn't want to and when I came here in the fifties, I was here for two months and I had to get back. I couldn't do it.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: A lot of the people were noticeable; they were lost souls. They couldn't even care about doing much. They took to drinking more and started getting on welfare. And a lot of the older people were dead.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: They get really angry. I could hear some of them people talking and they don't want to work anymore. They used to do a lot of stuff there in the summertime ... They gave up everything ... And they don't know the place, where to hunt, where they moved.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: During that year the seal pelts went up. If we stayed back then, there would have been lots of animals and seals, and we would have made a good living from the skins.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: Most of us had our own boats when we first moved there [Makkovik]. But later on people started selling them because we couldn't afford anything anymore ... maybe because they had to buy more things from the store and we didn't have a lot of seal meat and caribou like we did in Hebron and they had to spend money on groceries and supplies.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: But what's a house if you got no job and you can't feed your children from a house. There is a house there but how are you going to feed your children? It's an empty house. With this house should have come a job or some kind of an income. A lot of these people are living off Social Services at a hundred and some odd dollars a month. A hundred dollars can't even last me a week for groceries. They were given houses, yes, but that's not enough for people. They were rich before they were relocated because they were living off the

land; they had their food. But now they have to live off Social Services, a lot of them, and the store.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: I guess they just got used to buying store bought food. They had no other choice. They used to take us with them to the hunting places in Hebron. But in Hopedale, when we kids went to school, we couldn't leave so our parents stayed behind with us to go to school.

John Jararuse, Nain: Although I was a child, I felt we are not at our land; we are just bored.

Toby Andersen, Nain: And after a year or so the original people from Makkovik started to share their areas more with the people from Hebron. But what happened, I think, out of hopelessness and despair was the incidents with alcohol and making homebrew. I mean what else could they do, they had nothing else to do. And that was their ruination. And no matter what people tried to do or talk about or discuss in terms of Elders, you know, in the communities there was things that could have been done but the old way of custom and tradition through the Elder system was already gone because it was government rule then, you know, government had taken over.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: After the RCMPs came, they started to deal with what you would call criminal acts, like assaults or acts like that. That's when the RCMP took over. And children and parents, the social services took over. So, the AngajoKaukattiget and Kivgat felt that they had no more power.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: I didn't believe in what we were doing to the Inuit people because if they had a drinking problem, it was the system that was in place that's what caused it.

John Jararuse, Nain: I grew up with my family and never ever did I see my parents drink and indulge when I was growing up, never ever. I used to notice that other people were drinking more. Maybe because they had no place to hunt, just one place to stay all the time and knowing that they don't have anything to do, they lost everything. They lost their place — the place that they were used to before. They lost everything. Their pride I guess, like knowing where to go and knowing where not to go must have been very hard. It must have been very very hard for other people because I know and I was told before.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: I could see the changes coming, like everyone was falling apart. People started drinking homebrew and whatever else they could get a hold of. And they didn't hunt anymore.

Every time they got drunk, I remember they said, some people were saying I want to go back home. Most of the things that we really missed were the country foods, seal meat, caribou and the fish.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: For one thing alcohol wasn't accessible when I was there in 1959 so that any drinking that did take place was what people made. Even then, while there was occasional drunkenness, it never erupted into public disturbances during the time that I was there. As I recall, it was a very peaceful community and people were off still at sealing camps in the fall. After Christmas festivities, people started going on caribou hunts and then they were gone again in the spring for the spring seal hunt. People were still trapping foxes. So it was very different than what it became later. Indeed, there were Nain people who were drinking too.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: I know they were drinking in Hebron. But after moving to Hopedale, there was an American site there. And they used to go to the clubs up there and I think just drive them away from hunting and fishing. Because they weren't supposed to take their children out anyway, to go hunting with them ... So they just stayed in the community and started to get into trouble.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: There was more drinking, more what we would refer to as brawls, I guess, when we'd have to go up in night-time with people supposedly fighting and women certainly getting abused. No worse than today but they were certainly getting abused. And this is where I begin to think, then I could see why this was taking place. There's a social problem starting to come into play here, the effects of moving out from Hebron, two or three years ago, whenever it was that they were moved. And it was really starting to play on them.

Toby Andersen, Nain: I think that there was always some people who said, a few people who said it's the Inuit and they can't handle their liquor and that kind of thing. But the majority of the people and in particular the leaders had a lot of sympathy because one of the things that was pretty clear after the first year of the move was that these people were lost, you know, and even though it was still part of northern Labrador it was completely foreign and completely different.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I feel strongly that these people felt a great sense of loss and disorientation and didn't quite know where to turn. The bottle seemed to be a solution to a lot of the problems.

Natan Winters, Hopedale: I can't say Hopedale people didn't drink because I myself used to drink with Hebron people. Hopedale people talked about them saying they drank too much when they drink

themselves, when they abuse the drink themselves ... They make fun of people too much and they don't make fun of themselves.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: We were being called over a lot, late in the night; that was something we should never have had to do, with people like the police, the Newfoundland Rangers, who were paid to do these jobs. We had to bar people in the basement of the store and in the root cellar. They ordered us to do it; we phoned and we were ordered to have somebody watching over the night and the morning.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: Well, when these people would get drunk and somebody would call and somebody is drunk and is beating, I would take the nurse up and she would put a needle into him and knock him [out]. And this is when I really started to fight, to argue. I said, look, what's going to happen to us? "Oh, you're covered, IGA [International Grenfell Association] will back you up, it's o.k." I'm not stretching the truth one bit. I had arguments with the nurses against giving people the needle when they were drunk ... and I used to say to the nurses, "Look, what if that man died? What if he died with needle?" "Oh, that's o.k. We're covered, Grenfell Mission will look after us." [They gave them the needle] to knock them out because there was no RCMP there you see, so we wouldn't have to bother; they'll sleep it off until tomorrow. Now what they were giving them, I can't tell you.

Toby Andersen, Nain: And so again it was overcrowded people herded into communities, that took overnight, and the alcoholism and fights and everything else just became more and more continuous, I think. And so for most people it was a kind of a sense of hopelessness and despair in that they couldn't do the kinds of things that they normally did, which was to just get up and go wherever they want and whatever you need is there, you know. See in Hebron from what I understand, people were happy to be survivors and survivors they were, you know. They didn't need to think and wonder about whether or not they are going to have a job because that was something that was never, it was not part of their culture, never ever was. They were happy to be survivors providing for their families from the land and the sea, you know, and so they didn't need money.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: [There was] a person who had come from Hebron, who was almost the whole winter drinking or drunk. But then back in his summer camp was the epitome of the wonderful hunter, father, family man; peaceful, quiet, in charge of his world and his life. And Terje asked him why this tremendous difference and he said, "well I figure that Nain wasn't of my choosing and it's not my community

and it's not my problem and I've determined I wasn't going to do anything useful there."

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: I think all of our lives, everybody's lives fell apart. Everyone just lost their will to hunt or whatever; they just more or less gave up. They're not rich anymore in food. We are forced to find jobs but the jobs are really hard to find.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: They were not very happy, and they faced many problems associated with where they were going to be able to fish and hunt and how they were to provide for their families. Most of these areas in the Hopedale, Makkovik and Nain area were already taken up and the saturation point had been reached. The language problem and the awful feeling of not being able to do anything without causing problems was extremely frustrating. They just seemed not able to, nor did they want to, adapt to this situation which was not of their doing.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: They have to accept what's given to them there today. I think before, they weren't so much depending on social services, they were more or less living off the land. They trapped and they had money for their fur and sealskins, like that. That's all being cut down. There's no prices left in fox furs and sealskins. It's like you hunt for nothing, you hunt maybe for food and for clothing, but you can't sell your fur anymore, you get maybe $15 or $25 for a pelt or something.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: It didn't happen right away. It gradually happened, you know. I guess they went out for their hunt probably and didn't do well or whatever the case may be. I don't know. But then they put on a pot of homebrew, then I guess probably started thinking about their life up in Hebron and their way of living compared to the White man, the Settler who lived in Makkovik and their lifestyle and the whole bit. I guess then people started to rebel or whatever and be depressed or whatever the word is that you use because we are a third world people.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: When I look back on it, we were foolish to risk our lives from going into houses and trying to stop disputes like that because it wasn't our duty really. We weren't given authority from any government or anything. We were just carrying on our duties as Village Elders to keep the peace; there was no community council or anything here then. Here in Makkovik, we always had two men elected. They had the chapel servants in the church but there was two Village Elders who would see about things. There was nothing like that before they brought the people up — no killings or anything like

that. Any dispute among the people about anything at all, you would go and sit down with them and talk it over. Try to get some understanding out of it. Very very few times you had to be called out for something like that. The church expected us to be spokesmen if there was something that needed to be done with the church or anything like that. Our responsibility was to get the people together or for some free labour; that was the most of our duties before the other people came.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: It made a lot of difference to us too. We used to have to stay up, me and Uncle Bill Andersen was considered Elders of the church. There was no council then. Everything had to be settled, we had to settle it, me and Uncle Bill. We'd be called in the night; we'd be up until 2 o'clock, up on the other side to settle a quarrel. We'd see what they wanted; some different times they'd put the gun on you. We had to grab the gun and twist it out of their hands.

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: I never seen a woman dragged by the hair of her head; I never seen a woman going down to the minister or wherever it was, holding her dress together. Somebody leading her down. No way am I any better, and I hope that this is never erased or anything, I mean, there is no way that we are any better. It's just that, to me it was foreign; it was something I wasn't used to.

Rupert McNeill, Makkovik: Some of them just about killed one another — well that's right — they did kill one another; there was different people killed here. And then they took some of them out to jail. I don't think it was their fault at all. I think it was just because they, I don't know what they were like before they came here though, but that's the way they were. I think they were bitter, they got bitter about it.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: What I've seen and helped out in court, sometime they don't understand the justice system and it's hard for them, I think sometimes. I don't think the Inuit would be getting into so much trouble if there weren't so much alcohol involved because they are the quietest people and wouldn't hurt a fly, if there weren't any alcohol.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: When we came here, the police and child welfare were in place. They made people disobey more; I know that and I know it in my mind. Even if it's a child or adult they [Elders] used to make them listen. But now that they have child welfare, they've forgotten they have that control.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: If they had a problem at home, they're dealt with by the RCMPs and they go to court. They're either given a jail term or probation. It's almost like the justice is running their lives

for them. And if they had problems with children, it's almost like Social Services is running their lives. You know, if you do this and smack your kid, I'm taking your kid from you. It's almost like they got to be on their back all the time.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: They had no power for anything afterward. And I guess they still feel that they still don't have the power to do anything. Once that's engraved in you, you had no power to relocate, you know that's going to be with you for the rest of your life. Not just being put down but their spirits, you know, their drive, their "umf" to do things. A lot of that was broken when they were relocated. When children see, they learn from their parents, and when children see that they've got no "umf" themselves, if they've got no encouragement, it just goes on to the next generation.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: When the drinking started, their health started going down too. My father always talked about going to see Hebron in the summer time but we never ever made it because then he started drinking homebrew too. And then, we didn't have a motorboat anymore. And then he had a stroke before he ever went back to see it, so we never ever went back.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: I think we've got all of these social ills today ... because we did not have the vision to foresee the tragic events of our actions back in the fifties and sixties. Here was a people accustomed to following the caribou herd during the winter and settling down near the coast in the summer in canvas tents. This was a way of life. It was nomadic but that's the way they lived and it worked for them. They always seemed, despite what some may say, a very self-reliant people. There was nothing wrong with it. Who were we to say you have to have a generator and a light bulb to survive?

Ted Andersen, Makkovik: After a couple of years I could see that things were different. The price of cod wasn't that good and you had a hard job making ends meet. They couldn't get their seal the way they were used to and everything, and being taken out from their home; they must have had a lot of good memories about their area. They had to do this because of the will of God; this is what they were told, that it was God's will for them to go south. Rev. Hettasch told me that himself. He said that in church they told them it was God's will. Now who in the hell can say it was God's will? The people who made themselves God, who'd ruled them for 200 years. Yeah, them and certainly us. Because they were the people who moved, not us.

Siegfried Hettasch: Of course there are two sides to the story. Again, whereas the Eskimos would love to go north with their young people, go fishing and hunting like in the old days, we must not overlook that White people and governments are very concerned about building up an education at the same time to help the Eskimos. But how can you do both? Whereas the parents are in need of their children for the work they are doing, the sawing-up work, the hunting and fishing, to continue to exist like they would like to, like they have enjoyed to. And yet at the same time we would like to put them back at the school bench. So what is it that we want? What is it that is best? Are we trying to make their future or are we going to let them form their own future? (National Film Board, *Labrador North*, 1973)

Abraham Nochasak, Hopedale: Mostly what I want to say is the jobs that are here, there's hardly anybody getting good work. Our parents had a really hard time. When I was growing up here too, I don't know, we just had a very hard life, our parents. We're just starting to feel the effect of it right now. I am in my late 30s now and I'm still trying to get a job around here. Only doing the fishing most of the summer but we don't even make enough to get unemployment some winters. That's really hard on a family of six like me.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: But sometimes I used to wonder, why are there so many Hebron people and younger people going into the Correctional Centre? It seems kind of embarrassing sometimes my people are in the Correctional Centre or they've been to court. Because you hardly hear of any Hopedale or Nain, local Nain people, Hopedale people going to court. It always seems to be my people from Hebron going to court and sent to prison.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: The moving of these people had taken its toll and there was a tremendous downturn, in terms of outlook, after that. I saw some of these people after they had moved south and they appeared lost and forgotten. Which in fact they were. There was nothing we could do for them.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: Nobody knows what we went through, you had to experience it. They had to live through pain and frustration over the last thirty years, thirty-four years.

Toby Andersen, Nain: I think we have to blame the move from Hebron on the social problems. The suicide rates, the lack of availability of jobs or economic opportunities all go to the back to the creation of that move.

Augusta Jararuse, Nain: There's nothing. We are always in need. That's why I envy those who are perished because they are always happy. I envy Jako.

Naeme Tuglavina, Nain: It's hard. It has to be hard for those people. They have to be hurting to have left their being in Hebron. There's a being, you can feel there's a being in Hebron even if there's no people. I got mad, I really got mad at the government. I was spurting out words against the government for having moved the people away. It hurt me so bad when I got there, it really did.

Toby Andersen, Nain: For the real disaster, we have to put the blame directly on the feet of the government. There are so many people around from government and who worked for government who knew what the situation was but nobody gave a damn.

Commentary:

The eviction of Inuit from Hebron ravaged the social, economic and cultural foundation of people's lives. They lost the security of their community which had given coherence, independence, pride and a consciousness that defined Hebronimiut as a distinct entity. The trauma of leaving their home was magnified by the splitting of close social bonds between families connected by kinship, marriage and friendship as households were separated in moving to Nain, Hopedale and Makkovik. Their only common characteristic was the experience of facing strange geographical and social environments, and beginning a learning course unlike anything they had ever known before.

At Hebron the Inuit had a place and a claim to resource rights which was theirs alone, but in entering other communities they had no position in the established order of hunting and fishing privileges. They lacked the essential knowledge of the landscape and wildlife patterns to enable them to obtain game for food or commercial sale. They had to discover harvesting areas themselves, although they were sometimes assisted by local residents. However, their hunting skills that had served them so well in the past were not necessarily effective in the different environments where they now lived, especially at Makkovik with its forested landscape. The climate, seasonal cycles, ice conditions, species of game, as well as local odours and the taste of wildlife, emphasized the immense change that confronted Hebronimiut.

Hebron families felt the immediate result of their dislocation in a degree of hunger and poverty such as they had never known in their own community. Typically active and successful hunters were made aware, in various ways, that they were competing for resources with local hunters who had prior customary harvesting rights, so the newcomers limited their own activities. Since prime fishing and hunting areas were already claimed, Hebron

hunters had two fundamental choices. They could either pursue opportunities for getting game that did not interfere with established harvesting patterns, notably by pursuing unwanted harbour seals at Makkovik and by returning to abandoned areas in Okak Bay, or they simply stopped any effort to hunt as intensively as they had at Hebron. The latter decision meant that families would have to depend on food supplies obtained through financial assistance from social welfare which entrenched their poverty and fixed the dependence of households on means other than their own.

The rich resource environment of Hebron had generated mobility, activity, variety and a wealth of basic food for its residents so hunger, poverty and inactivity eroded the spirit of Hebronimiut. Mature and elderly adults whose earlier lives had been fulfilled by independence and dignity were especially disoriented by the radical change in their existence. Instead of an invigorating cultural consciousness, they became acutely self-conscious, as did young Hebronimiut, of their low status in the communities. Their poverty, unfamiliarity with the English language, particular dialect of Inuktitut, unusual family names, inexperience with the landscape, cultural preference for seal and other customs — combined with their residence in isolated enclaves — set them definitively apart from other community members.

The social distance that segregated Hebronimiut was expressed in disparaging names which children and adults used to refer to the displaced Inuit, calling them moonface or northerners. Never before had Hebronimiut been criticized in this way; the names were remainders of their cultural difference, intrusion and inferiority that stung people's self-esteem and identity. Hebronimiut had no defence against these slurs even though they were unwilling exiles. And while many local residents felt sympathy for their experience, both they and the Hebronimiut were silent about their attitudes to each other.

Without a means to support themselves economically and socially, many Hebronimiut lost their motivation, coherence and pride, and completely resigned themselves to frustration, despair and depression over their situation. The only release available to them came from the consumption of alcoholic substances, usually a homebrew, that dulled their awareness but also removed restraints to expressing anger and bitterness directed against each other. Violent attacks and abuse within households acted to increase the negative reputation of Hebronimiut and of the secluded areas where they lived.

The rate of alcohol abuse expanded in proportion to the decrease in command that Hebronimiut had over their personal social and economic affairs. The traditional authority of the Hebron Elders was diluted when families were divided in different communities that already had established leaders. People's loss of independence and their common menial status was

visible as they became wards of several external agencies for aspects of their existence: housing from the DNLA, food from Social Services, medical care from the IGA, education from the provincial government, and social control from the RCMP. Women and children were regular clients of welfare officers while men were subjects for the RCMP.

At Makkovik local residents had to deal themselves with the disruptions caused by alcohol abuse in the "Hebron end" because there were no police officers stationed in the community. Incidents of conflict and violence were difficult for residents to handle and inebriated people were occasionally injected with a drug by the IGA nurse to make them unconscious quickly.

The presence of the two distinct cultures in the enclosed space of a small remote coastal community was so intriguing to anthropologists that two studies were conducted on relations between the Settler and Inuit groups. Both the first study in 1963 by Shmuel Ben-dor and the second study in 1973 by John Kennedy describe the many ways in which Settlers and Hebron Inuit maintained their cultural distance by conducting separate social, cultural and economic activities. One significant difference between the studies was the decrease in the total Inuit population in the community; by 1972 about 96 Hebron Inuit had left Makkovik and went to live in other communities. The majority of Hebron Inuit were simply unable to deal with the unfamiliar physical and social environment at Makkovik and they finally responded to the condition of their lives by leaving the community.

Hebronimiut could more easily adjust to Hopedale and Nain because these communities at least had Inuit residents who shared an understanding of their customs, language and attitudes. There was still stress between the original and newcoming Inuit groups because social differences were not accepted in reality by people as readily as they were thought to be in theory. By far the greatest difficulty that Hebronimiut faced was to learn the particular conditions and hazards of the new environments in which they lived. Some accidents were fatal and Hebronimiut noticed an increase in the death rate within their group after they were displaced from Hebron. Their observation was confirmed by an analysis of death records in church registers at each community.

The major cause of death at Hebron from 1950 to 1959 was illness as Table 1 indicates; 42 of the total 82 deaths involved infants less than two years of age and 10 deaths occurred due to mishap such as accidents related mainly to hunting activities or occasionally caused by food poisoning. Illness was also the main cause of death at Hopedale and Makkovik during this same period, as Tables 2 and 3 demonstrate, but the infant mortality rate was lower in these communities than at Hebron. After Hebronimiut were resettled in 1959, mishap and violence accounted for a greater number of deaths than

illness for Inuit originating from Hebron, especially during the first two decades following their displacement. This outcome is indicated in Table 4 which shows the causes of death among Hebron Inuit in ten-year periods from 1959 to 1993.

Table 5 outlines the age, gender and cause of death of Hebron Inuit during the same period and further reveals that the majority of deaths from illness, mishap or violence involved relatively young people ranging from 11 to 40 years of age; mishaps also account for almost one-third of all deaths. The causes of mishap from 1959 to 1979 are shown in Table 6 which indicates that 17 of a total of 29 mishap deaths occurred from incidents of drowning or exposure which mainly involved male Inuit. Most of these accidental deaths were related to poor ice or weather conditions.

Deaths from mishap among Hebronimiut were also greater than such incidents among other residents of Hopedale and Makkovik. Tables 7 and 8 show that illness was the main cause of death for Inuit and Settlers in the two communities from 1960 to 1969, whereas Tables 9 and 10 indicate a high proportion of mishaps in addition to illness as the main cause of death for Hebron Inuit at these communities in the same period. A comparison of Tables 8 and 10 further reveals that deaths of Hebron Inuit at Makkovik from 1960 to 1969 were more than four times greater than the number of Settler deaths, and that mishap did not account for any Settler deaths.

Fewer Hebron Inuit died from mishap after 1980 (see Table 4) by which time people had gained the environmental knowledge that they needed to survive in the regions where they lived. Overall about thirty Hebronimiut have died in every decade since 1959 from various causes. Table 11 shows the year of birth, gender and time of death from 1959 to 1993 involving a total of 106 deaths of the 233 Inuit originating from Hebron.

The high death rate among Hebron Inuit indicated in these figures gives an additional dimension to the profound loss, stress and despair that afflicted Hebronimiut in the initial years after they were removed from their community. Not only were families separated by having to live in different communities but the frequent deaths of young people, mature adults and also elderly adults — who were often said to have died from heartbreak over leaving their homeland — broke the spirit of their surviving relatives and left them traumatized in overwhelming and silent pain. The destruction of family ties and the degrading circumstances of their lives led many Hebronimiut to drift from community to community as permanently displaced people.

TABLE 1

Age, Sex and Cause of Death at Hebron
January 1950 - July 1959

Age at Death	Cause of Death						Total
	Stillborn		Illness [1]		Mishap [2]		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0 - 2	3	1	18	20			42
3-10			1	2	4		7
11-20			2	3	2	1	8
21-30				1			1
31-40			1	3	1	1	6
41-50			1	3			4
51-60			3	6	1		10
61+ yrs.			2	1			3
Age Unknown			1				1
Subtotal	3	1	29	39	8	2	82
Total	4		68		10		

Source: Hebron Church Book

TABLE 2

Age, Sex and Cause of Death at Hopedale, January 1950 - October 1959

Age at Death	Cause of Death						Total
	Stillborn		Illness		Mishap*		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0 - 2	2	3	3	9	1	1	19
3-10					2	3	5
11-20			1	1	1	1	4
21-30			1	2	1		4
31-40			1	1			2
41-50			2				2
51-60				2	1		3
61 + yrs.			4	9	1		14
subtotal	2	3	12	24	7	5	53
Total	5		36		12		

*Mishap includes 7 children who died in a house fire.

Source: Hopedale Church Book

TABLE 3

Age, Sex and Cause of Death at Makkovik, January 1950 - October 1959

Age at Death	Cause of Death				Total
	Illness		Mishap		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0 - 2	8	4			12
3-10	2	1			3
11-20					
21-30	1		1		2
31-40	1				1
41-50					
51-60	2	2			4
61 + yrs.	6	5			11
subtotal	20	12	1		33
Total	32		1		

Source: Makkovik Church Book

Table 4: Causes of death among Hebron Inuit, 1959-1993

		Cause of Death			
		Illness	**Mishap**	**Violence**	**Total for sex and decade**
1959-69	M	9	8	3	20
	F	5	6	2	13
	Total	(14)	(14)	(5)	(33)
1970-79	M	6	10		16
	F	8	5	1	14
	Total	(14)	(15)	(1)	(30)
1980-89	M	8	3	4	15
	F	11	2		13
	Total	(19)	(5)	(4)	(28)
1990-93	M	6			6
	F	7	1	1	9
	Total	(13)	(1)	(1)	(15)
Total for cause of death		60	35	11	106

Source: Moravian Church Books (Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik)

Table 5: Age, Sex and Cause of Death of Hebron Inuit 1959 - 1993

Year of Birth	Cause of Death						Total by age group
	Illness		Mishap		Violence		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
0-10 yrs 1949-59	3	1	1	2	1		8
11-20 yrs 1939-49	2	4	7	2	3	1	19
21-30 yrs 1929-38	3	4	6	7	1	2	23
31-40 yrs 1919-28	8	5	5	2	1	1	22
41-50 yrs 1909-18	3	6					9
51-60 yrs 1899-1908	5	6	1		1		13
61+ yrs >1898	5	5	1	1			12
Total (Cause/Sex)	29	31	21	14	7	4	106
Total (Cause)	60		35		11		

Source: Moravian Church Books (Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik)

TABLE 6: Causes of death from mishap, 1959-1979

	Mishap										
	Drowning		Exposure		Accidents		Botulism		Fire		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1959-69	5	1	2	1		1	1	3			14
1970-79	5		1	2	2	2			2	1	15
Total by (Mishap/Sex)	10	1	3	3	2	3	1	3	2	1	29
Total by Mishap	11		6		5		4		3		

Source: Moravian Church Books (Nain, Hopedale, Makkvovik)

TABLE 7

Age, Sex and Cause of Death of Hopedale Inuit and Settlers, 1960 - 1969

Age at Death	Cause of Death						
	Stillborn		Illness		Mishap*		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0 - 2		1	5	4		1	11
3-10			2			1	3
11-20							
21-30							
31-40					1		1
41-50							
51-60				1			1
61 + yrs.			6	4			10
Subtotal		1	13	9	1	2	26
Total	1		22		3		

* Mishap includes 1 death from violence (murder)

Source: Hopedale Church Book

TABLE 8

Age, Sex and Cause of Death of Settlers at Makkovik, 1960 - 1969

Age at Death	Cause of Death						
	Stillborn		Illness		Mishap		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0 - 2			4				4
3-10							
11-20							
21-30							
31-40							
41-50							
51-60			2				2
61 + yrs.			2	1			3
Subtotal			8	1			9
Total			9				

Source: Makkovik Church Book

TABLE 9

Age, Sex and Cause of Death of Hebron Inuit at Hopedale, 1960 - 1969

Age at Death	Cause of Death						Total
	Stillborn		Illness		Mishap		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0 - 2	2	1	4	6			12
3-10					1	1	2
11-20					2	1	3
21-30					1		1
31-40						1	1
41-50						1	1
51-60					1		1
61 + yrs.			1	2			3
subtotal	2	1	5	8	5	4	25
Total	3		13		9		

Source: Hopedale Church Book

TABLE 10

Age, Sex and Cause of Death of Hebron Inuit at Makkovik, 1960 - 1969

Age at Death	Cause of Death						Total
	Stillborn		Illness		Mishap		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0 - 2	1		9	7			17
3-10				1		1	2
11-20					1		1
21-30				1	2		3
31-40			1	1			2
41-50			1	1	3		5
51-60			1	2			3
61 + yrs.			3		1	1	5
Subtotal	1		15	13	7	2	38
Total	1		28		9		

Source: Makkovik Church Book

TABLE 11

Year of Birth, Sex and Time of Death of Hebron Inuit, 1959 - 1993

Year of Birth	Time of Death								Total by Age Group
	1959-69		1970-79		1980-89		1990-93		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1949-59	3	1	1	1	1			1	8
1939-48	6	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	19
1929-38	1	3	3	6	5	1	2	2	23
1919-28	5	2	5		3	3	1	3	22
1909-18		1	2	3	1	2			9
1899-1908	2		1	2	2	4	2		13
>1898	3	4	1	1	1	1	1		12
Total by Sex/Time	20	13	16	14	15	13	7	8	106
Total by Decade	33		30		28		15		

Total Males 58
Total Females 48

Source: Moravian Church Books (Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik)

CHAPTER V

ADJUSTMENTS TO LAND USE AND COMMUNITY RESIDENCE

Following the concentration of Okak Inuit at Nain and Hebron Inuit at Makkovik, a wide range of services were introduced to benefit the increased population in these communities. After 1956 Nain gained a hospital, two-room school, RCMP quarters, larger store and offices for the DNLA, new wharf, power plant along with other facilities over time. Similarly at Makkovik a nursing station, four room school, new store and warehouse were among the first noticeable additions to the municipal infrastructure. These facilities, as well as the new houses constructed for Okak and Hebron families, permanently altered the character and also the organization of authority in the coastal communities because the services were administered by external agencies. The DNLA, IGA and RCMP became the dominant forces directing social and economic affairs in the communities.

Previously the Elders Council, consisting of elected representatives from the community, had considerable control over local residents. The Elders defined and enforced rules that were aimed at maintaining a balance between social order and values, the resource potential in the area, and protection of wildlife on which the survival of the whole community depended. Their rules governed when game could be harvested, methods for hunting at particular times of the year, ways of sharing game and procedures for resolving conflicts between hunters and between family members. The size of communities was also controlled by a requirement that individuals or families had to apply for permission from the Elders before they moved from one village to another. New residents also had to formally agree to follow the rules of the community to which they moved.

This approach to local governance, along with the dispersal of communities along the Labrador coast, ensured that the population in all areas was roughly equal and matched the available resources that families needed for food and commercial sale. Originally this ecological system functioned with Inuit place groups associating traditionally with particular areas; later these groupings were absorbed in mission stations established by the Moravian Church. After 1956 the environmental balance of the northern

coastal society was entirely undermined by the removal of the Okak and Hebron populations from areas that, in many respects, had a richer resource base than the places where families were relocated.

None of the Elders Councils were consulted about the social or economic implications of the sudden increase in population at their communities. Like the Hebron Elders who were not properly informed about the closure of their community, Elders Councils elsewhere were ignored and had difficulty dealing with the greater social and economic strains in their areas. They generally considered that the DNLA was responsible for displacing the northern Inuit that consequently upset the balance of the coastal population and the character of the remaining communities. In an attempt to remedy the disruptions caused by the rearranged population, the DNLA launched a series of new programs for resource development as well as housing for original community residents.

Nain became the frontier community on the northern Labrador coast and gateway to resources in the abandoned Okak Bay and Hebron regions. Since the majority of Okak Inuit had settled at Nain, families could return seasonally to their former fishing and hunting areas in Okak Bay because the distance was not great; people from Nain also began fishing in northern bays. Hebronimiut residing in Hopedale and Makkovik, however, faced a much longer distance travelling by either slow-moving trapboats in summer or dogteams in winter which were the only means of making the journey until the late 1960s. Nevertheless, some Hebron families regularly returned to their customary char fishing areas in Hebron, Saglek, Nachvak and Seven Islands Bay because they had a better chance of earning an income in these places than where they now lived. It was a bitter irony that people had to go back to their original homeland in order to gain a livelihood, and an acutely painful experience for them to see the ruins of the community that had formerly sustained their needs.

For Hebronimiut the northern bays were familiar and had ample char stocks that they could fish freely without the risk of competing or interfering with other fishermen. Char stocks in the vicinity of Hopedale and Makkovik were less plentiful and less valuable due to their pale flesh compared to red northern char. Cod was the main fish harvested at Makkovik but this species had always been less important at Hebron because cod only appeared for a short time in fall. At Makkovik, Hebron fishermen lacked gear for intensive cod fishing, as well as access to prime berths which were already claimed by local residents.

The majority of Hebronimiut could not earn enough income from cod fishing to allow them to qualify for the newly established federal unemployment insurance program that extended incomes to fishermen over

the winter. Lacking this option, their only means of support was meagre social assistance payments that entrenched their poverty and dependence on government programs of one kind or another. The highest annual public relief or welfare payments after 1960 were made at Hopedale and Makkovik where the majority of Hebronimiut lived.

During the 1960s and early 1970s fishermen from Hebron and other communities could continue harvesting char at remote northern bays because fish was salted in barrels at people's summer camps and collected at the end of the season for export to commercial markets. The DNLA provided two longliner vessels to bring supplies to northern camps and transport barrels of salted char to storage facilities at Nain; a weekly round-trip involved about 1200 kilometres of travel along the coast. Following the decline of cod stocks, new programs focused on the development of char and salmon fisheries culminating with the construction of processing plants for producing fresh frozen fish at Nain in 1971 and at Makkovik in 1973. This fundamental reorientation of the fishery caused further drastic changes in the pattern of resource use in the coastal region.

After 1971 the places that fishermen could harvest char and salmon in northern areas were determined by the number and range of collector vessels operating from Nain. Catches had to be transported quickly to the processing plant in order to keep fish in a fresh state and provide fishermen with high prices for quality products. The collector boats were too slow and small for reaching summer camps in far northern bays so fishermen began concentrating their activities around Nain and in Okak Bay.

Within a few years, the size and quantity of char in these areas significantly declined so the provincial Department of Fisheries placed harvesting quotas in several bays to allow char stocks to recover from the intensive fishing activity. Except for rare experimental fishery projects, the coast north of Napartok Bay has not been harvested since about 1980 and remains as a vital resource reserve for coastal inhabitants. However, very few inshore fishermen now have commercial char and salmon licenses because in 1993 the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans paid them for their licenses in order to enable the remaining fish stocks to grow.

Although Hebronimiut were given new houses at Makkovik, a house was not sufficient compensation for the economic and social losses that families experienced in that environment. Individuals and entire families left the community and settled mainly in Nain where they had better access to northern fishing and hunting areas. Hebronimiut also moved to Nain and other communities to reconnect with close relatives, marry local residents, or just to live at places where Inuit formed the majority of the population and shared common perspectives. This second wave of relocation, lasting from

the 1960s into the 1970s, prolonged the social and economic stress, especially at Nain, resulting from the initial dispersion of northern Inuit. The complex changes that occurred in the orientation of community affairs are described in these statements:

> Toby Andersen, Nain: Once the move took place they said all of a sudden, holy shit, look what we created. Now we got to deal with it. And it was through that, that all the original communities from Nain south to Makkovik, all of a sudden became aware that, oh gee, there's government programs. There's government money out there we can get. The move from Hebron brought the realization to the north coast that there was government monies available for other programs.
>
> Walter Rockwood: The question of improving the housing standard of residents of the settlements not affected by the Hebron and Nutak moves has come up from time to time, and I think that it will ultimately have to be dealt with. There is undoubtedly a need for such a programme. That the former residents of Nain, Hopedale and [Makkovik] will continue to live in houses which are generally below the standard of those provided with government assistance for the former Nutak and Hebron people without exerting pressure for assistance to improve their own housing standards cannot be expected. (Memo to Deputy Minister, August 22, 1963, PAN Dept. of Labrador Services GN 56/2)
>
> Toby Andersen, Nain: The move from Hebron was the first indication that government, all of a sudden, they were going to build houses for them, OK! So then you build houses for the people who moved from Hebron, now you have to do it for everybody else. And all of a sudden they said oh yes, there is a program for that. Now before that, it's fair to say, before the Hebron move, it's fair to say that there was some recognition of government, I suppose, through the fact that you had school, and you had to go to school, and that the teachers and the school system everything, the whole process was paid for by the government. We knew that, you know, government was supplying most of the education. And then there was, of course, there was the store. We knew that government built the stores and supplied the goods and services in the store and the fuel. Everything was bought from the government. But those would have been the only things that the people knew other than, of course, the baby bonus.
>
> Tom Okkuatsiak Sr, Nain: Nowadays Inuit can be compared to pets because they wait for handouts from the government. They have to listen to what the government wants them to do and as a result the Inuit cannot hunt as they used to. The government treats us like dogs

that have to be told to do this or do that. (Land use and occupancy project interview, October 1975, LIAD)

Walter Rockwood: An important factor to remember is that at Hebron the men concerned engaged in the Trout or Char fishery which, incidentally, has been an economic proposition all the way through. With the abandonment of Hebron, Nain fell heir to this important prop in the economy. At Makkovik the former Hebron men must turn to the Cod fishery, and I think there is an obligation to assist them to adjust to the new circumstances in which they are placed. The alternative is Relief for 12 months of the year. For the past two years they have engaged in the Cod fishery and sold their catches fresh at $.02 a pound to our depot. In this way they have supported themselves during the fishing season, but unfortunately they cannot qualify for Unemployment Insurance benefits, and have no alternative but to seek Relief from the close of one fishing season to the beginning of the next. In Makkovik this means from October until June. In this, of course, except possibly for a slightly longer period, they are no different from fishermen in many other fishing settlements in the Province. The anomaly, for anomaly it is when fishermen who sell the same or a smaller quantity of fish in bulk can qualify for seasonal benefits, can only be overcome by changes in the administration of Unemployment Insurance ... Whether or not the Relief has a more demoralizing effect on the Eskimos at Makkovik than on groups elsewhere in the Province is perhaps a debatable point. It could be that a programme which suits in St. John's or Corner Brook may not necessarily fit the Eskimos at Makkovik or the Indians at North West River, or even White People in Fortune Bay. (Memo to Deputy Minister of Public Welfare, Re: Makkovik, March 2, 1962, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Ted Baird, Edmonton: [The Hebron lifestyle] met their needs and while it may have been perceived as costly from an administration viewpoint we have only to look at where we are today. In fact, keeping Hebron open may, in retrospect, have been a real bargain.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: What impressed me, in terms of its illogic at the time, one of the arguments I heard a lot of that move, was that the resources at Hebron weren't sufficient to sustain the people and that the fishery wasn't very efficient. And yet after the move, people went from Nain back down there and it was acknowledged to be the only profitable enterprise of the whole fishery in northern Labrador in that they were barrelling it as pickled char and culling it as red, number two and three pale. People were not only doing very well, but the

government made a profit on that fishery which kind of contradicted part of their rationale for leaving the area. And of course it took more effort to get people down there and keep them supplied down there which they did with *Vida Gertrude* and one of the other collecting boats.

Peter Imak: It's the only place where we can go to earn a living and we are moved away from it. I find that ridiculous. I have never found any sense to it. People keep going back as soon as it's summer and then have to travel back through high seas and gale winds. Each time I came back, I find that I have to go back up to hunt for food to last us during the winter months. That's what I'm not happy about. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

John Jararuse, Nain: We avoided going up there for three years because we were not able to go for three years because we were here. I don't know if they fished or not while we were here. After awhile when the cod were gone, two or three years later, they made a regulation allowing people to go fishing up north, to leave Nain as far as Nachvak.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: After the relocation from Hebron, the people were told that they could go back to their fishing places up north, up around Saglek, Napartok and Okak or around that area. Those people who held the meeting told them that they could go back during the summer and they said that some sort of transportation would be provided for them. The ship would take them, say from Makkovik, or wherever they happened to be to their fishing spots up north, but this never happened. We were lied to.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: We used to go back up there every summer ... [My father] had his own boat so we could go up to Saglek. And when we had to go back, he didn't want to go back ... He said as long as he could get groceries, maybe he could live up there himself. Just come to Nain to get groceries.

Dick Kairtok, Hopedale: I only go back to go fishing. I started going with my grandmother when they were going to Hebron or to Saglek. We used to go and salt some trout because there isn't any trout here or in Nain, not enough.

John Jararuse: I was more used to the land up there. I always wanted to go back, so I kept going back up there. I'm more used to the land up there, more familiar with it to hunt on. Also, after the char fishing we would go back to hunt seals and we'd go back there during September

and October in the fall. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: I felt that I wouldn't go back when we were leaving. I used to be happy when I returned there to go fishing.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: We returned, my deceased husband and I, up north to make money from fishing.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: We would go fishing there to Hebron, Nachvak and Ramah. We would make a stop at Hebron ... Because I was raised in Hebron, because we had a house there, I always remember how nice it was there and I always remember the church ... Brings back a lot of memories in the springtime. I always remember it the most during fishing time. We would go to closer places, to where there are more fish.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: They used to cry, a couple of times, like in summertime you could see Hebron. They dream that they were there.

Paulus Nochasak, Nain: I always used to go back for eleven years. My daughter's name is Hebron. She's been to Hebron in 1980 to go fishing with us.

John Jararuse, Nain: I went there a lot of times, by boat every summer practically. I would follow my oldest sibling whenever they went up there to fish. We would drop by Hebron when we were on our way up north or back to Nain until 1984. I stopped fishing, I stopped going there after 1984.

Abraham Nochasak, Hopedale: Only in the last five or ten years, I've been back there just for fishing. I went up there with Lucas Ittulak in 1992, fishing up there.

Anonymous: But since Hebron and Nutak were moved, I know people from Makkovik and Hopedale have come here to Nain to hunt for caribou in the country, in our country in the Nain area. I know that people in the other communities were hungry for their country foods and that's why they come here now, because Nain seems to have more caribou than others.

Dick Kairtok, Hopedale: I'm always going back and forth to Nain all the time and I go to Hebron for fishing with other people ... I'm used to the place up there. Being used to the place, it's a hell of a lot better than here. I know that I was used to the place when I was a child up there because they took me here when I was a child. There is all sorts of wild game of any kind up there in Hebron.

John Jararuse, Nain: We used to live off the Nutak area, the Udlik area. We had no problem. The only problem we had was there used to be accidents. The only problem we had was no communications, like radio telephone.

Anonymous: ... when they were moved from Hebron they were moved to a place south of Nain where there was hardly any kind of game on the land and in the water like they were used to having at Hebron and Nachvak and Okak. And so maybe they came to Nain knowing that Nain had a little bit more game on the land and in the water compared to the communities more south than Nain so they came to Nain. Nain was as good a hunting place as was Hebron and Okak but it was better than other communities down there.

Tony Williamson, St. John's: ... what I remember at Nain, the movement there of the Hebron people did not create the kind of hostility or conflict that Makkovik did because those people who moved there went back north to fish in the Torngat area from Napartok to Nachvak ... All of the Hebron people that were in Nain spent their summers not trying to compete with established persons in the Nain area but went back north for the arctic char fishery, as well some Nain people too and Nutak people.

Anonymous: In the beginning it was alright, it was easy. Everything was going well because the Community Elders looked after what was their business to look after. But over the years people who went to Hopedale or Makkovik were coming back to Nain and it seemed to me that these were the people who didn't really follow the rules that were set here in this community. These were the people who were, I guess, rebellious to what the Community Elders here in Nain wanted and for that reason I really couldn't get along with them or didn't really like them. But there was one man, Willie Millie, he went to Hopedale from Hebron and years later he wrote to Nain. The Community Elders asked him to come here, to move to Nain. He was the only person who did right by what had to be done ... That was the problem, the cause of the problem. The people who were coming back from south of Nain didn't ask permission first to come into the community as was the custom in the past so that caused a lot of problems.

Lucas Nochasak, Nain: [We moved to Nain] because daddy used to go fishing all the time back north. That's why we moved here. It was too far for us all the time.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: Julius Nochasak moved up because he wanted to go back to his trouting places in the summer. He did it one

year from here but with the type of boats we had and engines that were so slow, it would take him a long time to get up there. And then he moved back here. The next year he was talking to me about it, he was my real friend, and he was telling me about it. He told me that he didn't want to leave Makkovik but he said it's too far to go from here to go up to Nachvak which was his trouting place. So he decided to get a house in Nain where he would be closer to it in the summer.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I don't know what year that was, I can't remember what year. My father told us that he wanted to get closer to the hunting grounds in Hebron and that Nain was a lot closer than Makkovik to Hebron so I guess he relocated here. We only lived in Makkovik about a year and a half or two years and then we moved to Nain ... When he relocated to Nain there was no house for him. He had to make his own. He had to fix up an old shack; it used to be an old power plant. I don't know whether he bought it but he built that old building on his own when we relocated to Nain.

Anonymous: Maybe because Nain was the most northern. Nain was a place where there was more game than the other communities down the coast; that was the main reason I got from the people coming back here. It was because Nain had more than the other southern communities down there, and today for more elderly people, for more mature people, that was true. But for the younger people I don't know how they want to live. They just live the way they want to. There's no care in the world for them. It's those people who are the mystery. I don't understand them.

Paulus Nochasak, Nain: [I came to Nain] when I was wanted by my mother because we used to visit since then. We were in Makkovik for a long time. I had two children at the time and a wife.

Boas Millie, Nain: Because my parents didn't like it in Hopedale, we moved from there ... When we were here, we began fixing a house that someone owned. That's how we got a house here.

Joe K.A. Tuglavina, Nain: I found a girlfriend, that's why I came to Nain ... It was a lot easier because they know how to speak Inuktitut and everything. They could help you too. Whatever you want, they give it to you.

Toby Andersen, Nain: Some of their relatives moved to George River and others moved back to Nain. When people started to move back to Nain and other communities and they did that because that was where most of their relatives were, you see, their families were split and they wanted to be back where most of their own people were.

William Andersen Sr, Makkovik: There were a few families who moved back to Hopedale because there were more Inuit in the station, and two or three went to Nain. The rest stayed here. The ones that stayed and live here now are right at home here now.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: I think all Hebron people, old people, all of them died ... There's a lot of the Hebron people in George River [Kangiqsualujjuaq] now. Some of them are in Fort Chimo [Kuujjuaq]. They're spread all over the place.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: That's the only place that I ever felt at home, that's where I felt rooted. I felt like I had the roots and today I feel like I'm on a string and that string is going to break any minute. Everything that I remember about Hebron, we were happy there. We were very rich in food, we always had lots of country food. We were never out of seal meat, caribou, fish and anything that you caught from the land like mussels and everything else. And I miss those kinds of things.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: I just couldn't stay still. I just kept moving everywhere after we lost our father. But I can settle a little bit now, since then, 1979.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: We only used to visit Nain and Makkovik when the old man was still alive. We used to go to spend Easter with them. Now I don't go anywhere at all anymore since all my friends are gone.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: I used to go to Hebron and I've been to Hebron three or four times since we moved. When I see it my heart breaks.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: In the last two years I went to Hebron on ski-doo to fish and to Saglek just for fun. I already knew my homeland and the area. I was really homesick when I got there. I became very depressed to see the place again and having knowledge of the people who used to live there. It touched me right through the heart to remember them all again. I will never forget them. I went everywhere around that area. Even when I am sitting in this chair, I travelled over it many times in my mind.

John Jararuse, Nain: Whenever I saw Hebron I used to think, why did the people just disappear when it's such a beautiful place with animals there and a good fishing place. Why did the place close down? I used to think why and I also think about the people who did not want to move away from their land, just being won over by White people. I feel

like I just need to defend them even today. Why did they just have to move? They were not even thinking of their feelings and thoughts.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: No, I never went back since I left but I'd like to. I never get the chance ... I hope so before I die. I'd like to see what it looks like ... My home, my home place; that's all I could say about it. I don't know, it's just like we're just visiting.

Augusta Erving, Happy Valley: I would just like to see my old home again, if the house, I don't think it's there now. Just the foundation, I guess. Where I was raised and the old mission and just to see the place again ... Hebron to me is like my home. I lived and never been back there again, where my grandfather's, my grandparent's, roots are.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: I don't have feelings now. My father's and family's grave is what I would like to see. I won't mind as long as I see it, as long as I got there once in a while.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: And today when I think of Hebron, there is not a day that goes by that I'm crying inside because I'm so homesick and I'm always wishing that I would go back just to see the place. Sort of more to ease my mind and I always think that I'd feel better, that I wouldn't be crying so much inside if I went back and saw it one more time ... And I always wish my children could see it too, just so they'll know where my roots are and where I grew up. But it hurts all the time, it never stops hurting. There's not a day that goes by, I guess everyone feels the same way.

Naeme Tuglavina, Nain: Me and Mark Hamilton went up there for the OKâlaKatiget Society, Television Department, to get some shots of Hebron and everything. Archaeologists were up there as well ... I had never been up there but when we got there, oh gee. There's a feeling, honest to God, everywhere you step you have to be careful because you might hurt someone. You can feel it, you can slice it, the feeling. It's there, the being is there, the spirit is there. You're going to feel it when you get there.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: We have never returned even to go hunting. Around the 1970s, maybe 1978, when I went to Nain for a visit. I went to Hebron with my sister Sophie and her family when they went up north. We had to spend a night in Hebron due to high winds. They took some White people up there. I didn't know where they came from; maybe fishermen or prospectors ... When I walked around in the old village, I could see the old graves up there. They are now trails for the caribou. Even some of the sides, the walls are down from the

graves. The old building, the old church, the doors are coming down. Inside the church smelt the same; it didn't smell of mold or moisture.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: It's like a ghost town. I felt a twinge. I had a sense of belonging, a feeling of roots, but there was nothing there. Just old abandoned houses but it would be nice to spend a summer there maybe. I don't know if I would ever want to go back there, really just for my son's sake where he grew up here. I would be really doing the same thing to him as what was done to us if I tried to relocate.

Lizzie Semigak, Nain: We had a hard time trying to get adjusted to it here. Maybe older people wouldn't mind so much because they were used to the place. What I think of Hebron is just that, all I could say is that I remember it as a pretty place and clean and you got everything you wanted there.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: There's nothing here now. The lifestyle we had will not be returned even if anybody tried.

Commentary:

The official motive of the relocation program was to provide Okak and Hebron Inuit with a higher standard of living through medical, educational and other social services that would be available in communities with a large population. Nain and Makkovik became the "growth centres" on the northern Labrador coast, suddenly doubling in size and no longer composed by a small homogeneous society. While these communities did gain a variety of facilities that improved social services, the agencies administering them took roles of authority that alienated the traditional leadership provided by local Elders Councils. Inuit in particular felt dominated by the provincial government, through the DNLA, which had more influence than ever before over economic affairs in the coastal region.

By promoting the value of social amenities over the assets of the resource harvesting economy, the advocates of relocation had not properly understood the intricate balance of population, wildlife reserves, and social order that was maintained through the geographic distribution of communities. Local resources and cultural prerogatives left Hebronimiut with few opportunities to earn a livelihood in the communities where they were placed. They either became wards of the provincial social welfare system or they had to return to northern bays to earn an income from char fishing. The standard of living among Hebronimiut was actually reduced rather than enhanced by relocation; most families were poorer both economically and socially because of their marginal status in southern communities.

Relocation became a continuous process for many Hebronimiut, especially those housed at Makkovik, as people shifted from one community to another seeking a better life for themselves. Although these movements were voluntary, unlike their eviction from Hebron, they extended the trauma of displacement for Hebronimiut as well as for the original community residents adjusting to their presence. Drifting Hebron exiles mostly ended up at Nain where the growth of the population led to excessive harvesting of fish and all wildlife, adding to social strains in the community. To counteract these pressures, the notion of establishing a new community north of Nain became a serious topic of discussion.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUESTION OF CREATING A NEW NORTHERN COMMUNITY

Okak and Hebron Inuit were unable to defend their residence and lifestyle on the northern coast against being uprooted to new communities in the 1950s mainly because they could not communicate in English and they lacked allies who might have acted as intermediaries in explaining their circumstances to influential officials. These restraints also prevented northern Inuit from expressing their discontent over the economic losses that they sustained and their desire to return to their original homelands. The first appeal on record for the reestablishment of a store in the Okak region was addressed in 1963 by a former Okak resident to the Member of Parliament for Labrador. This appeal was subsequently passed on to provincial officials who summarily dismissed it; the original statements are reproduced below.

Whether or not the northern Inuit persisted in attempts to convey their desperate position to government authorities during the next decade is not known but they would likely have gained little attention. Once people were provided with new houses, they were basically forgotten because they formed minorities in the communities where they lived and their particular difficulties were buried in problems of regional economic development that preoccupied provincial officials. The random movement of families between coastal communities, as well as to and from Happy Valley-Goose Bay, also prevented the Inuit from acting as a coherent body in pressing for the creation of a new community north of Nain to reflect their needs and interests.

An opportunity for the northern Inuit to state their case was created after 1972 when the provincial government formed a Royal Commission on Labrador with a very broad mandate to investigate virtually every aspect of economic and social conditions in the territory. The Royal Commission conducted hearings throughout Labrador and submitted a six-volume report, including 287 recommendations, to the government in February 1974.

Resettlement as a past, immediate and future strategy for development was one of the major topics of its study. The Royal Commission identified the primary error of previous resettlement programs sponsored by the provincial government in the way resettlement was conceived as an end in itself rather

than as a component of a development process. It proposed nine principles of resettlement to guide any future relocation schemes, emphasizing voluntary participation, sure economic benefits, informed consultation with all parties including residents of host communities, sound advance planning and continuing social and economic development programs to ease people's transition.

None of these principles were reflected in the manner in which Inuit were displaced from Okak Bay in 1956 and Hebron in 1959, or in their experiences thereafter. The Royal Commission concluded that the northern resettlement program was an ill-advised and futile operation which had caused injustice and hardship both to the northern Inuit and to residents of the host communities. It warned the provincial government of the inadequacy of resources to sustain the population and the need for urgent action to prevent existing socio-economic problems from becoming more acute. The northern Inuit had clearly not been integrated in other communities, were alienated and frustrated by their circumstances, and told the Royal Commission that they wanted to return to Okak Bay and Hebron. The Inuit recommended a complete restoration of the two abandoned communities, along with services similar to those found in southern coastal communities.

However, the Royal Commission considered that their proposal for a reversal of the original resettlement program was impractical because of the high cost and complexity of establishing two communities at the same time. As a compromise it suggested the formation of one community in the Okak Bay area, within the treeline, that would serve as a base for Inuit to harvest wildlife resources along the coast north to Cape Chidley.

This proposal was circulated in a questionnaire to resettled families in three coastal communities, asking how many people would actually return to the region north of Nain and their views on the order in which facilities should be constructed in a phased community development program lasting five years. A comprehensive program was prepared by the Royal Commission outlining stages of construction, projected costs each year and suggested sources of federal and provincial funding. The Commission estimated that restoring Inuit to a community in Okak Bay would cost $809,400 with most of the funds derived from a federal-provincial agreement on programs for native peoples.

A formal recommendation to the provincial government that immediate consideration should be given to the desire of northern Inuit to resettle in the Okak area was included in the Royal Commission's report. In a remarkable example of creative political reasoning, the provincial government responded by stating that it had not received a request from Labrador residents on the matter so no action was taken; indeed a truly paradoxical statement since the

government had formed the Royal Commission! Whatever hope and anticipation that the Royal Commission had raised among Okak and Hebron Inuit for a return to their homelands was crushed by the provincial government. The subsequent discovery of major gas reserves off the northern coast and a proposal to establish a national park encompassing the Torngat Mountains undoubtedly influenced the government's preference for keeping the region uninhabited.

If the recommendation by the Royal Commission had been acted upon at that time, it would have been possible for the northern Inuit to reconstruct their lifestyle and a viable economy in the remote coastal region. Elderly and mature adults would still have been present with the intricate knowledge of the landscape, wildlife and essential survival skills to pass on to younger generations. Older people were most upset by being evicted from their homeland and the strongest advocates for reclaiming a community north of Nain. As they passed away due to illness, accidents, violence and heartbreak, the surviving northern Inuit lost the impetus and confidence they needed to continue striving for a community of their own.

In 1978 Inuit living at Port Burwell on Killinek Island off the tip of the Labrador peninsula shared the same experience as Hebronimiut when they were suddenly removed from the community and relocated to other places in Ungava Bay and the Northwest Territories (Nunavut). However, families later received financial compensation from the federal government for the economic and social disruption caused to their lives.

Over the following years the closure of Hebron and prospect of a new northern community were topics of discussion in a newsletter, that was published at Nain and circulated to the coastal communities, as well as in meetings of the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) which was formed in 1973. Several resolutions in support of the establishment of a northern community were passed at LIA annual assemblies that consistently recognized the pressure being exerted on resources by the growing population, especially at Nain, and the desire of Inuit to return to their homeland. However, no direct action was ever taken to reestablish a northern community, although the issue was included in an early proposal for a settlement of Labrador Inuit land claims. Public awareness of the continuing difficulties and stress caused by the relocation of northern Inuit was raised in an audio-visual program which was produced in 1987, in Inuktitut and English, titled *The Relocation of Hebron* by the OKâlaKatiget (Communications) Society based at Nain.

With the passage of time, most Hebronimiut and their descendants have become resigned to the communities where they now live and the youngest generation, consisting of grandchildren of people who left Hebron as children, identify themselves with the place of their birth. Many Hebronimiut

still grieve for their lost homes and lives, and although they would like to visit their birthplace once again, they would not want to inflict the experience of resettlement to a new community on their offspring. They acutely resent ventures to attract tourists to view the landscape and wildlife that they have been denied. While the creation of a northern community is no longer a solution for them, the issue has taken a new meaning for the future of Labrador Inuit society. It is now seen as an essential opportunity to regain cultural skills, access to resources, independence and self-confidence that were forfeited after government, medical, educational, social and judicial agencies dominated people's lives following the closure of Hebron.

The range of opinions on the formation of a new community north of Nain is given in these statements:

> Walter Rockwood: We have from time to time expressed fears that Nain may become too large, and endeavoured to discourage people from moving north again to Nain from Hopedale and Makkovik. Circumstances may make it necessary to establish a new settlement in Okak Bay but not necessarily at Nutak or old Okak. I would refrain from making predictions because something may happen again to stimulate a flow of the population southwards. The view at the time of the Labrador Conference in February 1956 was that Northern Labrador might be depopulated. On the other hand it would be folly to provide economic services for a new settlement in Okak Bay without at the same time ensuring that educational, religious, medical and other vital services were available. (Memorandum, Subject: Request by Former Residents of Nutak to establish a new depot in the Okak Bay Area, June 29, 1963, PAN Rockwood Collection)
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> Lucas Okuatsiajoak [former Okak resident]: On April 8th, we voted for you. We should be glad for you to know our wishes. The people who lived in OKKak and Nutak wish to return. Their chances of getting a better living and hunting being easier there than here. We have wished this always and hope that the Canadian Government would have a store there for the people. Please let this be known in Ottawa. Labrador is part of Canada. (Letter to Mr. Charles Granger, House of Commons, Ottawa, May 24, 1963, Nain, PAN Rockwood Collection)
>
> Charles Granger [MP Grand Falls-White Bay-Labrador]: Thank you for your letter of May 24th. I regret the delay in writing you. I have noted that the people who lived in Okkak and Nutak wish to return. This is a matter which comes under the Government at Newfoundland and I have forwarded a copy of your letter to the Hon. Myles P. Murray, the Minister in the Government of Newfoundland whose responsibility it

is. (Letter to Mr. Lucas Okuatsiajoak, Nain, June 19, 1963, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Walter Rockwood: Mr. Okuatsiajoak's suggestion is that the Government of Canada, not the Province of Newfoundland, should establish a store in Okak Bay ... It should be noted that Lucas Okuatsiajoak, who appears to be the spokesman of the group, is one of the men who migrated to Labrador from Ungava Bay about 20 years ago. There were Okuatsiajoaks, Ittulaks, Imaks and Anakataks in the group ... He might be reminded that the Government of Canada has established stores at several points in Ungava Bay, Port Burwell included, since he left there about 20 years ago, and that perhaps nobody would raise serious objections to his going back. His letter may, however, represent the views of a small faction. For this reason I would recommend no action other than that the matter be investigated further. Perhaps it would also be advisable to discuss it with Reverend F.W. Peacock, Superintendent of the Moravian Missions in Labrador. (Memorandum, Subject: Request by Former Residents of Nutak to Establish a New Depot in the Okak Bay Area, June 28, 1963, PAN Rockwood Collection)

Kinatuinamot Illengajok [newsletter published in Nain]: I am writing this letter because I want to know for what reason we, the people of Hebron and Nutak, were told to move away from our own homeland up north. Ever since we moved we have gone hungry for meat that was plentiful where we came from. We are like children whose parents were taken away. We do not know what we have to do. We the people who came from the north are yearning to go back to our homeland. Some day we will accomplish this. (CBC Land and Sea, *People of the Torngats*, Letter to the Editor; 1973)

H.M. Budgell: As you know when the Royal Commission on Labrador was on the north coast this winter many Eskimo people told the Commission they wanted to move back north. They gave a number of good reasons for wanting to do this. The Commission thinks it important they know the feelings of all the Eskimo people in this matter so they can tell the views of the Eskimo people to the Government of Newfoundland ... The Royal Commission would now like to know, how many people, if they were given the chance are truly interested in living North of Nain. (Letter to Former Residents of Nutak and Hebron and their families, May 28, 1973, PAN Royal Commission on Labrador Collection GN 6)

Andreas Tuglavina: I have found out that some of the people did not fill in what they were asked to although some have done so. And all of

those I asked have the same mind about moving back because, among other things, they all long for fresh (wild) meat. Their thinking is still the same as what they have previously stated. And those who have not written say they are just waiting, along with the rest of us, for someone to make the first move to Okkak because we have all been going hungry ever since we moved to Makkovik. (Letter to the Royal Commission, Translated by Sam E. Metcalfe, September 17, 1973, Makkovik, PAN Royal Commission on Labrador Collection GN 6)

Royal Commission on Labrador: Principles of Resettlement

1. Any assisted community resettlement must be voluntary and free from coercion;

2. Resettlement should only occur when it offers assurance of opportunity to earn a reasonable living for those who are resettled;

3. Resettlement must not bring economic hardship to residents of receiving communities;

4. Resettlement should only occur when the views of the people involved are known and when people have had opportunity to discuss, with appropriate authorities, the implications of resettlement, and the need for it;

5. Resettlement should only take place after adequate opportunity, prior to resettlement, for representatives of those wishing to resettle, of those in the receiving community, and of those in Government, to consider resettlement jointly, and for representatives of those being resettled, to visit the receiving community well in advance of resettlement;

6. When a community is to be resettled, its residents should have the opportunity to settle en masse in one receiving community;

7. Settlement requires sound advance planning of many kinds and such planning must be carried out, in concert, by local people and other experts;

8. Resettlement does not end with physical relocation but requires continuing effort to ease readjustment;

9. The financial cost of resettlement must receive adequate consideration.

(Report of the Royal Commission on Labrador, 1974, Vol. VI, pp. 1209–1210)

Royal Commission on Labrador: Resettlement was planned and executed without consultation with the displaced people, without meaningful consultation with the receiving communities and without consideration of an employment source or the impact resettlement would have on the renewable resource base of the receiving communities. In many cases, the resettled people had not even previously seen their designated new location. Compulsion to resettle was achieved simply by closing the retail store operation in the affected communities. The Moravian Mission at Hebron closed its doors, the Government agency dismantled its communication system and residents were left with no choice but to resettle.

The intent of the agencies was in part humanitarian and in part dictated by funds available to supply necessary services. However, the futility of resettlement merely to provide disadvantaged people with necessary services has been amply illustrated during the following years. The resettled people have not been integrated into the receiving communities, even their limited in-roads on the renewable resource base within operating range of communities is resented by established residents, and their frustrations are evident in that they rarely participate in community affairs. Alienation has led to a non-co-operative attitude, often culminating in violence in the home and friction between neighbors.

The employment situation in the receiving communities tends to favor established residents. As community infrastructure is completed, employment opportunity will diminish, resulting in even less opportunity than at present.

The resource base within range of the receiving communities is not supporting established residents now. It cannot even partially support the influx of people resettlement has brought ...

The northern resettlement program is a failure. It has generally resulted in injustice and hardship to northern Eskimo residents and to the host communities. It has also resulted in undue pressure on the physical living space and the renewable resources, adjacent to the communities, which the host communities can neither accommodate nor sustain. This problem will grow even more acute, and cannot be ignored. This highlights the urgent necessity to reduce population pressure.

Objective

1. Under the Federal-Provincial Agreement, to begin resettlement of willing residents of northern Labrador communities to the Okak Bay-Cape Mugford area, and to afford them opportunity to develop an

economically viable renewable resource base northward to Cape Chidley, with priority assigned to former residents of Nutak and Hebron;

2. To initiate a renewable resource development expansion program which would ease population pressure on the overcrowded and distressed communities in northern Labrador.

The Commission recommends that the Province give immediate consideration to wishes of northern residents, as expressed to the Commission, to resettle in the Okak Bay-Cape Mugford area. (Report of the Royal Commission on Labrador, 1974, Vol. VI, pp. 1212–13, 1215, 1219, 1228)

Planning and Priorities Secretariat, Executive Council: This matter was discussed by the Commission with appropriate members of the Government in October, 1973, and a position paper was left with them, in preparation for pending Federal-Provincial discussions on northern Labrador. (Summary of the Report of the Royal Commission on Labrador, 1974. May 1974)

Government of Newfoundland: Response [to recommendation 256] Residents of Labrador have not made any request to Government concerning this matter and no action has been taken. (*Progress Report on the Implementation of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labrador*, Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development, December 1979)

Government of Newfoundland: Response [to recommendation 256] Residents of Labrador have not made any request to Government concerning this matter and no action has been taken. (*Ten Years After. Progress Report on the Implementation of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labrador 1974*, Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development, December 1986)

Jefta Jararuse, Nain: ... I want to stay in Hebron. Now I am only standing. I will be 73 years old in April. I am only going by what I am told to do. I heard the people were going back but no one has gone back yet. I want to be told why we are not sent back. (Interview by Boas and Mary Millie, 1975, LIAD)

Tom Kajuatsiak, Nain: I would like to say a few things. I went to Hebron in July to see if there [was] as many seals there as there were when we were moved out for resettlement many years ago. I found that there still is as many seals there as there were when we lived there. You all know that there were more seals to hunt during the months of

June, July and part of August. This had not changed when I went there. Maybe I'm the only one to say that only seals were hunted there. I have also learned that even if we shot a lot of seals, they would always grow back in numbers. Ever since we moved out for resettlement, we have been hungry. I went back to the places where we used to live and the places where we used to hunt, and nothing had changed. There were many animals around when I went there. I also went to Saglek and saw many seals. You all know the year in which we were moved out for resettlement so I won't mention it. Why were we moved out? There were so many seals that even a twelve-year-old child going to school managed to shoot two seals ... ("News about Hebron," *Kinatuinamot Illengajok*, Dec. 10, 1975, Vol. 1, No. 19, p. 6)

William Nochasak, Hopedale: ... I would like to give him my answer to his question "why were we forced to move?" The real reason we had to leave Hebron was because there wasn't enough people in the community after two boats had left on September 8 and five more had left on September 22nd. I myself didn't want to leave Hebron, and I even mentioned it in church before our minister left.

After we were told that we had to leave, the Elders and local men held a meeting. After the meeting was over, we went to the store clerk because he had a radio, and told him that we didn't want to leave. Shortly after, our houses were checked for repairs because we would not be leaving, but despite all this, more people left and we were told by the Whitemen that there were not enough people in the community and that we had no choice but to leave. Why do you, the people who moved from Hebron, want to go back now? If you didn't leave, we wouldn't have moved if you had just listened to me. I have said enough, and what I wrote is directed mostly to people who had lived in Hebron before ... ("More about Hebron," *Kinatuinamot Illengajok*, Feb. 4, 1976, Vol. 1, No. 23, p. 5)

Labrador Inuit Association, Resolution: WHEREAS many members of this Association perceive a need for a new community because of the increasing pressure of population in existing communities; and

WHEREAS the Association recognises that there is still a deep attachment towards the land north of Nain on the part of many of its members; and

WHEREAS it is clear that any proposal for a new community cannot be of any value unless it is planned by the people who will live in it;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Labrador Inuit Association Board appoint a committee of its members to consider the question of the

establishment of a new northern community and to plan for its establishment.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the committee appointed to consider this question enlist the co-operation of the Labrador Division of the Memorial University Extension Service which had indicated a willingness to provide such co-operation. [Resolution moved by Bill Shiwak; seconded by Ernie Ford. Carried.]

(Resolution No. 7, Minutes, LIA Annual General Meeting, March 9–11, 1978, Makkovik, LIAD)

William Kalleo, Nain: We all know that the people who were forced to move away from their home in the North always wish that they could return. It is not difficult to understand why they wish to return to their homeland, it is much easier to hunt there because the animals are more plentiful all year round. It is not difficult to see that a majority of these people would gladly return as soon as the fishing season is over; if they were given the opportunity to do so. With this in mind the Board of Directors of LIA appointed me to find out how many hunters are willing to move North to hunt for their food supplies. After I find out who would be willing to hunt for their provisions, I will try to find a way to get money for materials to build small cabins for their camps. It is easy to see that there will be no difficulty in finding funds for this purpose if we work at it hard enough, also if people from Nain, Hopedale and Makkovik would approach me or write to me to let me know how many people would support this project. I know it is difficult to understand what this is all about just by written information so I would like you to come to me when I return from camp.

The people from the Northwest Territories has already tried this and they are even able to get a loan up to $3000.00 and they pay it back with the money they earn from trapping and keep the rest for themselves. So I also have to try to find out who would be willing to visit one of the communities in the Northwest Territories to learn how the people hunt there; sometime this year. It is difficult to explain it properly on paper so you can write to me or come and see me in person if you wish to get more information about this issue or approach the other members of the LIA Board of Directors. ("Notice to those concerned," *Kinatuinamot Illengajok*, Nov. 24, 1978, Vol. 2, No. 50, pp. 4–5)

Labrador Inuit Association, [Discussion group on new community]: First of all if it could ever be started there should be a hospital, store

where people could buy food, power plant, have to be founded by a group of people who really want to move there. Also have to think about area that could be got to by coastal boats, aircrafts and good place for buildings ... If we start a new community in that way those people who want the new community would have it to be agreed to by all the people on the Labrador coast. The people who want to move would have to approach LIA and tell LIA just where they want to move to. They would use LIA as a go-between and as their spokesman. They would ask LIA to approach government as their spokesman to bring up all the things a new community would need. Some people said they found that the government had already moved people from north and resettled them. The government should have thought about rehousing for those people who were moved. Also those people who really want to move could be recognized and come forward and start to move back. They should have a community council and perhaps use old houses to be used again. They could go to the council and ask them to save the old houses and take them north by collection boat. Because the government moved the people south without even asking them, the government should now look after those people who want to return north and help them to move north again. Could LIA look into this new community for the people who want to move? The people who want to move north should form their own elder group to act as ministers, etc. if they don't have one. We have to find out how many people want to move.

Bill Edmunds, LIA President: The government and other people might say these lazy people aren't doing anything for themselves and why should they because they were taken from their homes and it is right that the government should pay to resettle these people in their homeland. You must remember this will take time to achieve and hope people don't feel we are trying to get away from it because we are not. (Minutes, LIA Annual General Meeting, Feb. 26-March 2, 1979, Nain, LIAD)

Labrador Inuit Association, Resolution: WHEREAS

(1) the communities of Northern Labrador are growing in size and population;

(2) resources near these communities are fully or over-harvested;

(3) the Inuit of Northern Labrador have, over the past twenty years, expressed an interest in a new community north of Nain;

(4) there are under-used resources north of Okak;

(5) the cost of harvesting resources in the north from Nain is prohibitive; and

(6) the Labrador Inuit Association has, in the past, resolved to investigate the feasibility of a new community north of Nain;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Labrador Inuit Association take immediate action to conduct a feasibility study for a new community north of Nain;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that such a feasibility study include:

(1) a survey of how many people would move north;

(2) an assessment of what level of services people would expect;

(3) an assessment of the location, size, design and cost of such a new community; and

(4) an assessment of how the people would want to be governed;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Labrador Inuit Association seek whatever assistance or professional advice it needs to conduct a feasibility study. [Resolution No. 8 moved by Danny Michelin; seconded by Andrew Piercey. Unanimously approved]

It is L.I.A.'s policy and position that a community north of Nain be established. L.I.A. has a problem in getting moving on this issue. Nothing effective has been done so far on this issue ... L.I.A. tends to follow public opinion rather than lead it. In this case, that tendency causes a problem because public opinion seems to be too demanding. People are keen to resettle the north but at the same time they want to enjoy all the amenities afforded them like stores, schools, churches, hospitals, housing, television, telephone, radio, water and sewage, air service, wage employment, Social Services and so on. It is impossible for L.I.A. to meet such immense demands all at one time. (Minutes, LIA Annual General Meeting, Feb. 28-March 7, 1983, Nain, LIAD; Appendix 4: Community north of Nain)

Louisa Flowers, Nain: Hebron, there's nothing like home eh? My father said if anybody ever goes to Hebron to live or if anybody had a house there, he would go back, even now. Because at George River where he's staying now, it's too low, too shallow. You can't see the water because it falls so much in low tide.

Mike Semigak, Nain: If everyone from Hebron returned, I'd return because I liked it very much ... Yes, I would follow if people moved.

Abraham Nochasak, Hopedale: That's hard to say for me right now, where I grew up in Hopedale and I'm used to most of the people in Hopedale. If people were ever to go home again, I would be the first one there I think.

Andrew Piercey, Hopedale: If they open Hebron, my wife is willing to come with me. I would be the first one to move with others if they open up Hebron. Nutak is an even better place.

Sem Kajuatsiak, Nain: If White people were there I would like it because more wild animals are there than here. All kinds of wild animals are there to hunt: partridges, rabbits, more fish and seals, also more caribou. I know all the wild animals there. I would like it very much if White people were there.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: Even Benjamin Jararuse, he comes to Nain every year. He is staying in George River. He too said if anybody moved to Hebron, he would go back again ... There are some people too in Coral Harbour who were in Hebron ... One of the Jararuses from Boas Jararuse's family; they've never seen Boas and they for many years. They had to move like we moved from Hebron. They had to move over from Killinek. So they went all over the place.

Anonymous: Peter Imak goes back and forth to Nain and Kangidlualukjuak. He is waiting for the move if it should happen; he's the only one I know of.

Peter Imak: Certainly without a doubt. I would be one of the first to move back. Soon as people would make a move. I already know where I would move back to because I used to look around for a good place to move to. The place has a lot of trees, so it would be useful to people. The government will not help them in any way, not even for firewood. They have to live through harsh winter months. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Clara Ford, Makkovik: Sometimes I see some Inuit from Hebron, like if I go to Goose Bay, and when I see them I talk to them. Some people said they would like to go back to where they belong, to where they came from, Hebron. I said I do too but I got a family here now. I got four daughters married here ... I've got no family; only myself and one brother in Nain, that's all. No aunts, no uncles.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: I used to miss home a lot but I got my own family and I'm not so bad now ... I always told Etuk if anybody moved to Hebron, I'm moving and I'll come to see you every year. He got mad at me.

Anonymous: ... there are people, elderly people, at the time when they were moved, they were the ones wanting to go back to their homelands. They were the ones always wishing to go back and today there's not as many people now who wish to go back. But there are some people grown-up now who were just children when the move was made.

Andrew Piercey, Happy Valley: Ever since I got here I wanted to return. I'm always talking about it. I even mentioned it before at the meetings. And knowing about the other people and the people who used to live in Nutak wanted to return. Some don't want to return and some want to go back. Same thing here, Makkovik, some don't want to return, some want to, same as Nain.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: I know I wouldn't go back now. Sometimes I sit down and think about all the things that would have been happening in Hebron if we were still there. Things like common sense things, like what would I be doing. I know I would be married with different children, probably Inuit children, Inuit husband. Everyone married to Inuit husbands and we'd be living our traditional lifestyle, stuck with our culture, beautiful culture. And we'd all be talking the Inuktitut language. The church would be healthy. We'd be still rich in food. We wouldn't be so poor as we are today and we would feel like we have a home with our own houses. We wouldn't have all the worries that we have today. There wouldn't be the drinking problems, maybe not as much. But I don't think anyone would go back north now, not to live. I would go back just to see Hebron but I don't think I'd live there again.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: Yes, I would like to go back there if I had my own way of transportation. Now I have nothing and I feel that I have been deprived of my life. Although I would not move back to Hebron, with all the people who were there when we left all gone, but given a chance I would go back for a visit.

Simeon Nochasak, Makkovik: I'm not too sure. There are more Makkovik people here than Hebron people. Our younger generation were born here so they don't mind it and it's their home now. But the older ones I'm not too sure about. Most of them are deceased now, the ones I used to know.

Renatus Onalik, Happy Valley: Right now I can call myself Hopedalimiut because I've been living in Hopedale for over thirty years now. I never did hate people from Hopedale even when I was on alcohol.

William Onalik, Hopedale: After having lived here for 17 years, I would not like to move to another place again. Moving away again would only put an end to little things that are coming about for the comfort of the people. Even though it may not be so important, moving away to other lands is only losing things that you had with other people who you got used to. (Land use and occupancy project interview, 1976, LIAD)

Sophie Lampe, Nain: I don't have any feelings anymore. I'm also used to it here now. Even if people moved, I wouldn't move. My children are my bosses now. I don't have a mother or a father; since I don't have either one, I wouldn't move from here [Nain]. My stepfather and mother always did well you see and my children are plenty. They all don't want to go there [Hebron]. I can't go there. I don't know how people would live there anymore.

Winnifrieda Jararuse, Hopedale: If people were to return, maybe my children would return. Only if they go back, I would try to go with them. I don't know if there will be people there again.

William Onalik, Hopedale: When there wasn't supposed to be people at Hebron, they have talked about rebuilding the old Mission church as a fishing camp for tourists at Hebron. It was very hard for me to accept when they drove the people away. We had to leave our home and they want to build a fishing camp. I don't even want to think about it. The place is better off without any people there.

Boas Millie, Nain: I would just like to say as of now it's too late. So I wouldn't move because I am living in my land now. I used to want to move but now I'm happy with what I have.

Daniel Jararuse, Nain: Although we didn't want to move, we moved anyway and there isn't anything else to do about it.

Jako Semigak, Hopedale: No. I am not moving anymore even if they were moving. All my relatives left their bodies here. I'd rather die here with them.

Amos Suarak, Nain: All I could say is if people returned I wouldn't go back. I wouldn't go back because since I was younger and it's been so long, I feel that I've grown up here. My children and family weren't born there and if we brought them there, they would go through the same thing. I want them to be where they are born.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: I think the kids wouldn't like it because they know their home too. They were born here and in Hopedale. Like the old people, they have never seen each other since they moved.

Abraham Nochasak, Hopedale: What I am thinking about now is, I am a fisherman. I can do anything. I can make a house myself; it's easy to be a carpenter, cementing and everything, if we ever get moved back there. I have a very good trade in house building and stuff like that. It would be good, easy for now.

Dick Kairtok, Hopedale: I'm not quite used to it here because I'm hardly here. I'm not used to Hopedale. I'm always gone hunting and I'm only happy when I am out hunting. I'm hardly here in Hopedale. I'm only happy when I'm hunting.

Louisa Flowers, Nain: I'd rather let them build the houses in Napartok. It's so beautiful and handier to Nain anyway ... In the springtime, my father and the four of us would stay in Napartok, stay in a tent.

Anonymous: I know that a lot of people won't be going straight to Hebron, not to Hebron itself. Maybe they would move to a place like Napartok Bay. You know they would have to move to a place where there is more firewood. Where they lived, it's got no firewood or anything. Where they would go would be Napartok Bay. It's the borderline for the trees.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: Only for my personal feeling, I think it was a big mistake and I think something should be done about the people that were relocated. A lot of them are in poverty and even if jobs could be created for those people because they were promised a lot of things when they were relocated, and those promises were never met. They should be compensated in some way, if not in money then in something practical, perhaps some kind of a job. The government is always trying to find ways to get jobs for people. I never hear of anything coming up the north coast. These people were promised so many things but where are the jobs?

William Onalik, Hopedale: We were moved when we did not want to move from our home. We have to be resentful about that and be treated by the government in the same way as Killinek people. The government has to help the people from Hebron who they relocated. I used to go to meetings up in the Northwest Territories and I was asked a question there, if we will be compensated? My answer was that I didn't know anything about it ... We have never been compensated [with] anything when this was told to us: we will be looking after housing for you people. Some people don't even have houses yet. We were moved in 1959 and still some people don't have proper housing. How come we were never treated the same way as the Killinek people?

It's time for the government to think about the people they had moved and for the people who want to stay and those who wish to return. People from Killinek were treated fairly. They were compensated and their belongings were replaced what they had left behind. I know this won't happen to people from Hebron because our government is from the Island [Newfoundland].

Tony Williamson, St. John's: And one of the things that made me particularly sad, because I saw it as a possible saviour. In Nain in 1984 I was chairing a fisheries conference in which was raised an invitation from Makivik Corporation to the Labrador people. They didn't say Hebron people but anybody in Labrador who was interested in joining them at Killinek in an arctic char fishery there. They'd applied for permission also to fish the fiords between Killinek and Kangalasiorvik fiord, which was the area not being used any longer. Because of the whole land claims business, the lawyers argued and convinced the Labrador Inuit that they're being pressured and pushed from the north; and they want to take your resource and don't have anything to do with them. I think that was a tragedy, that point of view, because they were basically, the people who wanted to develop that operation at Killinek were closely related to the people who came from Aulatsivik and all around there. And there would have been a chance for them to live busy lives ... They wanted to put a fish plant in there. And also go off and get some deep-water fish like, what's it called, not halibut but turbot.

Toby Andersen, Nain: There are so many now in Nain who want to be out there but they can't go because they can't afford to go. This is the first spring that I saw people like Jako Merkuratsuk and like Lucas Ittulak for instance, and I said what's wrong: how come you never went out, go away for the spring? "No money, can't afford it. Can't get gasoline, can't get ammunition. No money, no jobs, no nothing." You see, they can't get the money. If they had the money up front they would be able to provide for themselves and they would earn money through their furs and everything else, anything they could get.

And so what happened? You're walking around Nain on welfare and drinking. So you are forced into it because you got nothing else to do. There's a club that's got outrageous prices that's really accessible to take even your welfare money and I think that's sad, you know. But, so be it, that's a part of how the community has developed; it's sad.

And you see that's going on now, more and more and more. And younger people come up and all falling into one dark area there, a deep

hole, you know. But if these people were allowed to go north and practice the real way then it would make a difference.

Anonymous: I tried to find out and ask why the people were moved from their home. There was nothing there that I could find and I know that even if some people want to go back, there won't be enough of the people to move back to make a community up there. The government won't let them go back there unless they know how to look after themselves better than they do now. I know that for a fact. That's what I've been told — unless the people know how to look after themselves. And the other reason that was given to me is that there are not enough people to go back up there now to make a settlement.

Renatus Onalik, Happy Valley: I think it's going to be lost; it's going to be gone. We are not going to have all those old people, we're losing them all, and we younger people are forgetting our Inuit way, our language.

Sophie Lampe, Nain: They always helped each other. We came here when people were still doing that and they began slowing down on helping each other. But when we were at our land, they had always helped each other. If someone was working then others would help out. When people were here, we came here to Nain when people were still helping each other. I'm not looking at people from here as anything I don't like. I'll live here now for the rest of my life, so will my children, and they are from here; our land is just our former land. If people moved there, I'd go there for a visit but my children are all from here.

Sabina Nochasak, Hopedale: The person who has any kind of wild game, they would share with others; it was given to anyone. People didn't ask for money; it was given free. Now even if we have any kind of wild meat, no one comes to ask anymore. Even if I told someone to come and get whatever I have to offer, nobody comes. Martin always gets any kind of wild game. I don't go around to give anything to anybody.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: Now today, if you want anything from an individual you've got to give it back. I can remember sharing.

Joanna Andersen: Nowadays everyone is forgetting who is related to who, because we were separated. Those who are not being told by their parents or forgetting who is related to who. This is also something which is very important. And at the same time hard to grasp because all the Inuit should know who is who and how they are

related. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Renatus Onalik, Happy Valley: They are forgetting their own language. They don't talk Inuktitut anymore ... My kids, they don't talk it, especially the young ones. They don't understand it.

Ted Baird, Edmonton: ... I feel sure a great many skills that could have been learned by the younger generation were lost because of this upheaval. Children could have learned how to build snowhouses, make caribou parkas, duffle parkas, sealskin boots, build komatiks etc. etc.

Toby Andersen, Nain: There's young people here now in Nain who don't even know names for the outside places and don't even know how to get there.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I think [my son's] generation is changing anyway. I don't know if he'd be able to survive up there.

Anonymous: It's kind of a hard question to deal with but the young people won't do anything unless they have leadership. They need strong leadership now, that's something some people miss. That's the key point, strong leadership, in having people do what they want to do ... People from Nain, Hopedale and Hebron have no one to lead them anymore; they don't have a leader. That's something that the people missed. They need strong leadership and they also need a strong religious leader like a Moravian minister. We need strong guidance here. People feel they're lost without strong religious leadership and without strong community leadership like Martin Martin. Now even though he was just one man, he had control over his people and that's something people miss now. There is no leadership; people have nowhere to go, no sense of direction.

Renatus Onalik, Happy Valley: The kids are mixed up. Some of them don't know what to do. Some of them want to be something they're not; they want to be Kablunat.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: I guess the only answer for that is to try and encourage the dropouts; there are a lot of dropouts. The only encouragement would be to try and get the people to go to school, post secondary school. There is a lot of people here who are dropouts and I think a lot of people from Hebron dropped out too.

Boas Jararuse, Makkovik: If this generation were to move back, their lives would become more manageable and they would find it better.

Andrea Webb, Happy Valley: I'm proud that I grew up in Hebron. I'm proud that I still have my language, the Inuktitut language. I'm proud that I have the Hebron dialect. But then when you look at it, maybe some of it from my point of view, you have a lot of people who were born in Hebron working in Inuit organizations. Like in OKâlaKatiget now there is Mark Nochasak and Wilson Jararuse ... Sarah Ashivak is the interpreter in the hospital here, Sue Webb, she's a teacher ... And then you have the carvers from Hebron. Harry Semigak, he is a very good carver. And the other person is William Nochasak, he's another carver from Hopedale. And then we have Anton Nochasak, he's one of the store managers. The thing is you make the best of what you got.

Toby Andersen, Nain: Culture is only going to be preserved if you can practice it ... you have to be able to go on the land, to go off, to be able to do all those things. You can't do it if you don't have a culture.

Anonymous: I don't know. Maybe people working in the fish plant should push people to go north to fish. There is a need for young people to be pushed, to go out into the land, to go up north. Max Tiller would urge people and push them along to go into the land and that's what the people need. That's the only way the young people will get to be able to feed themselves and look after themselves.

Alice Pilgrim, Nain: It's very difficult to undo damage that's been done. I don't know what it would take, I don't know how to answer that. I know for myself, I have to keep myself going, I have to push myself. I have to push myself everyday. I have to go to work, got to go to work, got to go to work, got to push myself, instead of just staying home.

Andrew Piercey, Hopedale: We're getting closer although we're from different communities. We are all just one person. We all have one God. Even if we're from different communities, we have to work together. That's getting better slowly, even until today. They still get into trouble towards each other but not so much as before with words and disagreements, calling each other names.

Toby Andersen, Nain: There are still a lot of the old ways that can be actively taught. But to really do it, you have to go where you've got to survive. When you go from Nain for a day and back again, you're not surviving. If you went to Nachvak for instance for five days, then you get your lesson in surviving ... for thirty days, sixty days, ninety days, then that's the difference. You're surviving because you're getting your char, you're getting your caribou and your berries and everything else.

Anonymous: There's got to be a willingness among the people to form a little community somewhere up north, where they can show the

government that they can live on the land. Maybe in that way they can persuade the government to give them help to move back up there somewhere. I know that the government has said unless they get health care, education and a government store, unless the people get those things, there's nothing the government can do for the people. The people have got to try and prove to the government that they can live off the land up there, make a point to the government that they belong on the land. I support that idea.

John Jararuse: They would have to get things like a school, a store, and maybe if people wanted it a fish plant too. I don't know but that's my opinion. If it had the very essential things that people needed, it would be good. If that's what people said they needed, I would help because even when we want to be hunting or fishing it's always too far away. And even when we want to go up, it's not possible because people here are finding it too far away. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Andrew Piercey, Hopedale: Right now if people were to return, that's what I'd like to see — a fish plant, church, everything that was left behind. Get it all rebuilt again, not necessarily at Hebron, maybe at Napartok, anywhere, a better land ... Everything — church, there was no hospital and a school — everything that belongs there, everything. The store should be returned and I would also like to see a hospital.

Chesley Andersen: Saglek has already been utilized in terms of they do have a thirty-five hundred foot paved strip there. They're having a manned site with fifteen employees after the construction is completed. So, one of the possibilities could be to utilize, whether it be a power source and an expansion of maybe a small fishing area or a fish facility in that area. That's one possibility. There's two key areas where we can work on. In terms of putting political pressure on the governments to come up with the kind of dollars required to build plants, and through the Development Corporation, maybe doing some more work in experimental fishing and putting people back there at least on a seasonable basis, to prove first the viability of it and then start looking for the dollars to put a permanent community back in place. (OKâlaKatiget Society, *The Relocation of Hebron*, September 1987)

Toby Andersen, Nain: So I think that there are two things that are very important. One is to have the establishment of some kind of community. It doesn't have to be a permanent community, with a school and other facilities, not at the outset. That would be determined by the Inuit themselves, whether or not these facilities should be put

there so that the necessities they need are there and they have a place to live on and so on ...

The second thing that needs to happen I think is that the school and the School Board needs to cooperate in having the more elderly Inuks take young ones out for extended periods of time because if not they're going to lose part of the old culture. And I think the only way you're going to be able to preserve what's left is to be able to go back. You can't do it out of here; you can't do it out of Hopedale; you can't do it out of Makkovik. You've got to go back north again.

Labrador Inuit Association: Inuit have the right, in their sole discretion to establish or re-establish a community north of Nain ... all planning and studies related to or necessary for implementation of that decision, including the costs associated with the actual establishment or re-establishment of the community, shall be paid by the Government of Canada and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. ("A proposal to settle the land claims of the Inuit of Labrador in the form of an Agreement in Principle," Article 16, March 1993, LIAD)

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador: Government's Counter Proposal — It is the province's position that social and economic programs of this type are not appropriate elements of a land claims agreement. (Response by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador to "A Proposal to settle the Land Claims of the Inuit of Labrador in the form of an Agreement in Principle," October 1993, LIAD)

Wilson Jararuse: The most depressing thing for me ... was leaving my father's burial site in Napartok Bay. I was leaving the place I was born in; the place my parents thought would be my homeland; leaving the place I would not see again for more than twenty years. Now and again I still go there, although only to hunt. It feels good to go back. ("Children of Hebron seek to return home," *Kinatuinamot Illengajok*, Spring 1993, p. 19)

Commentary:

More than any other group in Labrador, Hebronimiut have borne the brunt of social and economic change in the region over the past thirty-four years. As involuntary exiles, they were dispossessed of the essence of their culture, identity and livelihood that were firmly rooted in the far northern coast of Labrador. Other families from more southerly coastal communities who willingly moved to Goose Bay for high-paying jobs in the early 1950s could return whenever they yearned for the familiarity of their original environment and lifestyle but the displacement of Hebronimiut was permanent. Without

understanding why or where they were going, the shock of their sudden departure from Hebron multiplied when families arrived in other communities and saw that their culture, language and even physical appearance set them apart as strangers, reinforced by their residence in isolated enclaves.

Hebronimiut were completely bewildered by these experiences and devastated by the alienation, hunger and poverty of their lives compared to the security and abundance of resources that they had enjoyed at Hebron. Confusion, loneliness, despair and hopelessness began to erode the mind, body and soul of the displaced people. For the first time the Inuit realized how ultimately powerless they were to control their fate against the will of agencies that provided them with food supplies, medical care, religious guidance and educational instruction. They perceived their eviction as a defeat that was translated into guilt and anger over somehow being at fault, not only for deserting Hebron but also for disrupting the social and economic patterns in the three communities where they were placed. However, the original residents of these communities became equally powerless after the dislocation of the Hebron population. Neither they nor the Hebronimiut recognized that the fault for the upset created in the region properly belonged to the agencies that professed to serve their welfare but acted to promote their own interests and convenience.

The trauma of displacement had a long-lasting negative influence on individuals and families originating from Hebron. People turned their anger, frustration, pain and misery onto themselves in a nightmare of destructive behaviour. The outcome for them was a record of accidental and violent deaths; constant heartbreak, depression and stress; families broken by separation, poverty and abuse; and an addiction to alcohol which numbed people's troubled minds and souls. Hebronimiut still grieve for their past and the fullness of life that was denied them, for their present with all its turmoil and hardship, and for their future that seems to offer little hope. Their overwhelming sense of loss was conveyed to their children and grandchildren who grew up seeing the pain of their elders but could not understand the reasons for it. Many of them inherited the silent despair, sense of inferiority and defeat of their parents that perpetuated the trauma originating from the elimination of the community and society at Hebron.

The history of Labrador Inuit has been marked by two profound crises in the 20th century: an epidemic of Spanish influenza in 1918 and the removal of the population from Okak Bay and Hebron after 1956. Both events solely involved northern Inuit who possessed the unique adaptive skills for maintaining a lifestyle in the arctic region at the boundary of the treeline and beyond it. They recovered from the ravages of disease but surviving after

eviction from their homeland was far more difficult. For more than two decades they sought to reclaim their legacy through the establishment of a new community on the northern coast but without success. Hebron is the watchword representing their struggle to persist and the future continuity of the Inuit culture in Labrador.

CHAPTER VII

POSTSCRIPT

During the twenty-two years since this account was first written, the situation of displaced Inuit from Okak Bay and Hebron, as well as all Labrador Inuit, has changed significantly. Foremost, the experiences endured by northern Inuit are better known and understood, as is the disruption caused by the resettlement program to regional social and economic affairs.

The injustice caused by the relocation of communities was highlighted by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, which sponsored about fifteen studies on cases across Canada. In its final report published in 1996, the Royal Commission concluded that human rights were violated and that attention was needed to resolve outstanding grievances about relocation held by many aboriginal people. It recommended that responsibility for the harmful effects of relocation should be recognized and accepted by governments, and proposed that the Human Rights Commission should undertake further investigations and action.

The Federal Government responded to these recommendations by providing funding for the creation of an Aboriginal Healing Foundation in January 1998. However, its mandate was to support recovery programs for abuse that occurred in residential schools, which was a major issue for aboriginal communities across the country, so the effects of relocation were not considered.

At an annual general assembly held by the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) in April 1998, delegates called on the Board of Directors to assist relocated Inuit to develop a strategy for addressing their difficulties and needs. The Board assigned the Torngâsok Cultural Centre to carry out this task and provided funds for a meeting of thirty representatives from various communities that was held at Nain in June 1998. A committee with representatives from four communities (Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik and Happy Valley) was elected at this meeting to coordinate an action plan.

At the same time the Labrador Inuit Health Commission (LIHC), an organization formed in 1985 and affiliated with the LIA, was very aware of the deep emotional, social and economic effects that relocation from Hebron

and Okak Bay had on people's lives. At a healing circle on family violence held at Hopedale in 1997, harmful consequences of relocation were repeatedly identified as the underlying cause of a wide range of social and economic problems. A similar conclusion resulted from a regional health survey which was conducted in 1997 and summarized in a LIHC newsletter in February 1999.

The LIHC decided to hold a healing circle at Hebron in the summer of 1999 with about fifty relocated Inuit to give them an opportunity to express the hurt, pain and anger that they had hidden for many years. The event was seen as a start to helping people to overcome their past experiences, by releasing their emotions, and to change their attitudes towards themselves and other community members. The Torngâsok Cultural Centre collaborated with the LIHC in planning for the event scheduled for the third week of August, and a budget for expenses was assigned by the LIHC and LIA.

As rumours about a gathering of relocated Inuit at Hebron spread in Labrador communities, the desire of Inuit originating from the northern region to see their homeland again expanded rapidly, along their excitement about the event. The initial concept of holding a modest healing circle suddenly grew into a major reunion for former residents of Okak Bay and Hebron. Inuit living at Kangiqsualujjuaq and Kuujjuaq in Nunavik (Northern Quebec) also heard about the event and wanted to participate.

Members of the committee formed in June 1998 conducted a survey to identify the names of surviving relocated Inuit, their present place of residence, and the number of people who might attend the reunion. In mid-July a coordinator was hired to make arrangements for transporting, sheltering and feeding about one hundred and fifty people expected at Hebron. A tremendous amount of cooperation and assistance was provided by several agencies to enable Inuit to make the journey to Hebron and spend several days reuniting with relatives and friends. People travelled by sea and by air to reach Hebron — on speedboats, longliners, the Coast Guard vessel *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, flights by *Air Labrador* and *Air Inuit* to an airstrip at Saglek, and transfers by *Canadian Helicopter* from Saglek to Hebron.

The reunion marked forty years after 418 Inuit were relocated from Okak Bay and Hebron between 1956 and 1959. By 1999, 223 Inuit, comprising 53% of the original population, were deceased. For 159 people who were present in the ruins of the abandoned community, the reunion was an extraordinary historic and profoundly emotional event. Participants included 118 Inuit originally relocated from Hebron and Okak Bay living in Labrador communities, 20 relocated Inuit along with three escorts and three children living in Nunavik communities, and fifteen other people mainly from places in Labrador who contributed to the organization of proceedings at Hebron.

Several elderly people were unable to attend the reunion due to illness or infirmity but they were remembered in statements and prayers. A record of the gathering was produced in Inuktitut and English with numerous colour photographs, titled *IkKaumajânnik piusivinnik/Reconciling with memories*, and published by the LIA in 2000.

During the reunion a film crew from the OKâlaKatiget Society based at Nain recorded interviews with individuals and shot images of activities and scenes for a program on the impact of relocation on Inuit families. *Forever in our Hearts* was completed in 2001 and followed in 2003 by a program titled *Without Consent* which recreated the historical circumstances contributing to decisions to abandon the two northern areas.

At the same time as information was increasing about the injustices suffered by northern Inuit, the LIA was making progress in negotiations to resolve its land claim with the federal and provincial governments. A statement of claim to land and sea rights in Northern Labrador was filed in 1977 by the LIA with the Government of Canada, and in 1980 the Government of Newfoundland agreed to participate in negotiations. Although the Labrador Inuit claim was selected for active negotiation in 1984, discussions by the three parties occurred at a very slow pace.

However, in July 1996 the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Premier of Newfoundland, and the President of the LIA agreed to "fast track" negotiations after a huge nickel deposit was discovered at Voisey's Bay, located about thirty-five kilometres southwest of Nain. An Agreement in Principle was initialled by chief negotiators in May 1999, ratified by the LIA membership two months later, and signed by officials representing Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador[3], and LIA in June 2001. Tripartite negotiations also began in 2001 on the establishment of a National Park Reserve in the Torngat Mountains, comprising the traditional homeland of Inuit who previously lived north of Hebron.

Following land selection and acceptance of a Labrador Inuit Constitution in 2002, along with other measures, the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was initialled by chief negotiators in August 2003 and the LIA membership voted to ratify it in May 2004. The Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act was passed and received Royal Assent in the Newfoundland and Labrador House of Assembly on December 6, 2004. Presented as Bill C-56 to Parliament, the Agreement was passed, approved in the Senate and received Royal Assent from the Governor General of Canada on June 23, 2005.

[3] In 2001 Labrador was officially added to the name of the province and government.

At a formal ceremony held at Nain on January 22, 2005, the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement was signed by officials representing the LIA, and the federal and provincial governments. The event also marked the establishment of the Torngat Mountains National Park which is the first national park in Labrador, extending from Cape Chidley south to Saglek Fjord, and the largest national park in Atlantic Canada. Another major feature was an apology delivered by Premier Danny Williams, on behalf of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, to the Inuit of Nutak (Okak Bay) and Hebron who were displaced from their homes. He stated:

> "Newfoundlanders and Labradorians value a society of equality and justice. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, on behalf of the citizens of the province, recognizes that, in the past, it made mistakes in its treatment of the Inuit of Labrador. It is willing to learn from the past and to find ways to heal the negative impact that historical decisions and actions continue to have for certain Labrador Inuit today.
>
> In 1956 and 1959, the Government of Newfoundland closed the communities of Nutak and Hebron. Looking back, the closures were made without consultation with the Inuit of Nutak and Hebron. As a result of the closures, and the way they were carried out, the Inuit of Nutak and Hebron experienced a variety of personal hardships and social, family and economic problems. Some of those Inuit and their descendants continue to suffer difficulties.
>
> The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, on behalf of the citizens of the province, apologizes to the Inuit of Nutak and Hebron for the way in which the decision to close those communities was made and the difficulties experienced by them and their descendants as a result of the closures.
>
> What happened at Nutak and Hebron serves as an example of the need for governments to respect and carefully consider the needs and aspirations of the people affected by its decisions.
>
> As a symbol of reconciliation, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador will assist the Labrador Inuit Association in erecting an appropriate monument to remember those relocated from Nutak and Hebron, upon which this apology will be inscribed." (Executive Council, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, News Release, January 22, 2005)

The following response to Premier Williams' statement was delivered by Andrea Webb, a member of the Hebron Relocation Committee:

"On behalf of the Inuit of Nutak and Hebron, I would like to accept your apology. We accept your apology — for ourselves, our ancestors and our descendants.

We have waited over 45 painful years for this apology, and we accept it because we want the pain and hurting to stop. Hearing your apology helps us to move on.

We see this as a moment of recognition and truth. And we now have reason to hope that all our governments will always recognize our humanity, and will be truthful to us.

To our children and grandchildren, I say to you that we recognize, with love in our hearts, that you want lives of joy, hope and opportunity. By accepting this apology, we are saying that we believe in you, and that we want to stop passing on the loss and the pain that we have carried with us.

On behalf of the Hebron Committee, I want to acknowledge the confidence and support that we have had from the Inuit of Nutak and Hebron since they elected us at our reunion in 1999. It is our wish that no ill feelings arise because we have accepted this apology. But, our job will not be over until we have received the compensation that was promised to us. We expect LIA to keep that promise as soon as possible.

When we, the Inuit of Nutak and Hebron, were evicted from our homes, we carried with us much that is precious and good: — the spirit of our ancestors, the beauty of our land, the treasure of our language and the love of our God who gave us hope for our future. These are the things that we want to pass on to our children and grandchildren in a spirit of humility and forgiveness.

It is in that spirit that I say to all those who had a hand in the closing of Nutak and Hebron, and who promised that this was done for our benefit: We forgive you." (Andrea Webb)

The reference to compensation in Ms. Webb's statement was made because the need for funds to remedy the poverty and suffering of relocated Inuit, especially elderly persons, was strongly expressed during the reunion at Hebron in 1999. Labrador Inuit were also aware that the federal government gave compensation to Inuit from Nunavik (Northern Quebec) who were relocated to various communities. In 1953 Inuit from Inukjuak were moved to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in the High Arctic, and in 1959 families from Kangiqsualujjuaq, Kuujjuaq, Quaqtaq and Kangiqsujuaq were resettled at Port Burwell, as well as subsequently in 1978 from Port Burwell back to their

original communities and other places. Since Nunavik Inuit received compensation, Labrador Inuit expected the same treatment but any financial provision would not be known until the Land Claims Agreement was instituted.

On December 1, 2005 the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement and Labrador Inuit Constitution came into effect and created a new territory called Nunatsiavut, meaning "our beautiful land." The LIA was succeeded by the Nunatsiavut Government which is an autonomous regional Inuit government within the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The Nunatsiavut Government has authority, and the power to make laws, over many fundamental regional concerns including health, education, culture and language, justice and community affairs. Nunatsiavut set a precedent in aboriginal land claim agreements in Canada by being the first Inuit region to achieve self-government. Three other Inuit regions that were previously created through land claim agreements are Nunavik (Northern Quebec) in 1978, the Inuvialuit Settlement Region of the Northwest Territories/Yukon in 1984, and Nunavut in 1999.

Before the end of December 2005, the transitional Nunatsiavut government sent a cheque for $63,000 to each person still alive who was forced to move from Nutak and Hebron. The Federal Government had added $10 million to the financial component of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement but did not acknowledge the sum as compensation for the relocation of communities; a similar payment was made to survivors of relocation to the High Arctic. A total of 165 Labrador Inuit were eligible for the benefit but two persons could not be located so their portion of the payment was divided among the known survivors.

Fifty years after Inuit at Hebron were forced to leave their homes, a monument was unveiled on August 10, 2009 at the site where a school had once stood in the community. A memorial bronze plaque had the text of the formal apology inscribed in English and Inuktitut, and the names of all the original residents of Hebron. The commemoration was attended by the Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, President of the Nunatsiavut Government, several Ministers in the provincial and Nunatsiavut governments, and twenty survivors from Hebron. A similar event was held to unveil a memorial plaque at Nutak in August 2012.

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APPENDIX I

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APPENDIX II

PETITION OF THE HEBRON PEOPLE TO THE GOVERNMENT IN ST. JOHN'S, 1956 (IN INUKTITUT)

Hebron Labrador
August 9, 1956.

Dr. Rowe
St. John's.
NFLD.

Nagliktara Dr. Rowe.

uvagut Hebronemiungujogut tussarsimavugut Hebronib pertaular-ninganik nâmaktomik okautjaulugata. tamona nalautsimangât nalautsi-ngimangâlônêt kaujititaujomavugut upaluijaukunata.

îmagle kenunasuarpugut tamângat nunaptinît nutitaujomangi-kalloarpogut Sungiutijaptinît pinnasoarnermut ômajoksiornermut âna-naunerpaukôrmat. puijisiornermut, erkaluksiornermut, tuktusiornermut assinginulo. tamakoa inôgutiksaptingnut ânanaungmatta. ajoksaluoraja-kôrapta akkiliutiksarsiorvikartinago nâmaktomik. akkiliutiksarsiorvi-karpat piujomik tamaviksaungikaluarpok nûttokaraluarpat.

amalo îglovut tauksitautsiarajarpata nûkojauguptа angîrungnar-pugut.

Tussugalloarpogut tamângat nunaptingnît nûrkojaujumanata tamana tussonîvut tussagupsiok nakormêdlarpugut. kanaslo pinniar-nerkartuksaungmangapta tussartitauguptа nakormêdlarpogut.

Sallutivagit,
uvanga aglakujaujunga,
(keogat angajokangat) Levi Nochasak.
(angajukaukotigit) William Mille
angutit Hebronêmiot kajusiutigijanginik.

Dispossessed

"The experience of the men, women and children who were forced to leave their homes in the village of Hebron, on the northern coast of Labrador in 1959, is of universal importance: it is a tragedy that should never have happened in Nunatsiavut, in Canada, in the Arctic, or anywhere else in the world. Hebron Inuit suffered for the rest of their lives, uncertain if their pain was caused by themselves or by a decision made without their consent. Today, reading their story will not release our responsibility for the event, but it might tell the Inuit, wherever they are, that we are concerned and aware that such a situation should never be repeated.

This account by Carol Brice-Bennett forces us to hear the voices of Hebron Inuit, and to correct the disparities of historical power. It is an attempt to create an ethical space for this history, to enable the full recognition of the Inuit and to disseminate the memory of these events, which we must not ignore."

Daniel Chartier

This book is published in cooperation with the Government of Nunatsiavut

With a foreword by Daniel Chartier

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