POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND MOVEMENT IN COASTAL LABRADOR, 1950-1966

(A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts)

by

A. Prince Dyke

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine certain aspects of the seasonal migrations which occur between winter quarters and summer fishing stations on the Labrador coast. The primary variables of the physical, biological and socio-cultural environments were examined to determine the environmental interactions which influence migrations. Emphases were placed on an overview of the distributional patterns of the population, by season, during the 1950-52 and 1965-66 periods; an analysis of the relevant migration data from the same periods; and a discussion of other demographic aspects. It was concluded that although many variables influence migrations, all are related either directly or indirectly to the physical nature of the coastline. The islands, which parallel the coast of the mainland, create a second outer coast. The different physical and biological variables associated with these two coasts, together with socio-cultural influences (especially the local fishing technology), have led to the development of a dual settlement pattern and participation of the majority of the fishing population in seasonal migrations.

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Department of Geography
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PREFACE

Introduction

The population of coastal Labrador is essentially a fishing population, which throughout its recorded history has been dispersed and susceptible to seasonal migrations. These migrations, which normally occur during early summer and early autumn, are to summer settlements or fishing harbours on the outer coast, and to the more sheltered winter settlements near forestry and terrestrial wildlife resources on the inner coast, respectively. Transportation is usually by small, open fishing boats, but in some areas, where people migrate seaward before break-up occurs, dog teams and motorized snow vehicles are used. These migrations have been regulated by physical, biological, and socio-cultural factors, e.g. coastline configuration, climatic conditions, distribution of biological resources, and the dependence on both fishing and hunting for a livlihood. This pattern continued until the mid 1950's when a government implemented resettlement program, designed to centralize population, contributed a new socio-cultural factor. The problem was to examine the present (1965-66) population in order to test the validity of certain hypotheses regarding distribution and movement.

The basic hypotheses developed were; (a) that centralization of population in poorly serviced communities on the inner coast had tended to augment movement rather than stabilize population, and (b) that post 1900 technological developments in the inshore fishery had tended to reduce movement substantially, but their effects were largely counter-balanced by other developing socio-cultural influences, e.g. the role played by tradition.

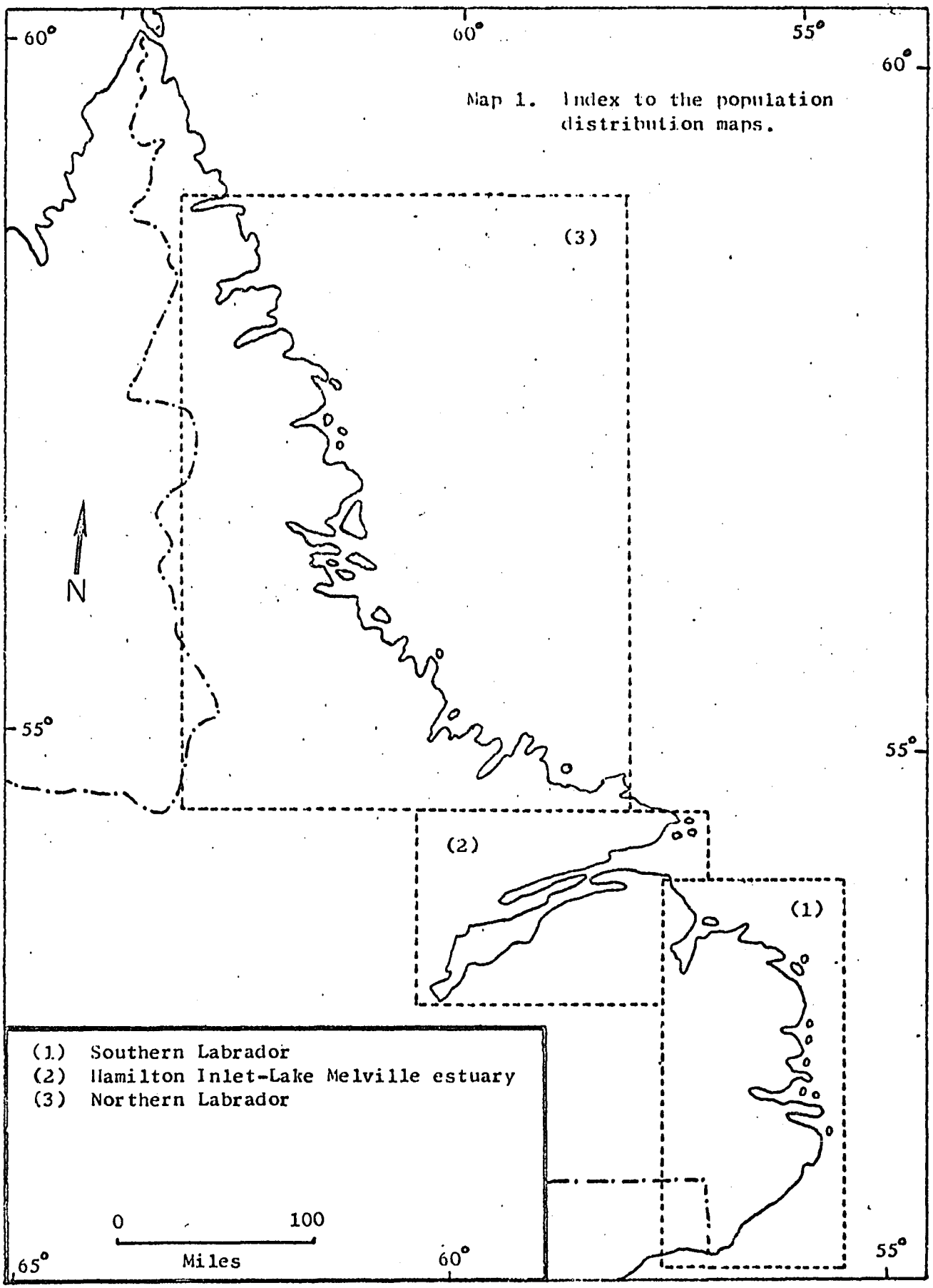
The validity of the initial assumptions were examined through bibliographic and field research. It was concluded; (a) that government sponsored resettlement has tended to increase migration; (b) that technological developments in the inshore fisheries were not sufficient to reduce movement significantly; and (c) that physical, biological and technological influences still predominate, although other socio-cultural factors are also important.

The Study Area

The study area embraces all coastal settlements in Labrador, with the exceptions of Goose Bay and Happy Valley. In the discussion of population distributions, contained in Chapter IV, the area is divided into the three regions delineated in Map 1. However, in discussing the materials presented in Chapters V through VII, it was found to be more convenient to sub-divide the southern Labrador region into (a) Strait of Belle Isle, and (b) southeastern Labrador, with the dividing line being drawn immediately west of Chateau. All settlements occupied during 1965-66 are located on the maps presented in Appendix A.

Acknowledgements

This study began during the spring and summer of 1965 when I was employed as field director of Dr. W. F. Summers' Labrador Fisheries Development Survey. This survey was conducted by the Department of Geography, Memorial University for the Canada and Newfoundland Departments of Fisheries. A return to the Labrador coast, to complete the necessary field investigations, during the summer of 1966, was made possible by a grant from the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University. The Division of Northern Labrador Affairs, Newfoundland



Map 1. Index to the population distribution maps.

Department of Public Welfare also assisted during the second field season by providing free transportation from Nain to Nachvak and return.

Foremost among individuals to whom I am grateful are Dr. W. F. Summers, Chairman, Department of Geography, Memorial University; Dr. D. C. Foote, my supervisor at McGill University; Mr. W. A. Black for the loan of his manuscript volume of fifty maps and graphs (two of which are reproduced below as Figures 22 and 23), and for other assistance and advice; Mr. J. A. A. Jones who accompanied and assisted me on the return trip from Goose Bay to Nachvak Fiord during the summer of 1966; and, to my wife for her contributions to the final preparation of this work.

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CHAPTER I

PRIMARY PHYSICAL AND BIOLOGICAL VARIABLES INFLUENCING SITE SELECTION, POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND MOVEMENT

Introduction

Labrador extends coastwise from Baie Blanc Sablon in the Strait of Belle Isle, for about 700 miles in a north-northwesterly direction, to Cape Chidley on Killinek Island. It is roughly triangular in shape with its base, approximately 400 miles long, lying along the fifty-second parallel, and its apex at Cape Chidley (60° 20' N.). It is separated from the Province of Quebec, to the west and south, by an unsurveyed boundary established by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain in 1927. With an area of approximately 112,000 square miles, it is nearly thrice the size of insular Newfoundland.

General Geology

Labrador forms the easternmost portion of the Canadian Shield. Two separate geological provinces have been recognized: the Eastern Churchill Province to the north; and the Grenville Province in the south, separated by a line running from Kaipokok Bay in the east westward around the southern end of Lake Michikamau to the north of Wabush Lake. Most rocks are Archaen with Proterozoic folded sediments and volcanics in places. The Labrador trough, a folded zone from twenty to fifty miles wide, extends south and southeast for 540 miles from Ungava Bay. The ore bearing rocks of Knob Lake and Wabush Lake occur in this zone. Two small areas of Cambrian sediments containing red sandstones and grey limestones, and probably some Devonian volcanics occur in the Strait of Belle Isle. Some

Ordovician limestones are found near Cape Chidley.

General Physiography

During the Pre-Cambrian, Labrador experienced several stages of uplift and mountain building, erosion and peneplanation, interspersed with submergences during Palaeozoic and Tertiary times. Further uplift came during the Pliocene epoch and with it considerable warping and faulting. Uplift was greatest in the south, near the Quebec-Newfoundland boundary, where the plateau rises to 2,500 feet above sea level. General elevations of the plateau are around 1,000 to 1,200 feet in southeastern Labrador; 1,700 feet in western Labrador, near Knob Lake; and 1,000 feet north of Lake Melville. The Torngats were raised above general plateau level by local uplift and faulting. The Mealy Mountains, to the south of Lake Melville, reach 4,300 feet.

The Wisconsin ice sheet destroyed any evidence of earlier glaciations and deposited widespread unstratified glacial drift. During the retreat of the glaciers, ground moraine was deposited over most of the surface and its uneven distribution has contributed to the formation of the numerous small lakes and bogs which are so common in the interior.

Relief in the interior is relatively low, but on the coast are found the highest peaks in the Canadian Shield, with Mount Cirque in the Torngats attaining an elevation of 5,500 feet. The coast is indented by many bays, fiords, and estauries and numerous islands lie offshore. There is almost no flat land on the outer coast apart from a few narrow wave cut terraces. Large sand plains are found at the western end of Lake Melville, near the mouth of the Churchill River.

Oceanography

The Labrador Current which flows southward along the coast is composed of waters from a cold current passing through Hudson's Strait from Hudson's Bay and Foxe Basin; the Canadian Current from east Baffin Island; and warmer waters from the West Greenland Current. The Labrador Current contains both Arctic and Atlantic waters, the mixing of which is delayed, producing a longitudinal banding with the colder water being nearer the coast (Dunbar, 1951, p. 49). The waters of the coastal inlets, although primarily from the Labrador Current, may be modified by local rivers. The tidal range varies along the coast but is usually between 4 - 7½ feet (Dunbar, 1966, p. 24).

Temperatures in the Labrador Sea are generally greater than 38.3°F., and salinities generally greater than 34.5‰. In the surface waters of the Labrador Current, temperatures are between 41.0° and 42.8°F., and salinities between 32.5‰ and 33.1‰. Temperatures and salinities in Labrador coastal waters, influenced by land drainage, are generally greater than 41.0°F. and 27.2‰; and in less modified waters, including most surface water on the Labrador side of the Strait of Belle Isle, between 40.1° - 43.7°F., and 30.5 - 31.5‰ (Dunbar, 1966, p. 20). Melting ice in June causes a reduction in salinity and a slight rise in temperature at the surface.

The mean surface speed of the current, near Cape Harrison, is 0.5 knots (Templeman, 1966, p. 24). In the Strait of Belle Isle current velocities are normally between 0.5 and 1.2 knots, but there are considerable seasonal variations and variations with tide (Dunbar, 1966, p. 20).

The cold Labrador Current has a tremendous influence on the

outer coast. Tanner attributes the scarity of vegetation on the coastal fringe of Labrador to "... the cooling and drying-out effect of this enormous discharge of icy, arctic water" (1944, p. 268). The early freeze-up of coastal waters is partially explained by the surface layer, which is heated during summer, being mixed with and carried southward by the current. However, the same current is responsible for the abundance of marine life off the coast. It spreads southward the arctic plankton on which many of the species feed, and provides the water temperatures required by those species.

Fast ice begins to form (Fig. 1) in northern Labrador around late October or early November and by late November covers the inner passage from Nain to Cape Harrison. Hamilton Inlet and the Strait of Belle Isle freeze between mid and late December. The thickness of the fast ice varies but is probably between four and seven feet around the end of winter, except where rafting occurs (Dunbar, 1966, p. 24). This coastal fringe of ice facilitates winter travelling and provides the main transportation routes during that season. Outside the fast ice lies the pack ice which arrives off Cape Chidley in early November; and Hamilton Inlet and Belle Isle shortly after the formation of fast ice. Spring break-up (Fig. 2) begins in southern Labrador in May and by late June has extended northward as far as Nain. Glacier ice, in the form of ice bergs, bergy-bits and brash ice, from the northwest coast of Greenland may occur at any time during the year.

Climate

Labrador's geographic position at the northeastern extremity of the North American continent, together with the influences of the cold Labrador current, gives it a sub-arctic type climate. Winters on the coast

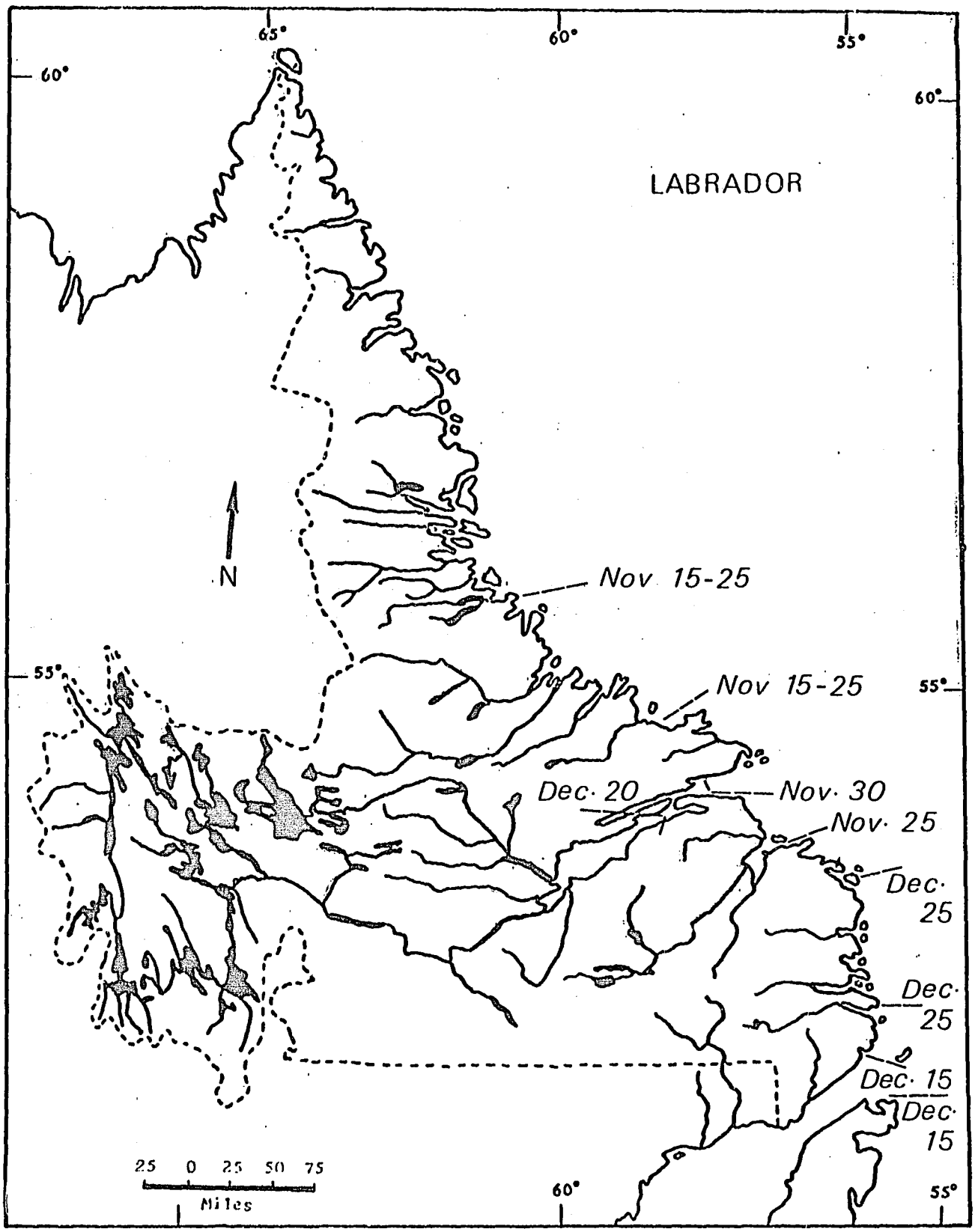


Fig. 1 Mean date of autumn freeze-up (after Black).

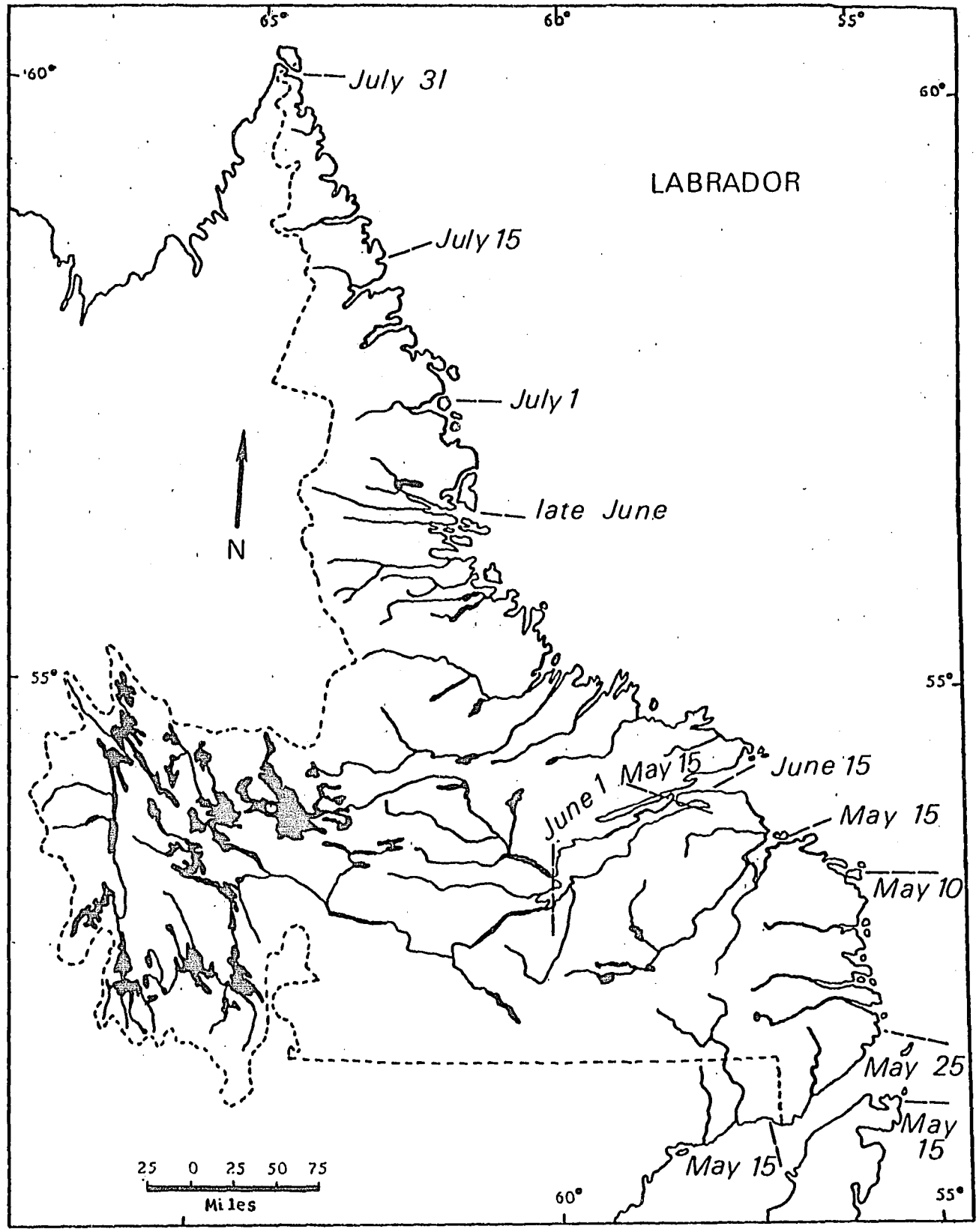


Fig. 2 Mean date of spring break-up (after Black)

are long and cold and summers are cool and damp (Table 1). However, the climate is slightly more moderate in some sheltered areas on the inner coast. Onshore winds are frequent from April to June but during the rest of the year winds are generally offshore. Some fog may occur in all months but it is most common during spring and summer. Generally, temperatures decrease with increasing north latitude.

Table 1. Climatic summaries for five coastal stations.

	Belle Isle	Cartwright	Goose Bay	Hopedale	Nain
Mean temp. Jan.	11.0	4.2	-0.8	-0.8	-2.5
Mean temp. July	48.6	55.2	60.5	52.0	50.4
Mean annual temp.	30.9	31.1	31.0	27.7	26.2
Extreme maximum	73	97	100	92	91
Extreme minimum	-31	-36	-38	-33	-37
Mean annual snowfall	99	201	144	131	132
Mean annual ppt.	33.2	40.3	29.1	29.0	29.6
Ave. annual ppt. days	153	166	165	139	122
Ave. annual fog days	147	29	15	22	?

Note: All temperatures are expressed in degrees Fahrenheit; snowfall in inches; and total precipitation in inches, water equivalent.

Source: Labrador and Hudson Bay Pilot, 2nd ed., 1965.

It is generally believed that the climate of Labrador has changed slightly during the past century. A warming of the water has been recorded in West Greenland, the northeast Atlantic, Gulf of St. Lawrence and insular Newfoundland. However, it is difficult to say whether the present trend is upward or downward. It may even be stable (Dunbar, 1966, p. 31).

Mineral Resources

Three known mineral deposits of commercial quantities occur in the coastal area of Labrador; uranium near Makkovik; molybdenum at Ailik

Bay; and a pyrite deposit, averaging 44% sulphur, at Rowsell's Harbour. Presently, none is being exploited but there is a good possibility of the Makkovik deposit being mined within the next decade.

Agriculture

The agricultural potential of coastal Labrador is extremely limited by climatic and soil conditions. Subsistence agriculture, common in other non-urban areas of the province, is almost non-existant. Subsistence gardening is confined almost entirely to the production of potatoes, cabbage and turnip in the year-round settlements south of Port Hope Simpson. Animal and chicken raising is mainly confined to the Strait's settlements.

Plants

Most of southern Labrador, excepting a narrow coastal strip, is well forested and some large stands of timber are also found in northern Labrador (Fig. 3). This forest is a part of the boreal forest region and constitutes what is probably the greatest unexploited portion of that region. It is a predominantly coniferous forest, consisting mainly of black spruce (Picea mariana) and balsam fir (Abies balsamea), with some white spruce (Pices glauca), eastern larch (Larix larcinia) and several other minor species. Pure stands of black spruce are usually found on the poorer sites at both extremes of the moisture range and over a wide range of sites in burnt-over areas. In the latter areas black spruce is usually found in association with white birch (Betula papyrifera) and trembling aspen (Populus tremuloides). Occasionally small, pure stands of hardwoods come in after a fire and in other areas of soil disturbances. Black spruce is also found in association with balsam fir on shallow upland soils. Mixed stands of balsam fir, black spruce, and white spruce are

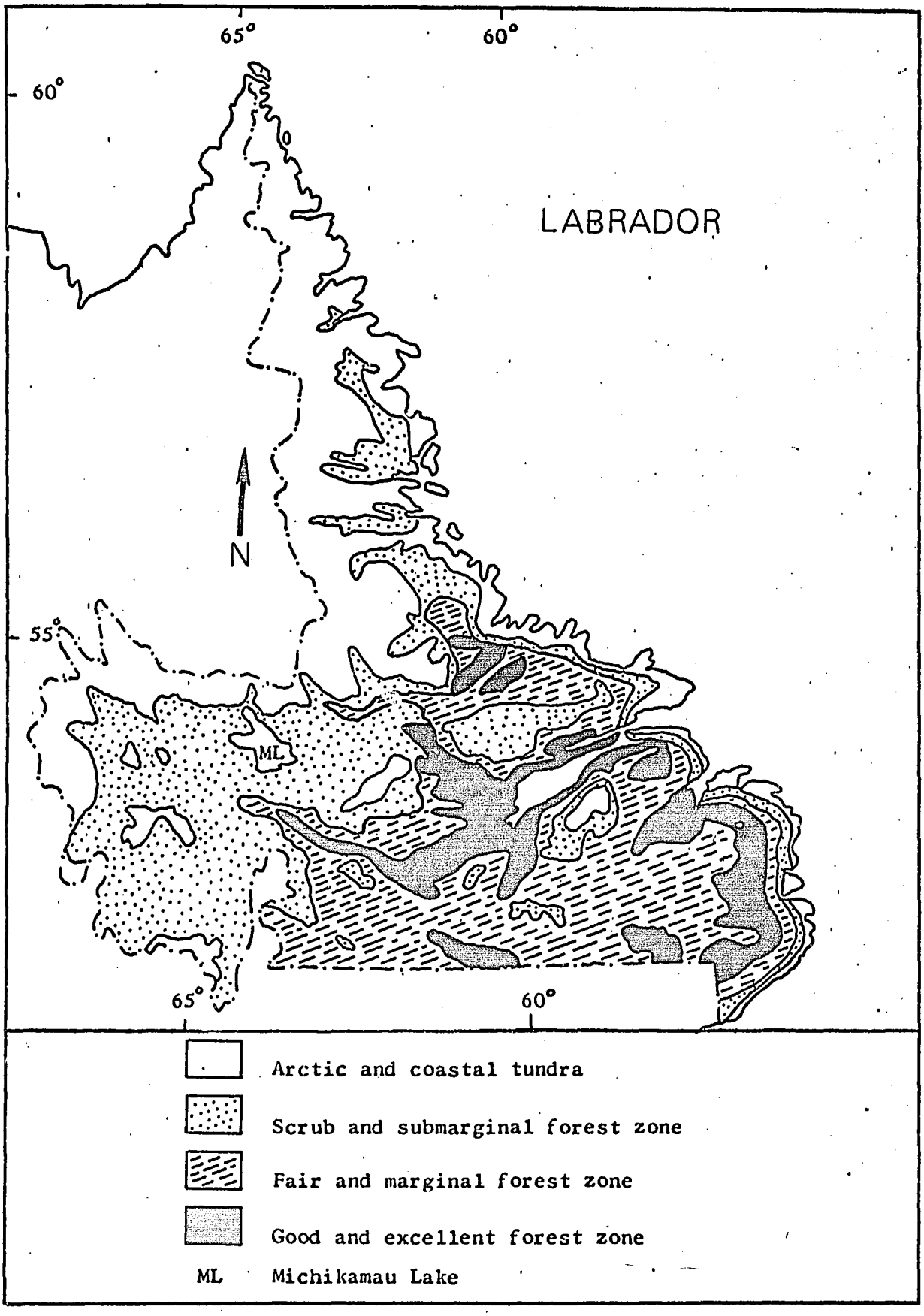


Fig. 3. Forest zones (after Wilton (modified)).

characteristic of the forest vegetation in deep soils of river valleys and lowland plains. Wilton (1965, p. 61-66) estimates the total volume of accessible, merchantible timber at around 46,755,000 cords.

There have been several attempts, starting in 1901, to exploit this resource but none have been really successful. The main reasons for failure have been: the lack of a readily available labour force in the area; the short navigation season; and, until recently, the lack of definitive knowledge of the extent and nature of the resource (Wilton, 1965, p. 8). Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mills Limited have been conducting a small scale operation in the Port Hope Simpson area, since 1962, with an average annual production of 17,000 cords. Average employment is around 40 in winter and 130 in summer; only 15% of whom are Labrador residents (Schulstad, 1966, pers. comm.). The pulp wood is exported raw to Britain.

The forest of Labrador is of considerable importance to the economy of the coast, although it does not create much wage employment. It provides the resident population with building materials for the construction of houses, fishing installations, and boats; and for almost 90% of the families on the outer coast, it supplies the main fuel requirements. In 1965, 33 sawmills were operating in Labrador, seven of which, though small, were on a commercial basis.

Other plants which are of direct importance to the coastal population are those which are edible, and those which bear edible fruit. Plants of the former (green leaf) class include alexander (Ligusticum scoticum) and dock (Rumex occidentalis). Among those of the latter class are several types of currants, gooseberry, raspberry, strawberry (Fragaria virginiana), bake apple (Rubus chamaemorus), crowberry (Empetrum nigrum),

cranberry (Vaccinium vitis-idaea), plumboy (R. acaulis), and blueberry (Vaccinium pennsylvanicum).

Mammals and Birds

Two types of terrestrial mammals are of importance to the local economy: (a) those which supplement the meat supply; and (b) those which provide furs of commercial value (Fig. 4). A partial list of such mammals, along with several species of birds utilized by the local population, is presented in Table 2.

Six species of seal occur in Labrador waters of which the harp, during its migration period, is the most abundant and important. Several species of whale are also found but, although fished in the past, they are not utilized at present.

Fish

Table 2 lists twelve species of marine fish occuring in Labrador waters which are of commercial value but, presently, only three are exploited commercially. These, in order of importance, are Atlantic cod, Atlantic salmon, and Arctic char.

Cod (Fig. 5), the most abundant fish in the area, are found along the whole of the coast. They spawn annually, in spring, in the deep waters off the coast. Once released, the eggs float to the upper layers, drift for a period, then develope into fry which drift and swim in the upper layers for awhile before settling to the bottom. As eggs, fry, and small cod they are fed upon by other fish. The numbers which survive depend further upon a variety of other variables including food, temperatures, and currents, and as these conditions vary annually so does the survival rate.

The rate of growth of cod off Labrador is much slower than in

Table 2. Selected list of animals of coastal Labrador.

English Name	Latin Name
Terrestrial Mammals	
Woodland caribou	Rangifer caribou caribou
Barren ground caribou	Rangifer caboti
Beaver	Castor canadensis labradorensis
Muskrat	Ondatra zibethicus
Mink	Mustela vison; and, Mustela vison lowii
Weasel	Mustela erminea richardsonii; and, Mustela rixosa rixosa
Otter	Lutra canadensis canadensis
Martin	Martes americana americana
Arctic hare	Lepus arcticus labradorius
Varying hare	Lepus americanus americanus
Porcupine	Erethizon dorsatum dorsatum
Arctic fox	Alopex lagopus ungava
Labrador red fox	Vulpes fulva bangsi
Black bear	Ursus americanus americanus
Wolf	Canis lupus lycaon
Wolverine	Gulo luscus luscus
Lynx	Lynx canadensis canadensis
Marine Mammals	
Polar bear	Thalarctos maritimus maritimus
Harbour seal	Phoca vitulina
Grey seal	Halichoerus grypus
Harp seal	Pagophilus groenlandicus
Hooded seal	Cystophora cristata
Ringed seal	Pusa hispida
Bearded seal	Erignathus barbatus
Blue whale	Balaenoptera musculus
Fin whale	Balaenoptera physalus
Minke whale	Balaenoptera acutorostrata
Humpback whale	Megaptera novae-angliae
Sperm whale	Physeter catodon
Pothead or pilot whale	Globicephala melaena
Birds	
Ptarmigan	Lagopus lagopus ungavus; and, Lagopus mutus rupestris
Grouse	Canachites canadensis canadensis; and, Bonasa umbellus umbelloides

Table 2. (cont'd)

English Name	Latin Name
Birds (cont'd)	
Eider	Somateria molissima dresseri
Black duck	Anas rubripes
Oldsquaw	Clangula hyemalis
Canada goose	Branta canadensis interior
Thick-billed murre	Uria lomvia
Dovekie	Plautus alle
Common puffin	Fratercula arctica
Fish	
Marine Species	
Atlantic cod	Gadus callarias
Redfish (ocean perch)	Sebastes mentella; and, Sebastes marinus
American plaice	Hippoglossoides platessoides
Grey sole	Glyptocephalus cynoglossus
Atlantic halibut	Hippoglossus hippoglossus
Turbot (Greenland halibut)	Reinhardtius hippoglossoides
Atlantic wolffish	Anarhichas lupus; Anarhichas minor; and, Anarhichas denticulatus
Atlantic herring	Clupea harengus harengus
American smelt	Osmerus eperlanus mordax
Caplin	Mallotus villosus
Atlantic salmon	Salmo salar salar
Arctic char	Salvelinus alpinus
Freshwater Species	
Ouananiche	Salmo salar ouananiche
Lake trout	Cristovomer namaycush
Brook trout	Salvelinus fontinalis
Whitefish	Coregonus clupeiformis
Pike	Esox lucius

insular Newfoundland waters, and Labrador cod are relatively old before they reach a commercially acceptable size. The average size of cod decreases with increasing latitude.

The large stocks of cod found on the offshore banks in spring begin to move away in mid May with most migrating shoreward in pursuit of the caplin. Here, they are taken by inshore fishermen, who set their gear in shallow waters where small fish are more plentiful than larger fish. The length of the inshore fishing season varies but in southern Labrador normally extends from mid June to mid or late September, and in northern Labrador from late June or early July to late August. Offshore fishermen, mostly from Europe and operating mainly on Hamilton Bank, exploit the stocks year-round, but especially in winter and spring when operations concentrate on the spawning schools.

The Atlantic salmon (Fig. 6), in Labrador waters, range northward as far as Hopedale. Their spawning grounds are mostly in local rivers and streams but some are from rivers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. All landings are made by inshore fishermen, mainly in southern Labrador. The salmon fishing season, at Cape St. Charles, extends from around June 5 to July 15 with the peak run around June 25. The grilse run is several weeks later, around July 1-31, with its peak around July 15. At St. Francis Harbour Bight the salmon run is normally from June 10 to July 31 with its peak around June 30; and the grilse season, from July 1 to August 15, with its peak around July 20 (Templeman, 1967, p. 27). In Sandwich Bay the season extends from around July 10 to July 31; and at the western end of Lake Melville, from early July to early September.

Arctic char (Fig. 7) are distributed along the whole of the coast, but the larger stocks occur in northern Labrador. The rate of

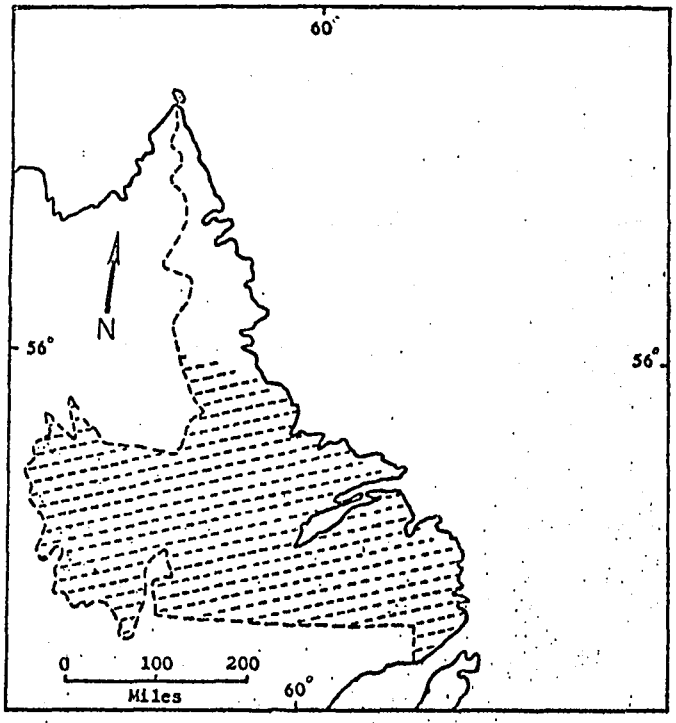


Fig. 4. Distribution of beaver.

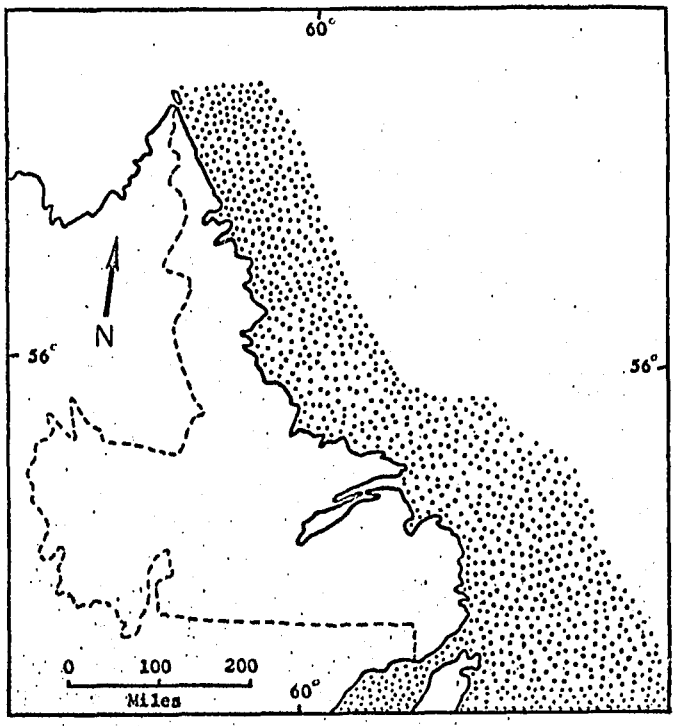


Fig. 5. Distribution of cod.

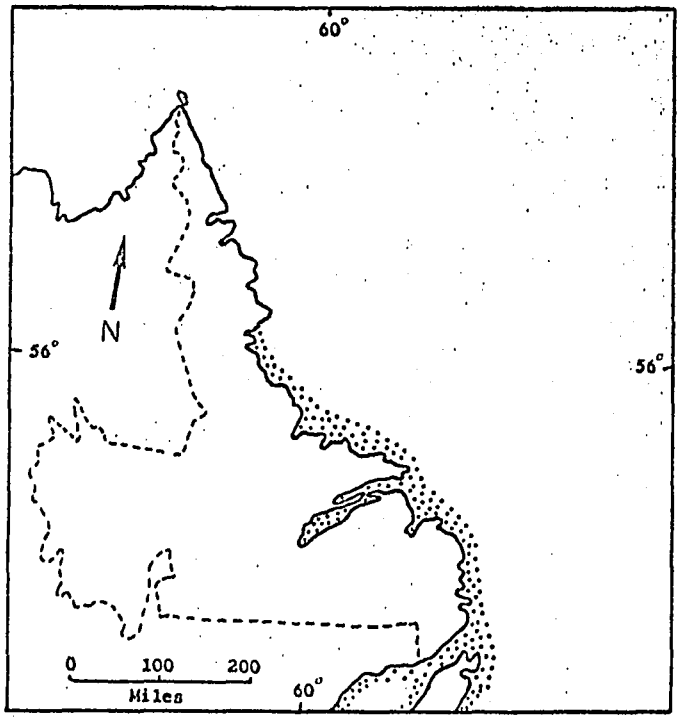


Fig. 6. Distribution of salmon.

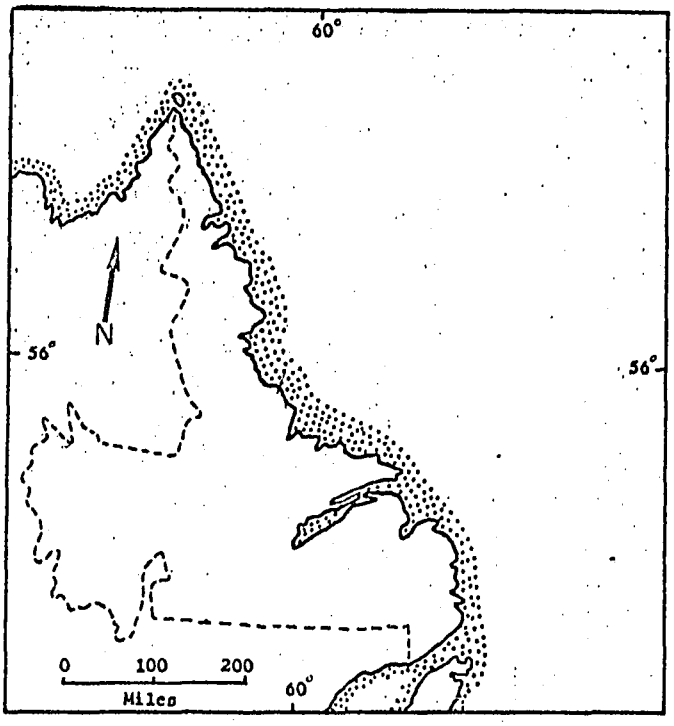


Fig. 7. Distribution of Arctic char.

growth in this area is slow and decreases with increasing latitude. Char taken by the local fishermen normally weigh from three to six pounds, with an average of four pounds. The seaward migration of the anadromous char begins in early spring as soon as the rivers are ice free, and the return migration from mid August to late September. The fishing season extends from late June to late August but ice conditions, especially near the headlands, often prevent the fishermen from arriving at their summer stations in time to catch many char on the seaward run. This often causes low yields during the first half of the season.

There is some ice fishing in winter, for both marine and freshwater species, especially trout and smelt. The catches are used for both human and dog consumption.

CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL INTERACTIONS INFLUENCING EARLY SITE SELECTION

Aboriginal Occupance

Jenness (1929) suggests that in prehistoric times eastern Labrador was inhabited by Beothuck Indians who were later pushed south into insular Newfoundland by Eskimos. Harp (1964, p. 66), who conducted reconnaissance archaeological investigations in the area, states that he can see no reason to doubt this occupance since remains of the Laurentian tradition have been found as far north as Hopedale.

The Eskimos, who pushed the Beothucks south from Labrador, belonged to the Dorset culture. Later, some members of this culture crossed the Strait of Belle Isle and occupied the west coast of Newfoundland as far south as Cape Ray, the east coast of the Great Northern Peninsula as far south as Little Harbour Deep, and probably the Baie Verte Peninsula and the Horse and Gray Islands as well.

The Dorsets were subsequently replaced on the Labrador coast by the ancestors of Labrador's present Eskimo population. At the time of European contact, Eskimos of the more recent culture occupied the whole of the Labrador coast and also extended westward along the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence as far as the west coast of Anticosti Island. At this time, the Nascaupi Indians were moving into the Labrador-Ungava Peninsula and gradually pushing the Eskimos further to the eastward and northward. Nascaupi territory, in turn, was being occupied by Montagnais Indians who were being driven into the peninsula by Iroquois and Micmac invasions to the west and south.

The Eskimos were able to hold most of their coastal territory until French settlers, along the shores of the St. Lawrence, supplied their Indian allies with firearms. Conflicts between Eskimos and armed Indians then became more frequent, with the former usually losing the battle. This decimation of the southern Eskimos was aided by conflicts with European fishermen and settlers. Not until the beginning of the eighteenth century did peaceful relations begin to be established between the Indians and Eskimos of the peninsula. These relations were mainly the result of pressures exerted on both groups by missionaries and Hudson's Bay Company traders.

In 1765 Sir Hugh Palliser, governor of Newfoundland, made a truce with 400 Eskimos in Chateau Bay and legislation was subsequently passed forbidding Europeans to kill or plunder the Eskimos. Prior to this, when the territory had been under French rule, there had been no laws to this effect.

The Eskimos of northern Labrador, with the establishment of the Moravian missionaries (see below), largely abandoned their nomadic wanderings and settled, semi-permanently in the communities which sprang up around the Mission stations. Around the turn of the last century the more northerly stations and their Eskimo communities began to be abandoned, the population moving to settlements further south where firewood could be obtained. In the 1950's the Newfoundland government encouraged and financially assisted these people to move. Today, all of northern Labrador's Eskimos are concentrated, during winter, in the three communities of Nain, Hopedale, and Makkovik. In the southern regions, no Eskimos are found outside the Goose Bay district, with the possible exception of Rigolet.

The Nascaupi, who were first encountered by Europeans around Lakes Ashuanipi and Manicaugan, had penetrated eastward to the Atlantic coast by the mid eighteenth century (Cartwright, 1792, vol. 1, p. 170). By the mid nineteenth century they had moved northward and were scattered over much of the territory between Ungava Bay and the headwaters of streams flowing into the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Davies, 1854, p. 126), and between the Atlantic coast and Lake Mistassini (Hind, 1863, vol. 2, p. 97). Most of their trading was done at the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Chimo, from its establishment in 1824 until it closed in 1843. Much of the hunting and trading appears then to have shifted to the posts on Petitskapau, Michikamau and Winikapau Lakes, but some traded at posts on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the 1880's they hunted to the west and northwest of Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville and traded at North West River and Rigolet. The close of the last century saw the Nascaupi living in the area from Kaipokok Bay and Hopedale on the coast to George River.

Jesuit reports of the seventeenth century mention a large number of Montagnais living around Sept Iles and by the beginning of the eighteenth century they had spread as far east as Blanc Sablon. Cartwright found Montagnais living near Sandwich Bay and Lake Melville in 1775. During the nineteenth century they appear to have spread throughout all parts of the Lake Melville drainage system.

At the close of the last century, the district then occupied by the Nascaupi was devastated by a number of large forest fires. The caribou now left this area and the Nascaupi followed them. Later, when the caribou moss re-established, the caribou returned and the Montagnais, being pushed off the Lake Melville hunting grounds by white trappers, moved in and occupied the district. The Nascaupi now traded mainly at

Forts Chimo (re-opened in 1866) and McKenzie with some trading at the Hudson's Bay Company posts at Voisey's Bay and Davis Inlet; and the Montagnais at North West River and the North Shore posts.

The maps of Skinner (1911, Fig. 1), Kroeber (1939, Map 1A), Tanner (1944, Fig. 222), and Jenness (1955, Map 270A) generally show the Nascaupi territory as that drained by the Koksoak, Whale and George rivers flowing into Ungava Bay; and the Montagnais occupying the area drained by the Churchill River and rivers flowing into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Presently, the Labrador Indians live at Davis Inlet (Nascaupi) and at the western extremity of Lake Melville around North West River and Mud Lake (Montagnais and Nascaupi).

European Occupance

The history of European settlement in Labrador is difficult to trace because of the paucity of records but, presumably, the initial villages were inhabited only during the fishing season. English fishermen, from the west counties, began making recurrent migrations to exploit the lucrative stocks of marine species off the coast shortly after its discovery[1]. They arrived on the coast in spring; fished from the shore and cured their catch during summer; and, in autumn returned to Britain with ship loads of dryed, salted cod. Frequently, a couple of a vessel's crew were required to winter in Labrador to repair and protect gear, equipment and shore installations. They erected uncouth shelters and, by setting and attending trap lines, supplemented their meagre incomes from the sale of furs. The fishermen without strong family ties and property in Britain found the independence of Labrador life, coupled with an accessory source of income, comparatively enticing. Some married Eskimo and Indian women and settled permanently. Many of

those early homesteads formed the nuclei of present settlements.

Settlements were established with a view to year-round exploitation of the available biological resources which would enable them to become, as nearly as possible, self-sustaining. The basic requirements for site selection were; (a) shelter from and access to the sea near the inshore fishery stocks, (b) availability of wood for house and boat construction and of terrestrial animals for meats and furs, (c) relatively level land, and (d) availability of fresh water. However, due to the nature of the coast (a) and (b) were seldom found in association. This physical-biological limitation fostered the development of a dual settlement pattern with winter settlements located on the inner coast near forest and terrestrial animal resources, and summer settlements on the outer coast near the inshore fishery stocks and the migration routes of marine mammals. Both summer and winter settlements were normally located on the lower raised beaches (Jones, 1967, p. 63), giving them easy access to the sea and providing protected drainage areas on the back. The summer settlements were established in sheltered coves, 'tickles' and harbours on the south and southwest sides of the islands and headlands, sheltered from northeasterly and northwesterly winds and Atlantic gales. The availability of fresh water seldom restricted site selection because it could usually be obtained from wells if lakes or streams were not present, and in winter ice and snow could be melted.

The earliest settlements in Labrador were established by the French at the beginning of the eighteenth century at L'anse au Clair, Forteau, West St. Modeste, Pinware and Red Bay. The earliest permanent settlements established by the British were also in the Strait of Belle

Isle and were normally associated with the establishment of a merchant. An English settlement was founded in Chateau Bay prior to 1750, and in 1768 business premises were erected there by Noble and Pinson who also operated fishing establishments at L'anse au Loup (Browne, 1909, p. 51, 53), Port Marnham, and Fox Harbour (Cartwright, 1792, vol. 1, p. 276, 284). In 1768, Nicholas Darby established a business at Cape St. Charles (Browne, 1909, p. 233), followed in 1770 by George Cartwright. De Quettville, a Jersey merchant, erected premises at Forteau and Blanc Sablon in 1774. Shortly after, Slade established at St. Francis Harbour, Battle Harbour (1795), and Venison Tickle; George Cartwright at Cartwright (1775) with satellite posts around Sandwich Bay; Hunt and Henly at Henley Harbour, Gready and Long Island; Warren at Indian Tickle (1830); and Motty at Murray's Harbour (Browne, 1909, p. 52-53, 59).

Lieutenant Chappell, visiting the coast in the second decade of the nineteenth century, found a settlement with a population of around fifty at L'anse au Clair; a settlement at L'anse au Loup where Noble and Pinson were still operating; a small fishing settlement at Cape St. Charles; summer fishing stations at Henley Harbour and Chateau occupied by Stationers from St. John's; and the largest British establishment in the Strait of Belle Isle at Forteau, occupied by families from England and Guernsey, residing there year-round and during summer, respectively. Cartwright with eight or nine British families was the northernmost European settlement on the coast (Chappell, 1818, p. 92, 98, 108-110, 158, 162).

As the population of insular Newfoundland increased so did pressure on the inshore fishery stocks of that area and many fishermen began making annual migrations to fish Labrador waters (Evans, 1967, pt. 1,

p. 3-5). The date when such migrations began is not known but Newfoundland fishermen had penetrated as far north as Domino by 1825 and Groswater Bay by 1830 (Browne, 1909, p. 59). These 'Planters' or 'Stationers', as they became known, maintained summer homes on the Labrador coast in which the skipper, his family and crew lived during the fishing season.

Another group of fishermen, from insular Newfoundland, known as 'Floaters', began visiting Labrador during the second half of the eighteenth century and by 1860 had extended their operations to the north of Hopedale. By 1901 Floaters were fishing as far north as Ramah. The number of vessels engaged in this fishery increased rapidly from 60-70 in 1825 to a peak of 1,400, with an average of 7-8 men per ship, in 1908 (Black, 1960, p. 268).

Until the present century there was probably little difference in the way of life in settlements of insular Newfoundland and Labrador. Settlements were small and isolated in both areas with transportation and communication facilities, except by water in summer and over land and ice by dog team in winter, virtually unknown. The social and cultural life of both areas was similar. The Labrador fisheries were the source of summer employment for Stationers and Floaters, and the fur resources offered winter employment opportunities which hardly existed in the outports of insular Newfoundland. Consequently, many of the more industrious Stationers, and some Floaters, settled permanently in Labrador[2].

Intermarriage between Liviers, Stationers, Eskimos and Indians was common[3] and although few Floaters intermarried they did interbreed. Deserters from the Royal Navy and other fugitives from justice, seeking out-of-the-way places where they could live untroubled by the authorities, also contributed slightly to the population. Other settlements sprang up

around the churches of the Moravian Mission in northern Labrador and around trading posts established by the Hudson's Bay Company and other fur traders.

The Moravian's first attempt to establish a mission in Labrador came in 1752 when Jan Erhardt and a group of companions sailed from Britain. This was unsuccessful, Erhardt and five of his companions being murdered by Eskimos in the Hopedale district. A successful, second attempt was made in 1771 when the first mission station in Labrador was established at Nain by a group headed by Jens Haven. Shortly after, other stations were set up, both to the north and south of the original site, with Nain becoming the headquarters of the Labrador mission and remaining as such until 1957 (Kleivan, 1966, p. 24) when it was transferred to Happy Valley. Table 3 gives the dates of opening and closing of the various stations.

Table 3. Moravian Mission Stations in Labrador.

Station	Opened	Closed
Nain	1771	-
Okkak	1776	1919
Hopedale	1782	-
Hebron	1830	1959
Zoar	1866	1894
Ramah	1871	1907
Makkovik	1896	-
Killinek	1905	1923
Happy Valley	1954	-
North West River	1960	-

Source: Williamson, 1964, p. 33; and Jenness, 1965, p. 13.

Apart from the Moravians, the first clergy to visit the coast were Roman Catholic priests stationed at Taddousac, P. Q., who made regular

visits to the Strait's settlements between 1799 and 1863, and in 1862 erected at Pinware the first Roman Catholic church in Labrador. This was followed by the construction of a church at Battle Harbour in 1880 (Browne, 1909, p. 105,223). Pere Babel, who visited Rigolet and North West River in 1867 (Mattox, 1964, p. 10) was the first to travel so far northward along the coast.

The first Anglican clergy visited the Strait's settlements in 1823, but not until 1850 was the first Anglican church built, near English Point in Forteau Bay. In 1851 a second Anglican church was built at St. Francis Harbour, and in 1885 an Anglican mission was established in Hamilton Inlet.

In 1824 the Methodist ministry began summer work in Labrador, which continued until 1828 (Burry, 1967, p. 59). A second effort was made in 1845 and in 1878 a mission was established. In 1884 the first Methodist minister to live year-round on the coast took up residence at Lester's Point near Rigolet.

The establishment of churches, other than those of the Moravian Mission, did not influence the original selection of settlement sites because they were built in previously established settlements. However, they did play a tremendously important role in stabilizing settlements and many of the communities in which they located came to be occupied year-round.

The Moravians engaged in medical and educational, as well as religious, activities and in addition operated trading establishments which for more than a century practically monopolized trade with the Eskimos of northern Labrador. A French trader, Makko, established a post in Kaipokok Bay in 1780, but this operated for less than twenty years

(Crantz, 1820, p. 307). Hunt and Henly established a business at Davis Inlet in 1831, and in the same year the Hudson's Bay Company opened its first Labrador post at Nachvak Fiord[4], north of any Moravian station, to trade with Eskimos who had recently moved to the Atlantic coast from Ungava Bay and who were not members of the Moravian faith (Jenness, 1965, p. 25). A Mr. Stewart was operating a post in Kaipokok Bay (Postville) in 1836. This was purchased, in 1837, by the Hudson's Bay Company, which prior to 1840 had established a second post at Ailik (Privy Council, vol. 7, p. 3,142-43). Both of these posts were south of what might then be considered Moravian territory.

Northern Labrador had few, if any, European settlers, excepting the Moravian missionaries and employees of the Hudson Bay Company posts, until near the end of the eighteenth century[5] when a few white trappers and fur traders, mainly from Scotland, England and Norway and not associated with any large commercial interest, began to infiltrate the Makkovik-Hopedale area. Many of them married Eskimo women and from them descended most of the present white and mixed-breed inhabitants of the area (Jenness, 1965, p. 16). Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did Settlers penetrate as far north as Zoar.

The utilization of fur resources as a primary occupation encouraged an even greater dispersal of population than did the exploitation of the marine fisheries resource in southern Labrador. A large percentage of the northern population lived for part of the year in rather isolated homesteads and "... the mission stations did not, until the past decade, become permanently occupied villages" (Williamson, 1964, p. 34).

The small settlements occupied by the fur trappers were usually situated on the shores of bays and inlets, often near a river

giving them easy access to the interior trapping grounds. The Moravian stations were also situated in sheltered localities but usually near enough to the fishing grounds to permit exploitation because they had to be as self-supporting as possible and fish constituted an important item of their diet. Kleivan (1966, p. 32) states that the Moravians in selecting a settlement site usually tried to determine whether or not it could support a larger population. If the site was uninhabited at the time, archaeological investigations were conducted to find out if it had been previously settled. Both Moravian stations and the major Hudson's Bay Company posts were surrounded by a number of the smaller, out-lying, semi-permanent settlements, and both, because of their trading operations, required relatively good, deep-water ports to accommodate their supply vessels. The villages were built on the small areas of flat land provided by raised beaches. Jones has noted the importance of those beaches as regards the human occupance of the area.

> "... the former village of Nachvak was almost certainly located on a remmant of the low beach around 15 ft. above HWM. This beach level is of considerable human importance along the whole coast, as it provides small, discontinuous areas of flat ground close to the sea in a landscape dominated by mountain slopes. Summer tents were invariably found on this level. The former villages of Ramah and Hebron also used this beach.... In contrast, most of the present settlement at Nain uses a higher strandline, apparently for two reasons. First, the lower beaches are not large enough, and secondly, they are composed of bog-covered, incompetent marine clays. The higher levels are composed of sand and gravel" (Jones, 1967, p. 63).

Erland Erlandson, one of the founders of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Chimo, engaged two Nascaupi, during the spring of 1834, to guide him from Ungava Bay to Mingan on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Proceeding according to orders received from Governor Simpson, which suggested the establishment of a line of posts

southward from Fort Chimo to parallel those of the Moravian Mission on the coast, he was searching for suitable locations for posts in the interior. Through some misunderstanding, he was led, not to Mingan, but to the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary where four posts were already in operation. Mr. Stewart operated posts at both Rigolet and North West River[6]; a second post at North West River was operated by a Mr. Mckenzie, formerly of the Hudson's Bay Company; and, a second post at Rigolet, operated by a Mr. Jones from Quebec. As a result of Erlandson's report[7] on his journey, Chief Trader Simon McGillivray, Jr., acting on orders from Governor Simpson, travelled overland from Mingan in 1836 and established a post at North West River. The Rigolet post, established during the same year, became the Company's first district headquarters for the Lake Melville area. However, headquarters were soon transferred to North West River because of its more favourable climate and because Rigolet was almost deserted during winter.

In 1838 the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Nascopie on Petitsikapau Lake, the first European settlement in the interior of Labrador. This post was closed in 1839 but re-opened in 1841 and remained in operation until 1873 when it was again closed because of difficulties involving recruitment, transportation and food supplies (Mattox, 1964, p. 13). Two other posts, Forts Winikapau and Michikamau, in the interior were operated by the Company during the second half of the nineteenth century. Other posts operated by the Hudson's Bay Company are listed in Table 4. Most appear to have been original establishments but some were purchased from other companies, e.g. both the Davis Inlet and Cartwright[8] posts were purchased from Hunt and Henly. The trading establishments of the Moravian Mission at Hebron, Nutak, Nain, Hopedale, and Makkovik were

Table 4. Hudson's Bay Company Posts in Labrador.

Post	Opened	Closed
Kipsimarvik, Nachvak Fiord	c.1831	1906
North West River	1836	-
Sandy Banks	1836	d.m.
Rigolet	1836	-
Postville	1837	d.m.
Ailik	before 1840	d.m.
Fort Nascopie	1838	1839
Fort Nascopie	re-opened 1841	1873
Mainwan Lake	between 1840-1844	d.m.
Gull Island	between 1840-1844	d.m.
Wingabow	between 1840-1844	d.m.
Fort Michikamau	between 1841-1847	1873
Fort Winikapau	1863	1874
Snook's Cove	1865	d.m.
Saglek Fiord Post	c.1866	d.m.
Mud Lake	d.m.	d.m.
Traverspine	d.m.	d.m.
Nascopie River	d.m.	d.m.
Ford's Harbour	d.m.	d.m.
Davis Inlet	1869	1942
Voisey's Bay	d.m.	d.m.
Cartwright	1873	-
Round Island	1873	d.m.
Gready	1873	d.m.
Sandy Hill Bay	1873	d.m.
Nain	1926	1942
Hebron	1926	1942
Nutak	1926	1942
Hopedale	1926	1942
Makkovik	1926	1941
Frenchman's Island	1927	1941
Goose Bay	1947	-
Happy Valley	1953	-

Note: d.m. denotes data missing.

Source: Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith (1966, pers. comm.); Tanner (1944); Mattox (1964); Jenness (1965); and other sources.

given to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1926, on a twenty-one year lease.

In 1941-42 the Hudson's Bay Company closed all of its Labrador posts which had been operating at a loss. Responsibility for operations at all except Frenchman's Island was assumed by the Newfoundland government to ensure that the people of northern Labrador would neither be without a source of obtaining essential supplies nor a market outlet for their produce.

The present year-round population of coastal Labrador, of European extraction, may be divided into three groups: (1) Settlers, (2) Trappers, and (3) Liviers. Settlers and Liviers have already been mentioned briefly. These groups emerged largely as a result of the colonization patterns discussed above and it is pertinent here to provide a summary description of each and delineate their areas of occupance.

Settlers, along with the majority of the Eskimo and Nascaupi populations, occupy the area north of Cape Harrison. They are descended mainly from fur trappers and traders from Scotland, England and Norway[9] who intermarried with Eskimo women. The Liviers, descended mainly from Newfoundland fishermen but also from European and American fishermen, many of whom married Eskimo and Indian women, occupy the area from the southern side of Groswater Bay southwards to the Quebec border in the Strait of Belle Isle. The Trappers are similar to Settlers in that they are descended from fur trappers and traders, mainly from Scotland, England and French Canada. There has been a considerable degree of intermarriage between Trappers and Eskimos, especially around Rigolet, and to a lesser extent between Trappers and Indians. There is no clear boundary between Liviers and Trappers, if the traditional distinction based on ancestry is used, because the Sandwich Bay communities, especially Cartwright, contain a

mixture of both. The division used here, based on present occupation and population movements classifies the Sandwich Bay population as Liviers and confines the Trappers' area of occupance to the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary. The population of Happy Valley, which has been excluded from the study area, consists of several different groups of immigrants from outside Labrador as well as Liviers, Trappers, Settlers, Eskimos, and one family of Nascaupi Indians.

Two other groups of people, Stationers and Floaters, both from insular Newfoundland, live on the Labrador coast during the summer fishing season. The whole of the Floater population and most of the Stationer population are fishermen. Occasionally, the skipper of a Stationer crew is accompanied by his wife and family. The Stationers, who occupy the area from Chateau Bay in the south to Ironbound Islands, near Makkovik, in the north, live on shore where they maintain summer homes and fishing installations. The Floaters, who live on board fishing schooners, range from Belle Isle in the south to Saglek Fiord in the north and cannot be assigned to any one area.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY

Introduction

Demographic data for Labrador are available from as early as 1765 but the accuracy of much is doubtful. The two major sources of data are, (a) the official government census reports, and (b) the journals and reports of early settlers and visitors. The first near reliable census report for the whole of Labrador, including Eskimos and some Indians as well as European settlers was that of 1884. Previous censuses had included only the area south of Cape Harrison, with all but those of 1864 and 1869 excluding the Eskimo population, although by that time it must have been difficult to distinguish between Eskimos and Europeans because of the large degree of racial mixing that had occurred in southern Labrador. The official census reports from 1884 to 1961 present the analyst with many problems, some of which have been reviewed by Black.

> "Distribution of the population according to the 1951 census provides an incomplete picture, because it does not differentiate between the population occupying summer or winter stations. At the time of census taking, during the open season, part of the population was still living in winter quarters but some had already moved to the summer fishing stations. Furthermore, parts of the population, particularly in northern Labrador, are assigned to a main centre rather than to the central place of residence .... An examination of earlier census figures shows a parallel discrepancy." (Black, 1957, p. 56).

Other problems which may be mentioned are the changing of settlement place-names or their spellings; and the appearance and disappearance of a large number of settlements. This combined with the lack of a standard form for listing settlements in the census reports, e.g.

some list them from south to north, some alphabethically, and others quite haphazardly, creates problems in locating the actual sites. One of the analyst's first questions in working with the official data concerns whether or not Stationer populations were included. The total population figures suggest that all such populations were not included, but the inclusion of some settlements traditionally occupied by Stationers, e.g. Chateau, Camp Islands, and Indian Harbour, suggest that some have been included.

The Labrador section of the censuses of Newfoundland (1884-1945) appears more accurate than that of the censuses of Canada (1951-1961). A comparison of the 1965-66 census, conducted by the author, with the 1951, 1956 and 1961 censuses of Canada suggest that the latter are far from complete in that a large number of settlements were not listed. The large increase in the coastal population between 1961 and 1965 (see below) tends to substantiate this belief. This probably applies to the censuses of Newfoundland as well, although, in retrospect, it is not as noticable. As a result of the limitations noted above, it may be stated that the first accurate census for the whole of the coast was that conducted by Black in 1951. However, for purposes of the discussion below which attempts to trace the growth of permanent population in the area, the two sources mentioned previously are used. Black's data are treated in Chapter IV.

The discussion below has been designed to treat the Eskimo, Indian and White populations separately up until the 1884 census, and total populations thereafter.

Eskimo Population, to 1884

Jens Haven, who met 400 Eskimos at Chateau in 1765, estimated

the total Eskimo population from the Strait of Belle Isle to Cape Chidley at around 3,000. Jenness (1965, p. 10) considers Curtis' estimate of 1,625, in 1773, as being more realistic. At the time of Curtis' visit, 270 Eskimos were living south of Cape Harrison (Gosling, 1910, p. 169).

The Eskimos of southern Labrador appear to have decreased in number with the spread of European settlement along the coast, because of (a) intermarriage with Europeans, and (b) their susceptability to European diseases, notably tuberculosis, syphilis, measles and influenza. At the close of the eighteenth century the three main groups were living at Battle Harbour, Sandwich Bay and Rigolet. Black (1957, p. 53) states that the combined Eskimo and half-breed population of the southern coast was around 500 in 1848. Most of these appear to have been half-breeds for other sources (MacGregor, 1909; Hawkes, 1916) indicate that by the late nineteenth century there were few Eskimos in the area, apart from at Rigolet where there were around 70 in 1882 (Jenness, 1965, p. 11).

Figures relating to the total number of Eskimos in northern Labrador, during this period, are not available, but Table 5 shows the populations living at each of the Moravian settlements.

Table 5. Eskimo population at Moravian stations.

Year	Ramah	Hebron	Okkak	Nain	Zoar	Hopedale	Total
1810	-	-	233	115	-	145	493
c.1820	-	-	255	168	-	149	572
1828	-	-	394	232	-	176	802
1835	-	148	251	278	-	194	871
1840	-	179	352	298	-	205	1,034
1850	-	346	408	314	-	229	1,297
1860	-	306	314	277	-	241	1,138
1880	44	202	329	282	130	315	1,302

Source: Gosling, 1910, p. 286, 293, 295-96, 298, 302 and 309.

Indian Population, to 1884

Population figures for the Montagnais and Nascaupi Indians are more difficult to obtain and appear to be available only for the latter part of the period. Hind (1863, vol. 2, p. 117) gives the following estimates of Indians trading at Hudson's Bay Company posts in the mid nineteenth century: 100 at Rigolet; 100 at North West River; 200 at Fort Nascopie; and 100 at Postville. Turner (1894, p. 159) estimated the total Nascaupi population in the 1880's to be around 350.

European Population, to 1884

The growth of the White population in Labrador was extremely slow during the early stages of its history, due largely to British legislation designed to prohibit settlement in Newfoundland. Tanner (1944, p. 733) states that there were only thirteen permanent white settlers on the coast in 1763, but data contained in Cartwright's journal suggest a larger number.

In 1785 European settlers in southern Labrador numbered 153, and by 1806 had reached 489. In 1848 the area had around 400 white settlers, and in addition the 500 Eskimos and half-breeds mentioned above. The permanent White population now outnumbered the crews required as winter caretakers by the merchants, and thereafter increased more rapidly due to a "... breakdown of controls regulating the number of resident fishermen" (Black, 1957, p. 53). In 1856 there were 1,553 settlers living between Blanc Sablon and Sandwich Bay. In 1864 the White population between Blanc Sablon and Cape Harrison was recorded as 2,062, and in 1879 as 2,179.

Total Population, 1884-1965

The census of 1884, as mentioned earlier, was the first to

include the whole of the coast and count Eskimos and Indians as well as Whites, hence it is the first shown in Figure 8[1]. From 1884 to 1935 the population of the coast fluctuated, increasing only slightly. It increased by only 1.3% during the seven year period from 1884 to 1891, although the birth rate, as calculated from the 1884 census report, was 30.2 per 1,000 and the death rate 14.5 per 1,000 giving an annual rate of natural increase of 15.7 per 1,000 or an actual annual increase of 66. This suggests an out-migration during the period of between 400 and 500 people. Out-migration appears to have continued until 1921, exceeding the natural increase, and in-migration if any, during all census periods. This is shown by both Figure 8 and Table 6. The decreases were partially due to epidemics[2] but mainly to out-migration[3].

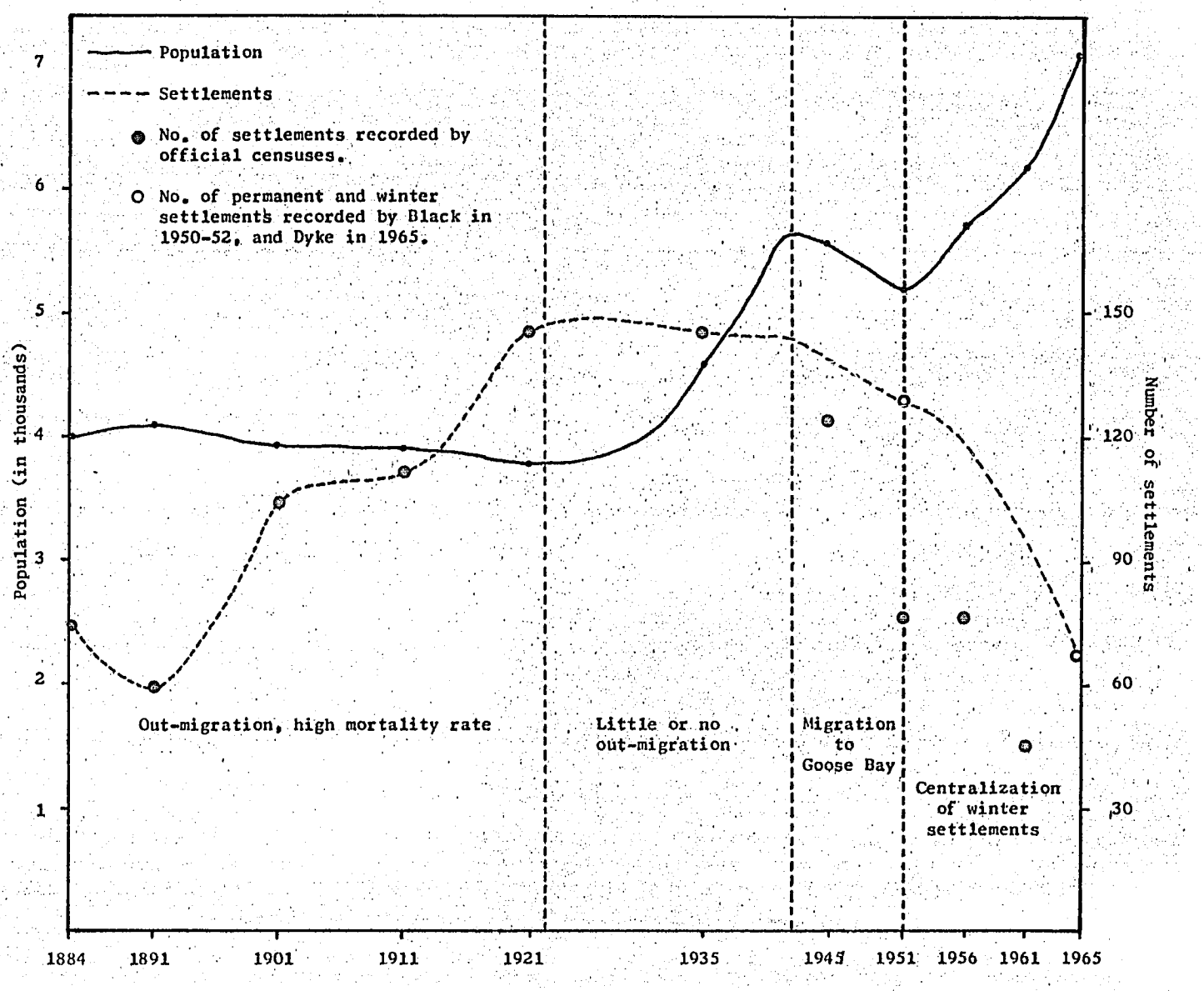
Table 6. Changes in Labrador's coastal population by census period, 1884-1965.

Census Period	Total Population (at end of period)	Percent Change
-1884	4,003	
1884-1891	4,054	1.3
1891-1901	3,902	-3.7
1901-1911	3,896	-0.2
1911-1921	3,749	-3.8
1921-1935	4,546	21.3
1935-1945	5,525	21.5
1945-1951	5,174	-6.4
1951-1956	5,704	10.2
1956-1961	6,140	5.9
1961-1965	7,078	15.3

Source: Calculated from data contained in the censuses of Newfoundland, 1884-1945; censuses of Canada, 1951-1961; and data collected by the author, 1965-66.

Around 1921, however, out-migration practically ceased and the prevailing rate of natural increase (13-15 per 1,000) was largely responsible for the increase in total population which followed, although

Fig. 8. Population and settlements in coastal Labrador, 1884-1965.



Note: For areas which Black did not study (Strait of Belle Isle and the western end of Lake Melville), his data have been supplemented by data from 1951 Census of Canada.

there was some in-migration. Between 1935 and 1945 in-migration not only continued, but increased, as may be seen from Table 7.

Table 7. Birthplace of Labrador population, 1921-1945.

Year	Total Population[1]	Newfoundland & Labrador Born	Born in Britain and British Possessions[2]	Foreign Born
1921	3,774	3,752	14	8
1935	4,716	4,666	37	13
1945	5,525	5,374	135	12

1. official census figures for Labrador -- not adjusted to fit the study area.

2. including Canada.

Source: Census of Newfoundland, 1945, vol. 1.

The decrease which occurred between 1945-51 was mainly due to migration to Goose Bay in search of wage employment associated with base construction and maintenance. This migration has since continued, but on a much reduced scale and, consequently, the coastal population has been increasing since 1951. Data collected in 1965 show an increase of 15.3% (absolute increase of 938) over a four year period. This again suggests migration to the coast, much of which is probably backwash from Goose Bay.

Settlement and Resettlement

Associated with the growth of Labrador's coastal population has been the large scale establishment and abandonment of settlements. This is summarized in Table 8 (also see Fig. 8). Many of these settlements appear to have been winter stations and unquestionably much of the abandonment and establishment partially resulted from seasonal migrations.

An examination of Appendix B shows that some of the new sites occupied, though not listed in the previous census report, had been inhabited at an earlier date. Most sites, however, were being settled for the first time.

The abandonment of some settlements was initiated by the increasing sparcity of biological resources within the easily accessible area. The occupance of new sites was often a move to an area with greater economic potential. However, many were abandoned through migration to better serviced communities, e.g. Cartwright and Makkovik. Others were vacated through migration from the coast. The latter is particularly true for the period from 1945 to 1956 when a large number of smaller settlements were vacated because of migration to Goose Bay. The establishment of many settlements on sites previously occupied was associated with, and economically warranted by the return of renewable resources in sufficient quantities near the sites.

Table 8. Settlement establishment and abandonment, 1884-1966.

Census Year	No. of New Settlements Established	No. of Settlements Abandoned	Net Gain or Loss
1891	8	22	-14
1901	59	14	45
1911	36	29	7
1921	66	31	35
1935	59	60	-1
1945	52	73	-21
1951	14	62	-48
1956	17	17	0
1961	2	33	-31
1965-66			
-Permanent settlements	12		
-Summer settlements	142		
-Winter settlements	12		
Total (1965-66)	176	2	174

Source: Calculated from data contained in the censuses of Newfoundland, 1884-1945; censuses of Canada, 1951-1961; and data collected by the author, 1965-66.

The validity of much of the data presented in Table 8 is questionable because of the difficulties, discussed elsewhere, inherent in working with the official censuses. Indeed, many of the settlements which are listed as having been abandoned and re-established at a later date may never have been abandoned but, instead, omitted in error from the census. It is notable here that 74 of the settlements occupied during some season in 1965-66 had not been recorded by any official census and 176 were not listed in the 1961 census report.

An impression of the scale of settlement abandonment which has occurred since 1884 is given by the fact that 169 settlements which had been listed in previous censuses were not occupied during 1965-66. Add to this the number which were never officially recorded, some of which are mentioned in the literature, e.g. Black (1957), and a much larger number is suggested. Some of the abandonment has been partially recorded and the results are presented in Table 9. Many of the settlements appearing in Table 9 were never listed in any official census report but have been recorded by Williamson (1966, pers. comm.).

A full understanding of this aspect of Labrador's coastal settlement pattern still awaits detailed historical research, especially field research. However, this discussion may have been beneficial inasmuch as it partially illustrates the complexity of the problem.

Government Resettlement Programs

In 1954 the Newfoundland government implemented a resettlement program designed initially to facilitate the depopulation of island communities in Bonavista Bay. This program, administered through the Newfoundland Department of Public Welfare, rapidly gained popularity in

Table 9. Data relating to some abandoned settlement sites.

Place Name	Census entry From	Census entry to	Date abd.	Number of Families	Number of People	Recipient Communities	Remarks
Southern Labrador							
Barge Bay	1891 &	1935 1956	Before 1959	4	d.m.	Red Bay	Abandoned as a year-round settlement through the government resettlement program. Still occupied during summer.
Bill's Brook	1951	1956	1962	3	d.m.	Porcupine Bay and Cartwright (winter); Batteau, Black Tickle and Spotted Islands (summer).	Winter settlement.
Black Bear Bay	1884 & 1935	1901 1956	c.1956	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	
Bobby Joy's Brook	1901 & 1951	1956	1961	d.m.	5	Cartwright	Winter settlement. Government resettlement program.
Deepwater Creek	1884	1935	c.1936	d.m.	12	Fox Harbour	
Dove Brook	1901 & 1945	1956	1960	4	d.m.	Cartwright	Government resettlement program.
East St. Modeste	1884	1956	1961	3	d.m.	Pinware	Government resettlement program.

Table 9. (cont'd)

Place Name	Census entry From	Census entry to	Date abd.	Number of Families	Number of People	Recipient Communities	Remarks
Flatwater Brook	1901 & 1935	1911; 1945, & 1956	1961	d.m.	7	Cartwright	Government resettlement program.
Goose Cove	1901 & 1945	1956	1960	12	d.m.	Cartwright	Government resettlement program.
Hatter's Cove	1921	1921	1928	d.m.	d.m.	Mary's Harbour	
Hawke's Bay	1945	1945	1948	d.m.	d.m.	Hawke Harbour	
Hawke Harbour	1891 & 1935	1911 1956	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	Charlottetown	
Hill's Harbour	1911	1921	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	Cartwright	
Kerry Cove	1921	1921	c.1956	d.m.	d.m.	Port Hope Simpson	
Lewis Bay	1921	1921	c.1947	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	
Muddy Bay	1901 & 1935	1956	1961	1	d.m.	Cartwright	Government resettlement program. Still occupied as salmon fishing station.
Mussel Brook	1951	1956	c.1956	7	d.m.	Porcupine Bay and Cartwright (winter); Batteau, Black Tickle and Spotted Islands (summer).	

Table 9. (cont'd)

Place Name	Census entry From	Census entry to	Date abd.	Number of Families	Number of People	Recipient Communities	Remarks
Newtown	1945	1956	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	Charlottetown (winter); Square Islands (summer)	
Otter Brook	1935	1935	c.1936	1	3	d.m.	
Plant's Bight	1945	1945	1961	d.m.	11	Cartwright	Government resettlement program.
Rabbit Brook	1945	1945	1962	d.m.	14	North River (winter); West Bay (summer)	Winter settlement. Abandoned through the government resettlement program.
Reed's Pond	1884	1884	c.1951	8-10	d.m.	Black Tickle	Winter settlement.
Riverhead	1945	1945	c.1946	d.m.	d.m.	Fox Harbour	Winter settlement.
Sandy Hill Bay	1884 & 1945	1921 1951	1956	3	c.15	Cartwright (winter); Indian Tickle (summer)	The winter settlement, several miles inland, was abandoned through the government resettlement program. Still a salmon fishing station on the coast, occupied by two families during summer 1965.
Shoal Bay	1945	1945	1960	d.m.	c.50	Partridge Bay (winter); Seal Islands (summer).	Winter settlement.

Table 9. (cont'd)

Place Name	Census entry From	Census entry to	Date abd.	Number of Families	Number of People	Recipient Communities	Remarks
Spotted Islands	1884 & 1956	1945 1961	1965	d.m.	c.140	Conception Bay (Nfld), Cartwright, Happy Valley, Porcupine Bay (winter).	The two families which moved to Conception Bay, seven to Cartwright, and five to Happy Valley did so with government assistance (resettlement program). The remaining families moved to Porcupine Bay without assistance. Almost all return to Spotted Islands during summer.
St. Michael's Bay	1945	1951	1954	d.m.	d.m.	Charlottetown	Winter settlement.
West Bay	1901 & 1951	1935 1961	1961-63	13	c.35	North River and Rigolet (winter).	Government resettlement program. Former residents still live at West Bay during summer.
White Bear Arm	1901	1921	c.1921	d.m.	d.m.	d.m.	Winter settlement. Former residents now live at Charlottetown.

Table 9. (cont'd)

Place Name	Census entry From	to	Date abd.	Number of Families	People	Recipient Communities	Remarks
Northern Labrador							
Bob's Brook	1945	1945	d.m.	2	d.m.	Happy Valley	
Three Rapids	n.e.	n.e.	after 1952	1	d.m.	-	Winter settlement. Deceased.
English River	1921 &	1945	d.m.	2	d.m.	Postville	
Alcomie	n.e.	n.e.	d.m.	3	d.m.	Postville (1), Makkovik (2).	
Tickle Point	n.e.	n.e.	d.m.	1	d.m.	Postville	
Ben's Cove	1921 &	1945	after 1952	1	d.m.	Makkovik	Winter settlement.
Ailik	1884 & 1921	1945	d.m.	1	d.m.	Bay Roberts, C. B.	Occupied during summer by families from Postville.
Big Bight	1921	1951	after 1952	2	d.m.	Makkovik	Broomfields. Winter settlement.
Adlavik	1921	1951	after 1952	2	d.m.	Makkovik	Andersons. Winter settlement.
Seal Point	n.e.	n.e.	d.m.	1	d.m.	Happy Valley	

Table 9. (cont'd)

Place Name	Census entry From	Census entry to	Date abd.	Number of Families	Number of People	Recipient Communities	Remarks
Pamialuk	1921	1921	after 1952	1	d.m.	-	Year-round settlement. Deceased.
Tukialik	n.e.	n.e.	d.m.	3	d.m.	Makkovik (1), Happy Valley (2).	
Island Harbour	1884 & 1921	1935	d.m.	3	d.m.	Makkovik (2), Happy Valley (1).	Occupied during summer 1966 by 6 people from North West River.
Halfway Island	n.e.	n.e.	d.m.	1	d.m.	-	Deceased.
Second Rapid	n.e.	n.e.	d.m.	1	d.m.	Happy Valley	
Salmon River	n.e.	n.e.	d.m.	2	d.m.	Postville	Since deceased.
Cape Harrison	n.e.	n.e.	after 1952	d.m.	d.m.	Happy Valley	Occupied during summer 1966 by 10 Stationers.
Daniel's Rattle	1935	1935	before 1952	2	d.m.	Happy Valley	
Frank's River	n.e.	n.e.	before 1952	d.m.	d.m.	Happy Valley	
Voisey's Bay	1921	1956	after 1952	12	d.m.	Nain and Happy Valley	Occupied by three Nascaupi (one family) during winter.

Table 9. (cont'd)

Place Name	Census entry From	Census entry to	Date abd.	Number of Families	Number of People	Recipient Communities	Remarks
Nutak	1935	1956	1956	38	d.m.	Nain (26); Makkovik (4); North West River (5); and Hebron (3).	Government resettlement program.
Hebron	1884	1961	1959	59	d.m.	Nain (7); Hopedale (37); and Makkovik (15).	Government resettlement program.

Note: n.e. signifies that the settlement was not listed in any census report.
d.m. indicates data are missing.

Source: Acreman (1966, pers. comm.); Black (1957, p. 65-66); Buckle (1966, pers. comm.); King (1966, pers. comm.); Voisey (1966, pers. comm.); Wentzell (1966, pers. comm.); Williamson (1966, pers. comm.); Newfoundland Department of Public Welfare (1959, 1961, 1962 and 1964); Censuses of Newfoundland (1884-1945); and, Censuses of Canada (1951-1961).

government circles and its effects quickly spread throughout the Province. In July, 1965 it was replaced by the Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Program, sponsored by both the Government of Canada and the Government of Newfoundland, which, operating with an increased budget, could intensify its resettlement efforts accordingly. The new program was administered through the Newfoundland Department of Fisheries from its inception until late 1966 when its responsibility shifted to the Newfoundland Department of Community and Social Development. During the summer of 1967 an agreement was signed between the governments of Canada and Newfoundland, replacing the latter program by the third of its kind, again designated the Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Program, intended primarily to further accelerate government financed rural depopulation.

Thus far, the attention of the resettlement programs has concentrated mainly on the rural communities of insular Newfoundland. Some factual information concerning the communities of coastal Labrador which have been re-located is provided in Table 9, and resettlement, as it has affected transhumance, is discussed briefly in Chapters VI and VII.

CHAPTER IV

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1950 - 1966

Introduction

Population distributions, as ascertained by Black (1957) for the 1950-52 period and by the author for 1965-66, are shown in Figures 9-19. For the purpose of mapping these distributions, the study area has been divided into three regions: (a) southern Labrador, occupied by Liviers, and also the summer home of most Stationers; (b) the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary which contains a mixture of Trapper, Eskimo, Montagnais and Nascaupi populations; and (c) northern Labrador with its Settler, Eskimo and Nascaupi populations.

Population distributions in 1965-66 are shown during both summer (Fig. 11, 12, 15 and 19) and winter (Fig. 10, 16 and 18) for all regions. Distributions in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary in 1950-51 are also shown for both summer (Fig. 13) and winter (Fig. 14). Only winter distributions are shown for southern Labrador in 1950-51 (Fig. 9) and northern Labrador in 1951-52 (Fig. 17). Due to changes in community size, which occurred between 1950-52 and 1965-66, especially the growth of some of the larger centres, it was necessary to use symbols of a different size, representing a different range of population, than were used by Black (1957) in portraying his data. Absolute figures were provided by Black (1957) for winter distributions but summer populations were only shown cartographically and, with the exception of the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary, it was not possible to extract the data pertaining to summer.

Population Distribution

During the winter of 1950-51[1], southern Labrador, Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville and northern Labrador contained 59%, 16% and 25% respectively, of the total population residing year-round in the study area[2]. These values had changed only slightly by 1965-66 when the regions accounted for 61%, 16% and 23%, respectively. Distributional patterns change with the advent of summer and, at the same time, the populations of the three regions increase. This increase is largely attributable to the arrival of Stationers. A number of people from Happy Valley, who migrate to summer fishing stations on the coast, also contribute slightly. In addition, a few of the people who winter in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary move to the other regions for the summer fishery. In 1965 these early summer migrations increased the population totals by 19% in southern Labrador, 17% in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary, and 2% in northern Labrador. The percentage distribution of population by region was then 63%, 16% and 21%, respectively.

Figures 9 and 10 show the distribution of population in southern Labrador during the winters of 1950-51 and 1965-66, respectively. A comparison of these two maps shows some interesting changes and trends, among the most important of which are the disappearance of a relatively large number of settlements and the concentration of population during winter in the larger, better serviced communities, especially those where educational facilities are available. Some of these abandoned settlements had previously been occupied year-round. A comparison of Figures 9 and 10 with Figure 11 shows that some, e.g. Matthew's Cove and Trap Cove, have not been completely abandoned but, instead, reduced to the status of summer settlements. Most, however, especially in the area northwards from

Hawke Harbour, were occupied only during winter and have now been completely abandoned. Most of the former populations of these settlements presently winter at Cartwright, Charlottetown, Port Hope Simpson, and Mary's Harbour. The rapid growth of the population of Cartwright during the last decade has been mainly due to this trend towards centralization. Some of the settlements, e.g. Batteau, which appear to have been occupied only during summer in the early 1950's now retain part of their population year-round. Other settlements, e.g. Indian Cove, which were and still are occupied year-round, are now operating during winter with a much reduced population.

The largest single concentration of population in southern Labrador is found in the Strait of Belle Isle (Fig. 10) in the communities connected by the Labrador Highway. That this concentration is not due to the presence of the road may be seen from Figure 9 which shows that a similar concentration existed before the advent of road construction in the area. These settlements accounted for 37% of the Livier population in 1950-51 and 40% in 1965-66, with their population increasing during that period by 43.9%. This growth appears to have been almost entirely the result of natural increase. Other notable concentrations of population are located in the Lodge Bay-Port Hope Simpson area, which contained 29% of the Livier population in 1950-51 and 27% in 1965-66; and, at Cartwright. The latter has the largest winter population of any settlement in southern Labrador. The population of the Lodge Bay-Port Hope Simpson area increased by 41.8% between 1951 and 1966, while that of communities outside the three major concentrations decreased by 16.1%. This again indicates the trend towards centralization. The total number of Liviers increased by 40.0% during this period.

Figure 11 shows the distribution of the Livier population during

summer 1965. Again, concentrations are evident in the three areas noted above, but during summer it is spread throughout a much larger number of settlements. Another, smaller concentration is now found in the Spotted Island's area.

A comparison of Figures 10 and 11 provides an indication of the amount of movement involved in the seasonal migrations and shows that migrations are negligible in the Strait of Belle Isle. The dispersal of Livier population during summer is most marked in the area around Sandwich Bay.

Figure 12 shows the distribution of the Stationer population in southern Labrador: distributions in the other two regions are represented in Figures 15 and 19. The area represented by Figure 12 contains 78.2% of the total Stationer population; another 17.8% occupy the seven settlements in Hamilton Inlet (Fig. 15); and, only 4.0% occupy the two Stationer settlements in northern Labrador (Fig. 19). A comparison of Figures 11 and 12 shows that most settlements occupied by Stationers in southern Labrador also have Livier populations. In most of these the Livier populations reside only during summer but some, and in particular, Battle Harbour, Fox Harbour, Batteau, Salmon Bight and Black Tickle, are year-round settlements. Conversely, most settlements occupied by Liviers during summer, with the exception of the Strait's settlements and the small salmon fishing stations, also have Stationer populations. On the other hand, the Stationer settlements in Hamilton Inlet and northern Labrador, with one exception, are inhabited solely by Stationers. Unfortunately, there are no reliable data regarding past distributions of Stationer populations, in any area, which might be used for comparative or other purposes.

The distributions of Trapper and Indian populations during 1950-

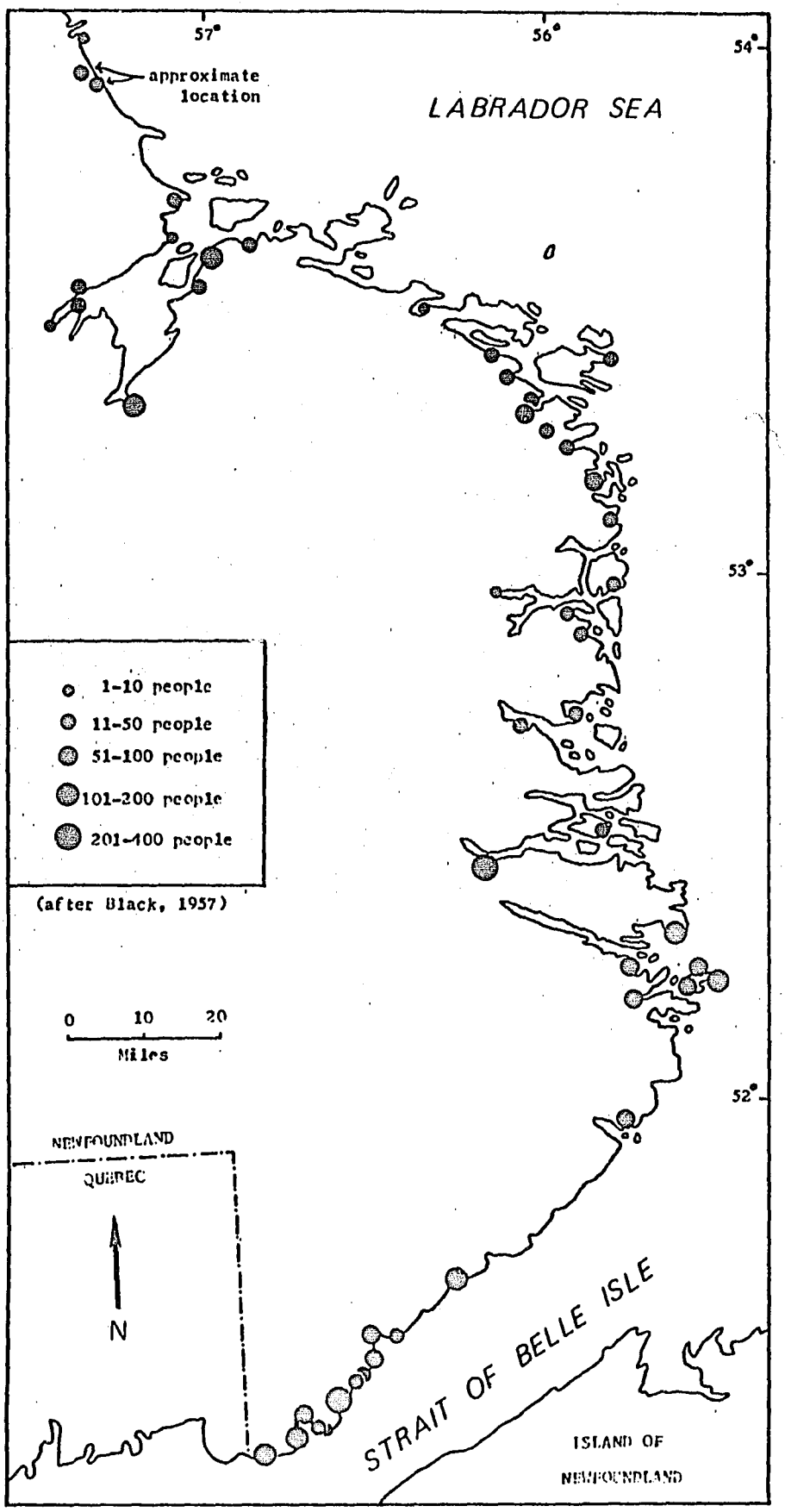


Fig. 9. Distribution of the Livier population in southern Labrador, winter 1950-51.

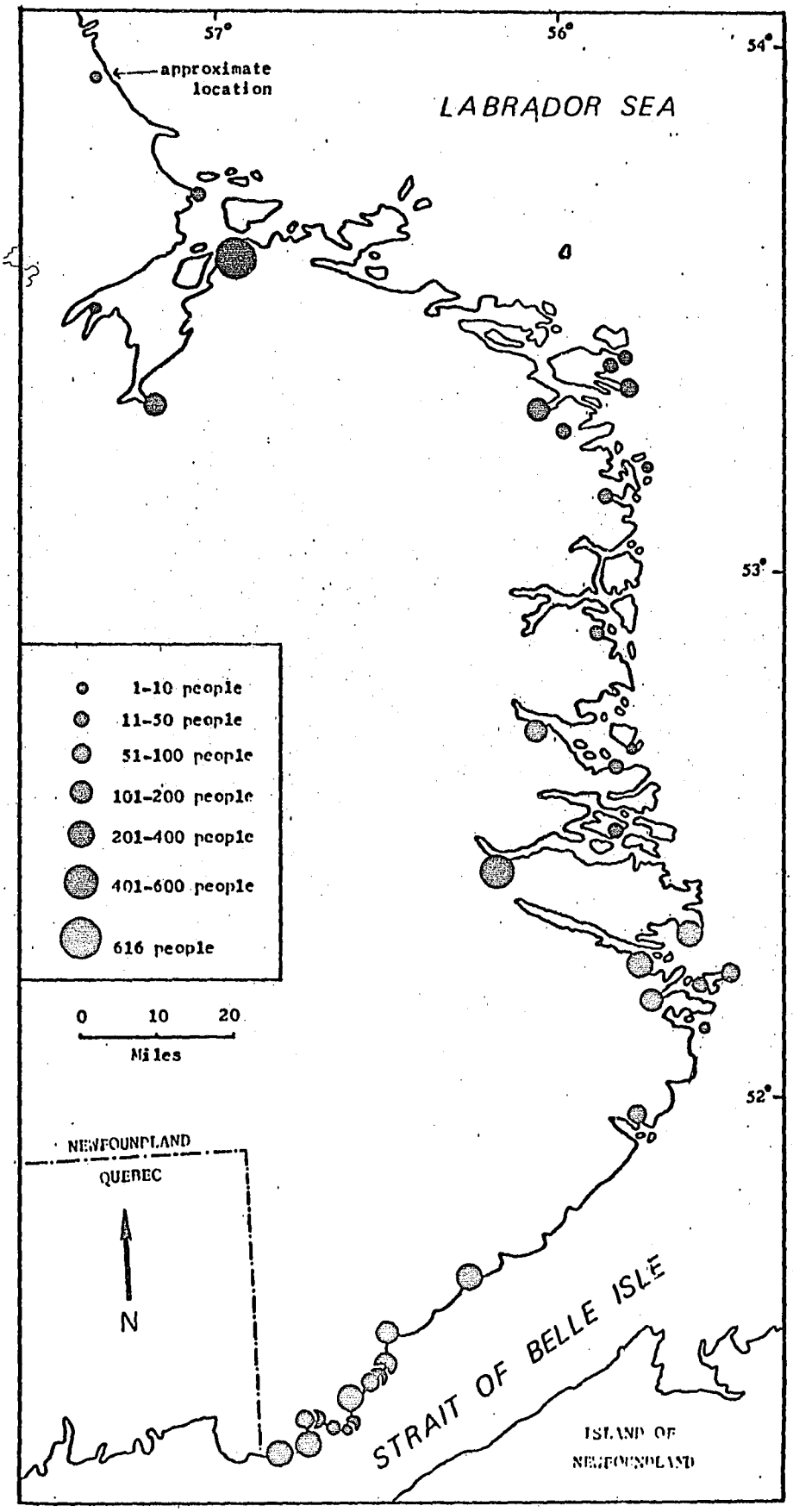


Fig. 10. Distribution of the Livier population in southern Labrador, winter 1965-66.

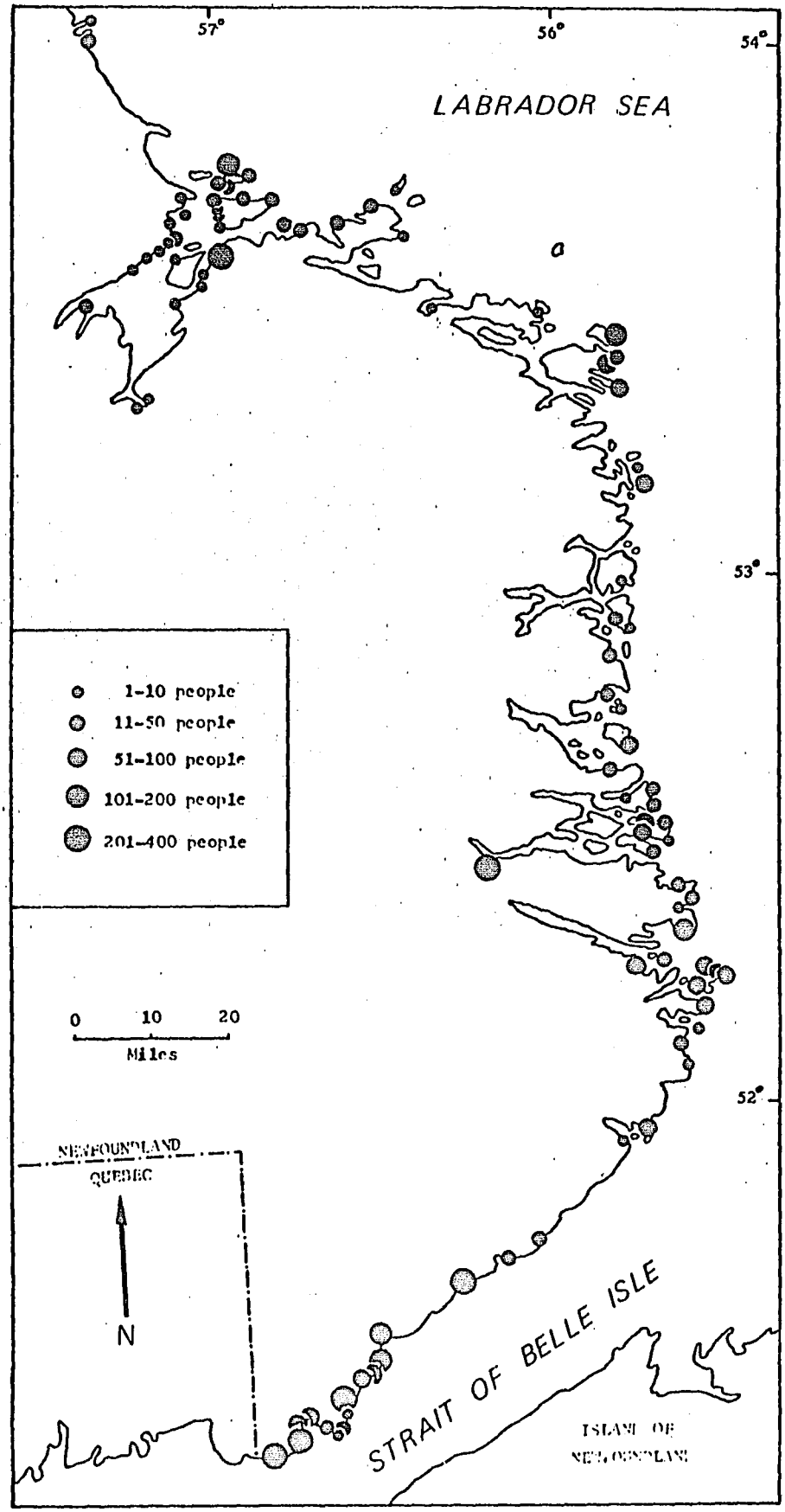


Fig. 11. Distribution of the Livier population in southern Labrador, summer 1965.

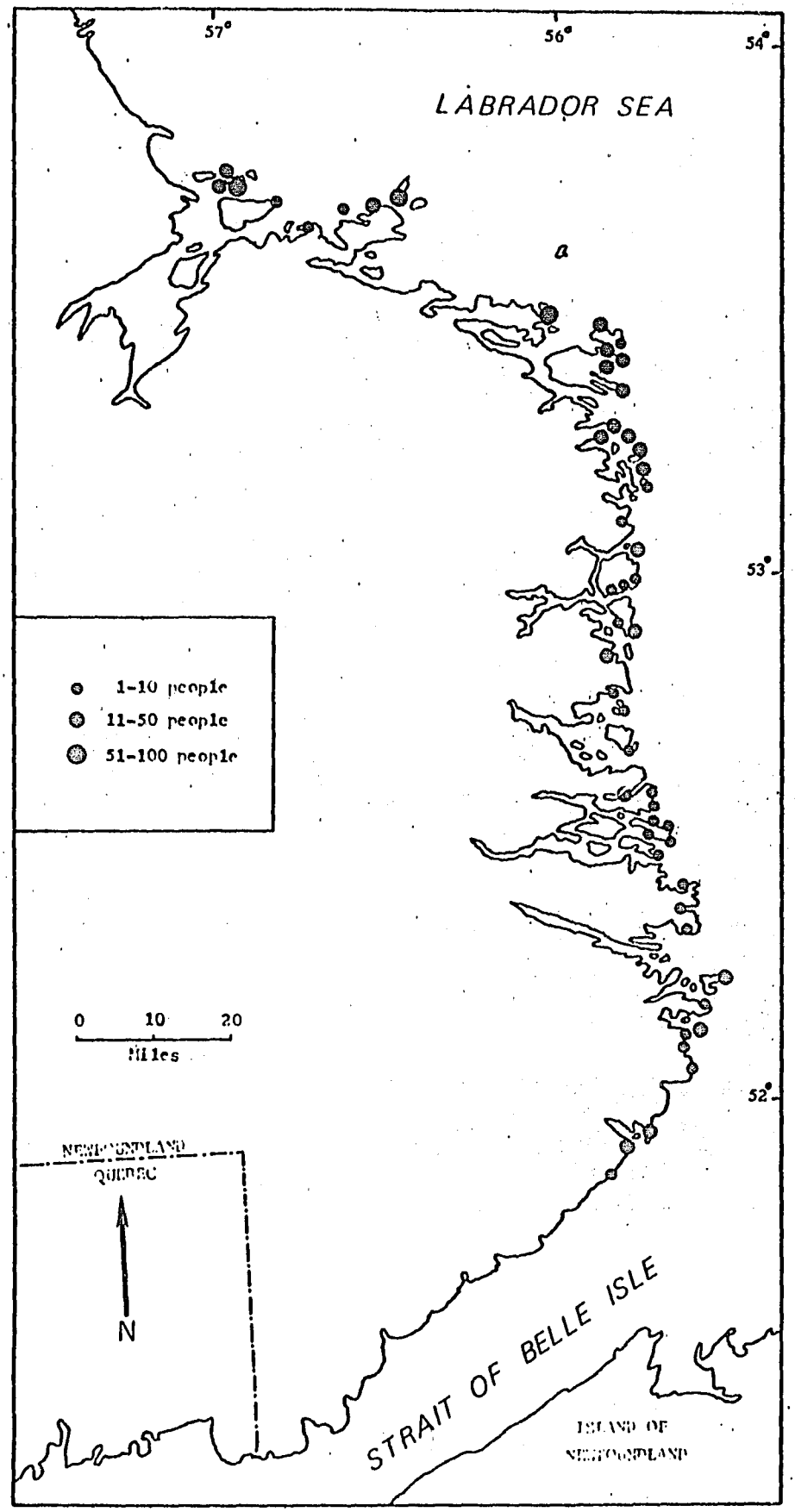


Fig. 12. Distribution of the Stationer population in southern Labrador, summer 1965.

51 are shown seasonally with summer and winter distributions represented by Figures 13 and 14, respectively. Of these two maps, Figure 13 has the greater degree of accuracy because it depicts the actual locations of the population, whereas Figure 14 shows the distribution according to 'home' winter settlement, when many of both the Trappers and Indians were living in the interior, near their trap lines. This especially applies to the population at the western end of Lake Melville. The distribution at the eastern end of Lake Melville, The Backway, Back Run, The Narrows, Double Mer and the western end of Hamilton Inlet in winter was similar to that during summer, with the population being scattered throughout a large number of small settlements. The distribution during the summer of 1965 (Fig. 15) had not changed significantly from that of 1950 although a comparison of names of settlements occupied during the summer of 1950 (Black, 1957, p. 59) and the summer of 1965 (Appendix B, Section 1) reveals that many of the earlier sites have been abandoned and new stations established.

The distribution during the winter of 1965-66 (Fig. 16) differs significantly from that of 1950-51, with almost all of the population, east of Lake Melville, wintering at Rigolet in 1965-66. Only four of the smaller winter settlements, two in Hamilton Inlet and two in Double Mer, still remain. This concentration has necessarily increased the distances involved in the seasonal migrations.

The total Trapper, Indian and Eskimo population of the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary increased by 34.3% between 1951 and 1966. Some of this increase was due to in-migration in the form of government sponsored resettlement, at North West River and Rigolet, of people from other areas.

The concentration of population, during winter, in the larger centres of northern Labrador, which occurred between 1951 and 1966, is

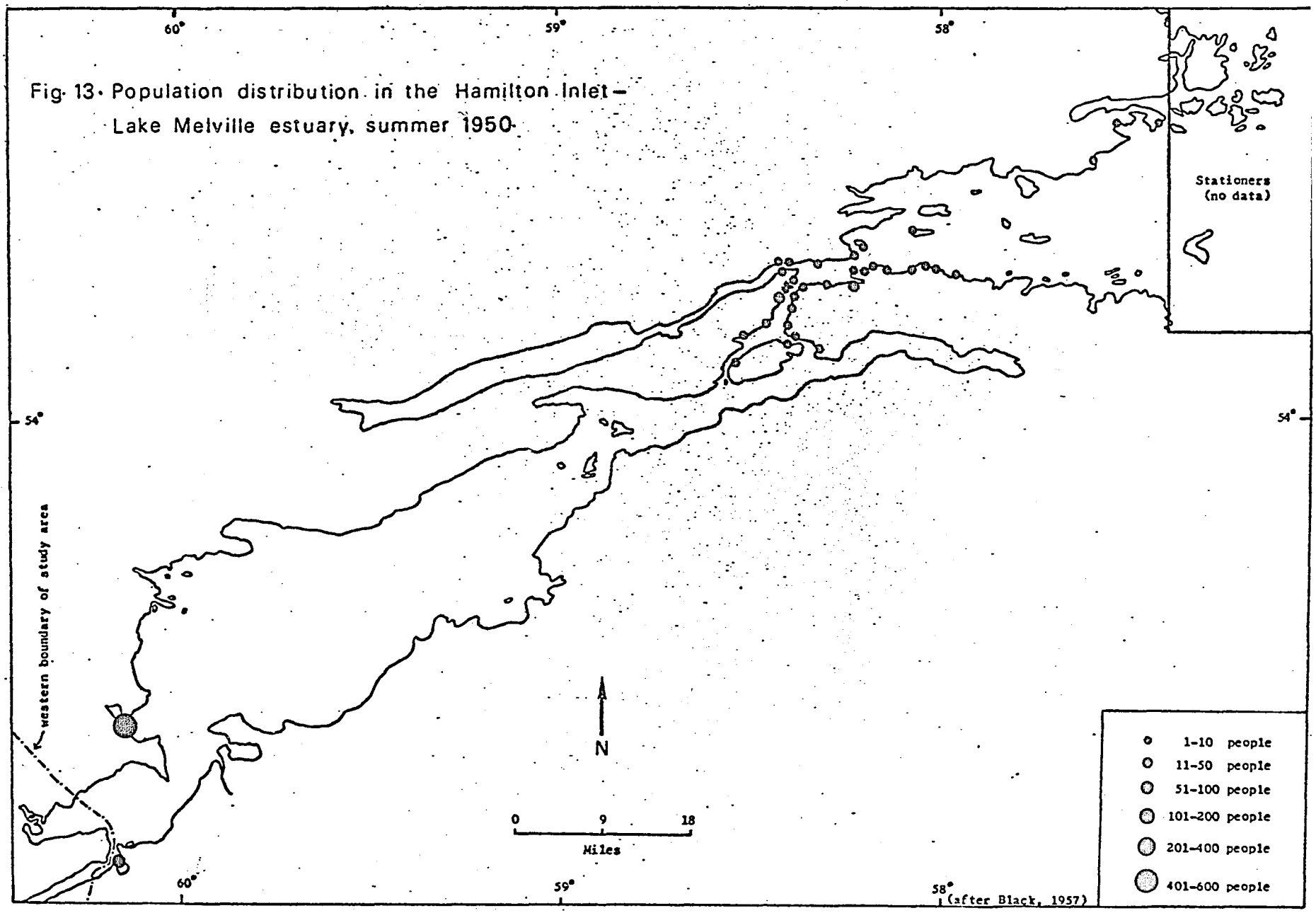


Fig. 13. Population distribution in the Hamilton Inlet – Lake Melville estuary, summer 1950.

Fig. 14. Population distribution in the Hamilton Inlet–Lake Melville estuary, winter 1950-51.

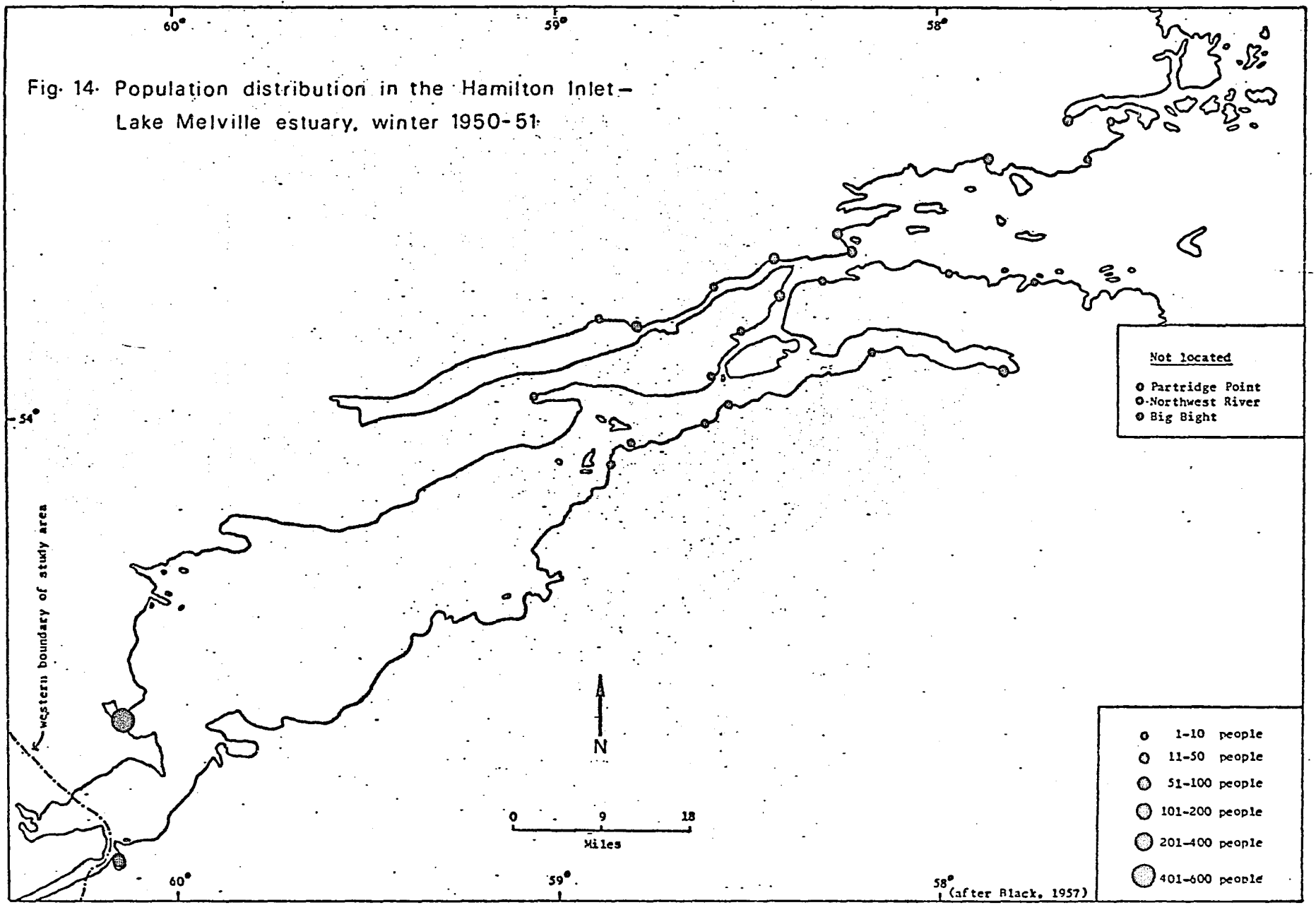


Fig. 15. Population distribution in the Hamilton Inlet–Lake Melville estuary, summer 1965.

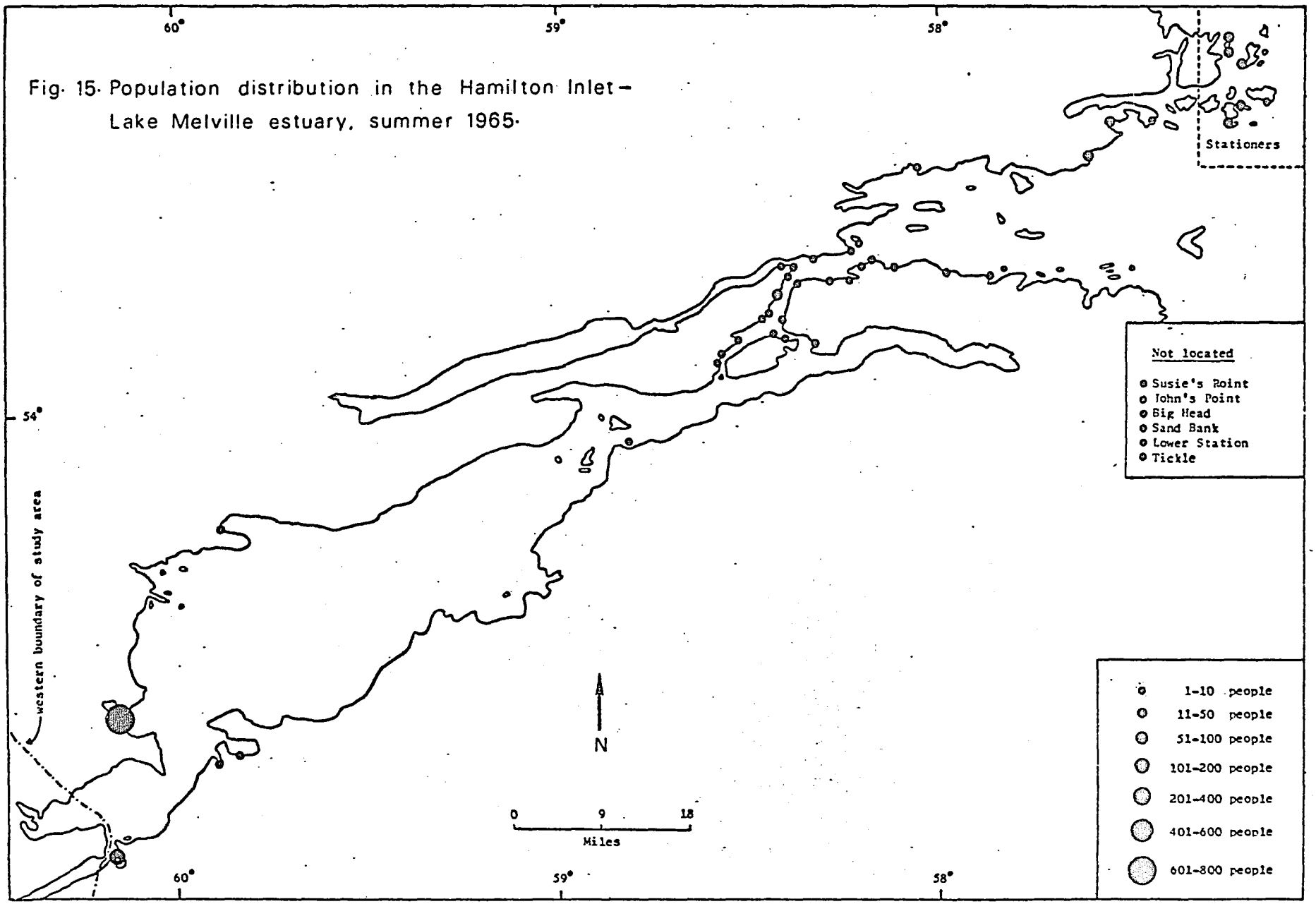
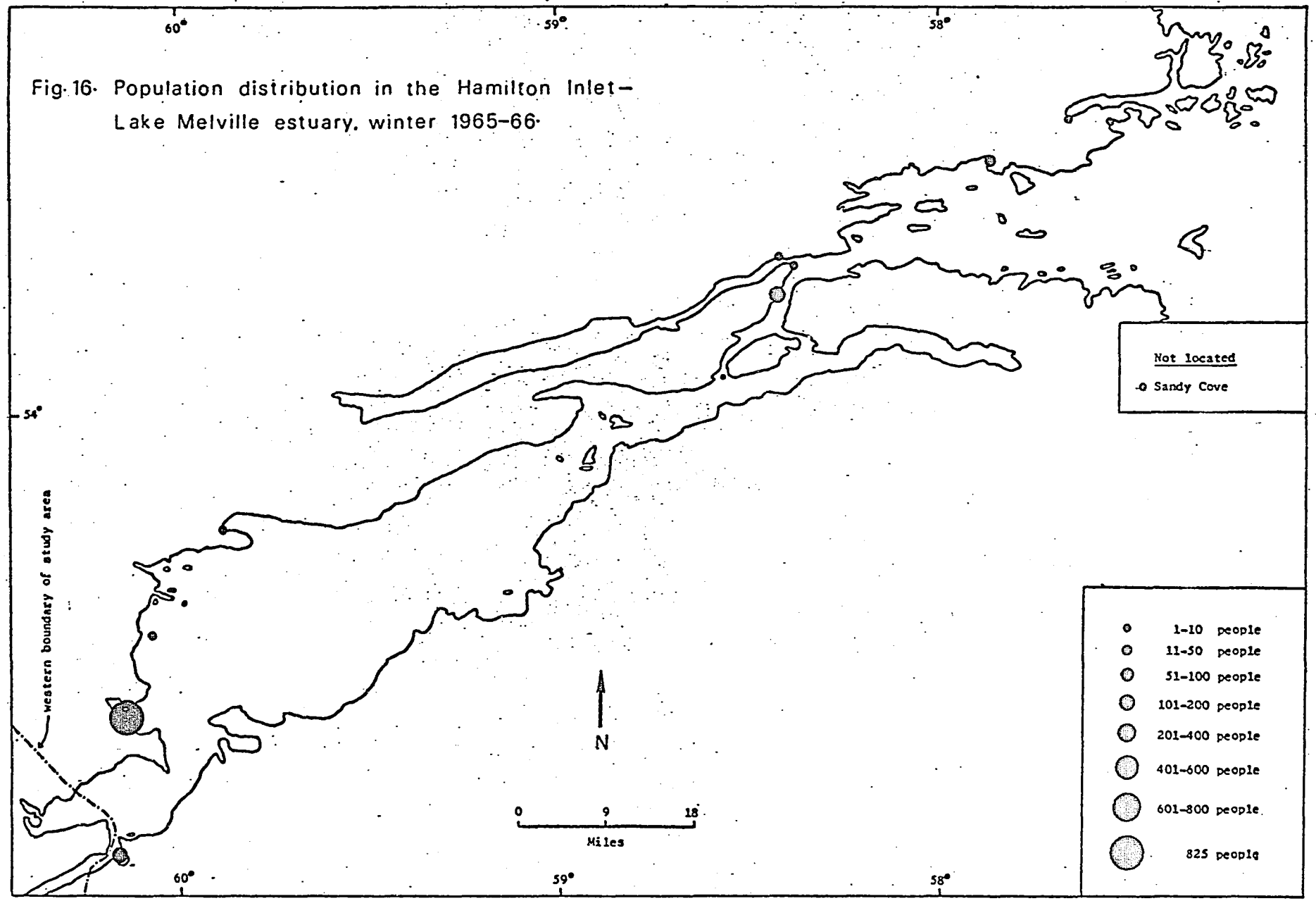


Fig. 16. Population distribution in the Hamilton Inlet–Lake Melville estuary, winter 1965–66.



shown by a comparison of Figures 17 and 18. During the winter of 1965-66, 96.3% of the total year-round population of this region were living in five settlements (Makkovik, Postville, Hopedale, Davis Inlet and Nain). A comparable figure for these five settlements in 1951-52 is 48.4% and if Hebron, which then had a winter population of 150, is added it becomes 59.9%.

Most of the smaller settlements shown in Figure 18 are seal hunting stations occupied during winter by residents of Nain. No data are available as to whether or not sealing stations are occupied by residents of Hopedale, Postville and Makkovik.

Distribution of the Settler, Eskimo and Nascaupi populations during summer is shown in Figure 19 (a composite of 1965 and 1966). When this is compared with Figure 18 a considerable amount of seasonal movement is, again, evident. The summer settlements located in Hebron, Saglek and Nachvak Fiords and Ramah Bay are char fishing stations: all others, with the exception of a few salmon fishing stations near Hopedale and Makkovik, are cod fishing stations.

The Settler, Eskimo and Indian population of northern Labrador increased by 22.8% between 1952 and 1966. This is considerably less than the 36.3% increase calculated for the population resident in the whole of the study area, during winter, for the same period. This low increase, relative to other regions, may be largely explained by resettlement of northern Labrador population at North West River and Happy Valley.

It should be noted here that northern Labrador was not subjected to as detailed a study as were the other two regions and especially southern Labrador, and the data presented for it may not be as accurate. There are several reasons for this, the more important of which are, (a) most past studies, especially of a human geographical nature, have concentrated on

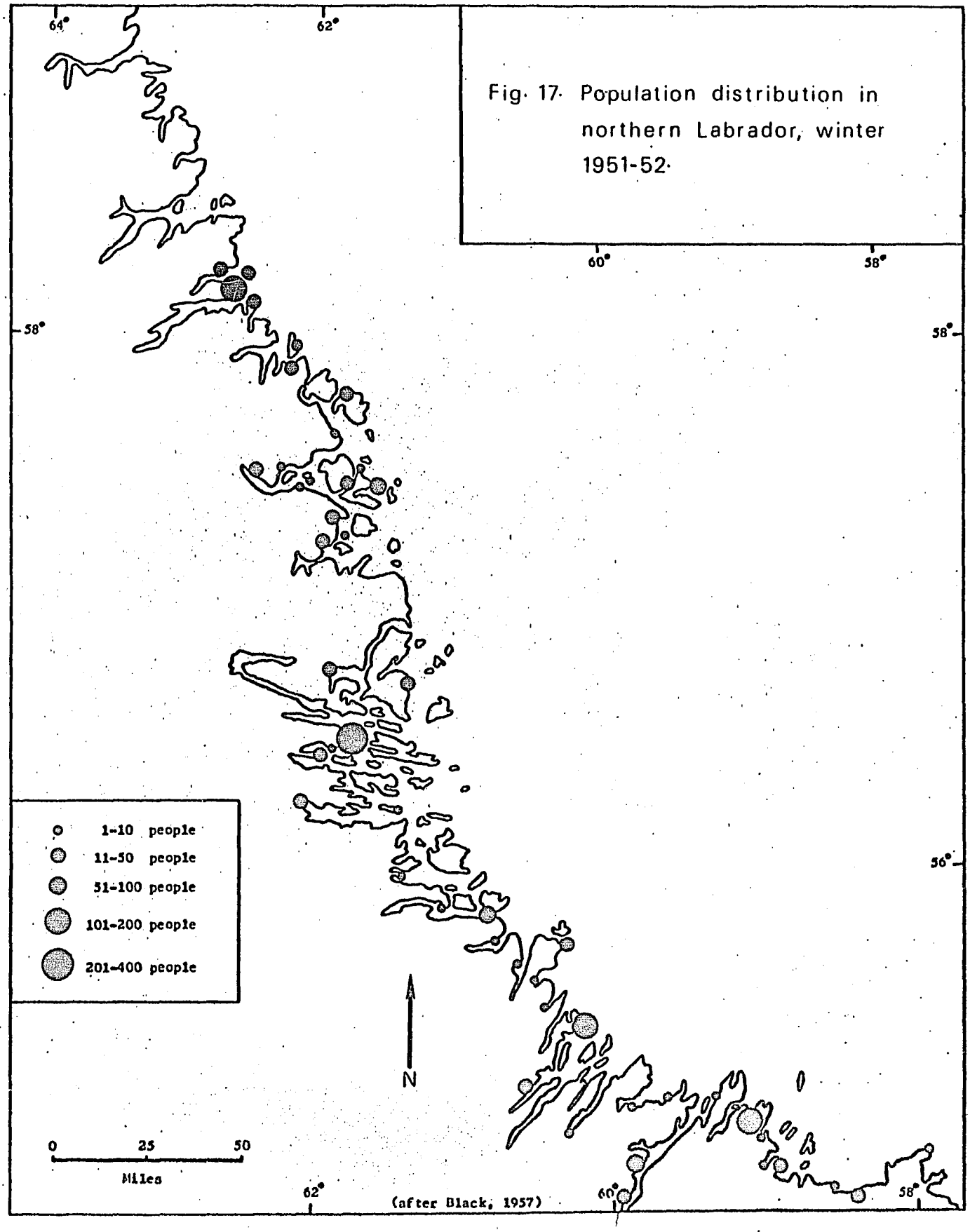


Fig. 17. Population distribution in northern Labrador, winter 1951-52.

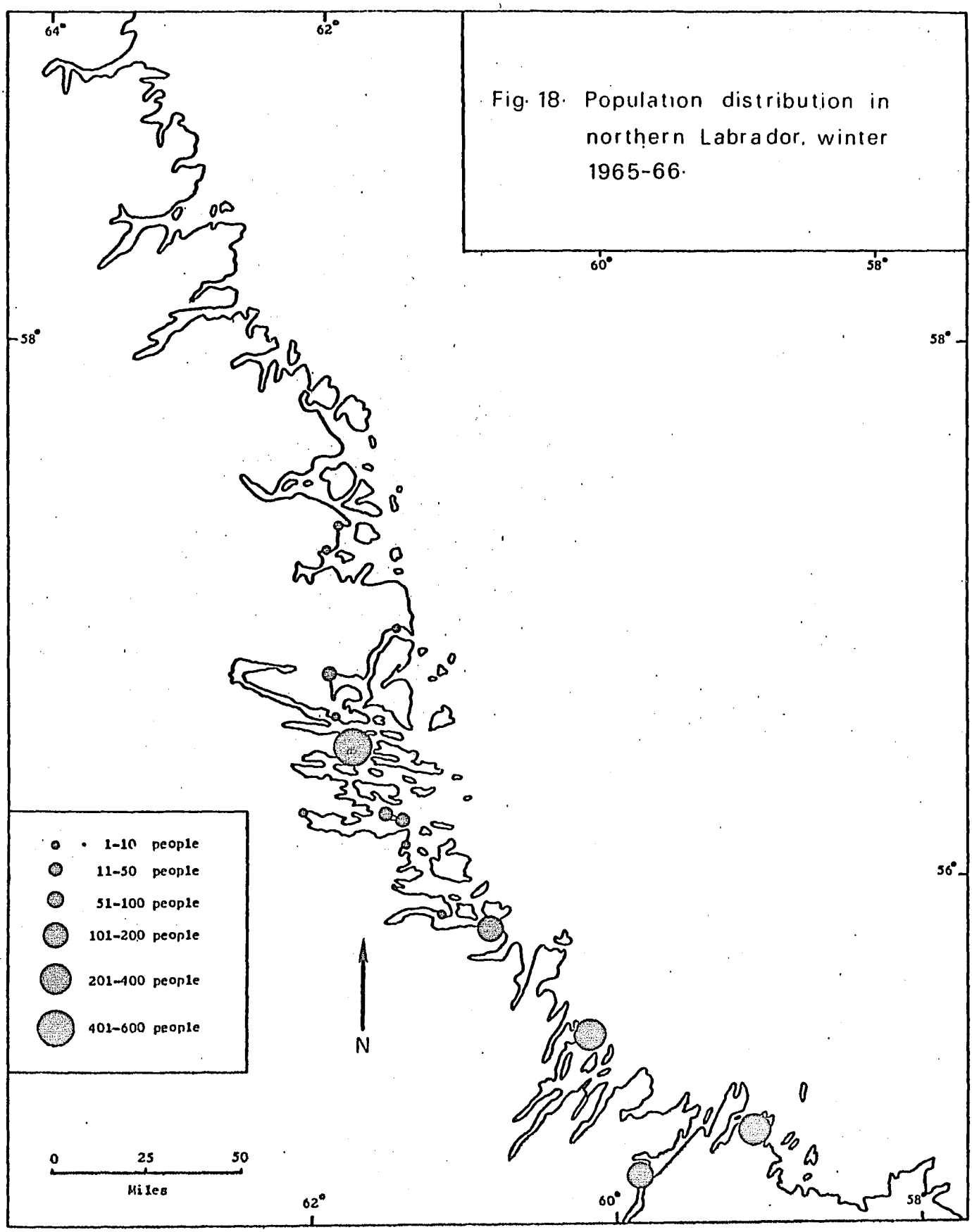


Fig. 18. Population distribution in northern Labrador, winter 1965-66.

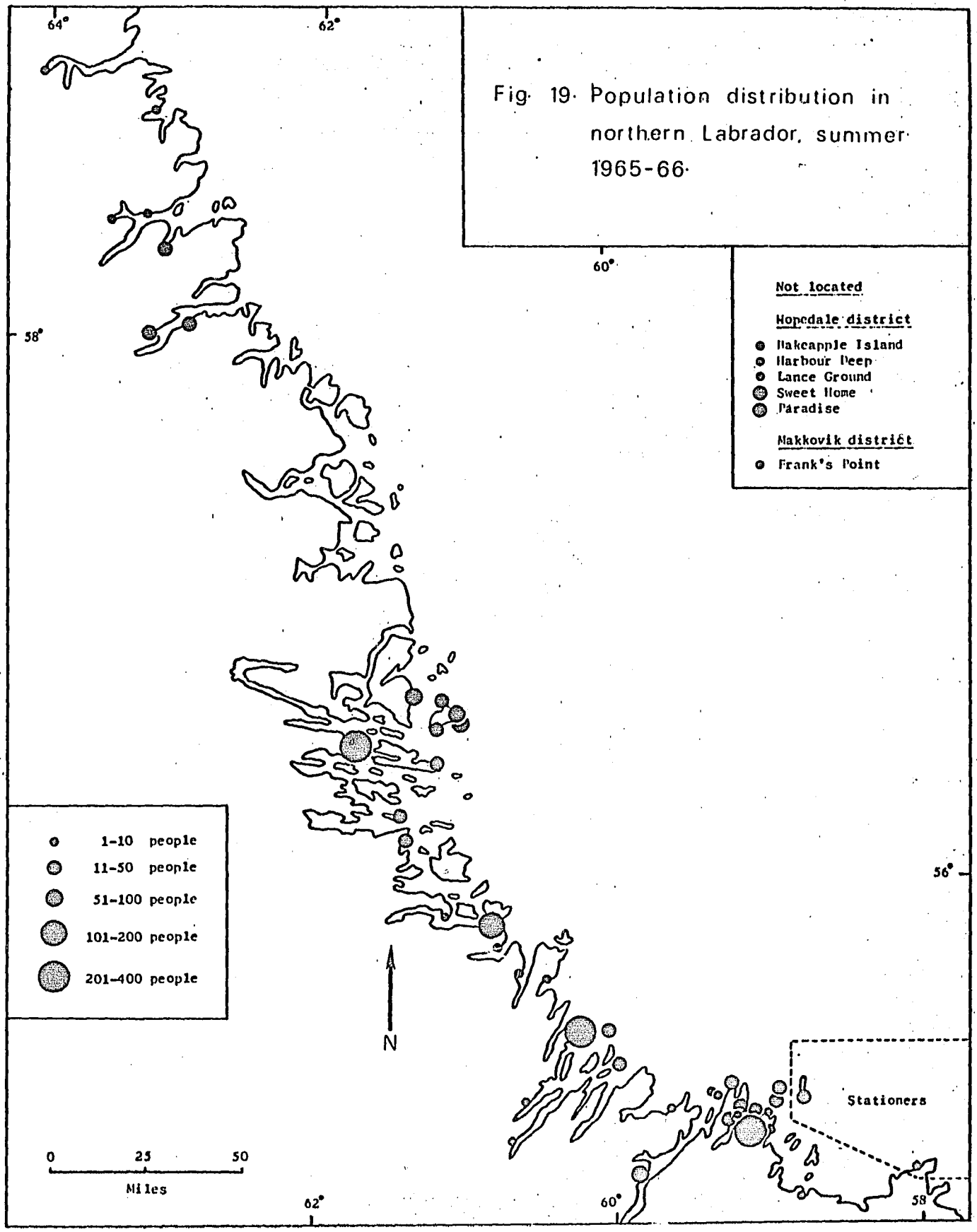


Fig. 19. Population distribution in northern Labrador, summer 1965-66.

the northern coast, while the southern coast with its Livier and Stationer populations have been somewhat neglected; (b) two rather intensive studies concerning the Nascaupi and the Settler and Eskimo populations, respectively, are presently being conducted in northern Labrador[3]; and, (c) in southern Labrador it was possible to use a small motor vessel as a means of transportation when conducting field work, while it was necessary, for several reasons, to use float planes when operating on the northern coast. Water transportation proved to be the better suited to this kind of survey.

CHAPTER V

PRESENT DEMOGRAPHY

Introduction

For the purpose of this chapter and those which follow, the study area is divided into four regions rather than the three used above. The two northern regions remain intact but southern Labrador has been divided into (a) the Strait of Belle Isle and (b) southeastern Labrador. The Strait of Belle Isle includes all settlements connected by the Labrador Highway and the three summer settlements immediately to the eastward (Fry's Cove, Rockett's Cove and Barge Bay). Southeastern Labrador includes all settlements from Chateau northwards to Fish Cove, inclusive. While it was suitable to group these two regions for purposes of mapping population distributions, it is more convenient for the discussions which follow to treat them separately because of various differences which are mentioned below.

Ethnic Distribution

Table 10 provides a breakdown of population by ethnic background and region. However, such a classification, involving the arbitary division of population into separate groups, can hardly be accurate or even satisfactory and requires further explanation. Values pertaining to the year-round population and entered under the last three columns should be considered only as approximations. The number of Trappers given for the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary also includes the Eskimo population at North West River and any Eskimos which might reside at Rigolet. The number of Eskimos presently living at North West River is not known but five families resettled there from Nutak in 1956 (Table 9). It is questionable

that there are any full-blood Eskimos at Rigolet, where all residents prefer to class themselves as white (Trapper), but Fried (1955, p. 113) states that 50 Eskimos live in this community, and Jenness states that around a third of its "approximately 70 inhabitants carry Eskimo blood in their veins" (1965, p. 85). The statement by Jenness, however, does not necessarily suggest that they differ much, in this respect, from many other Trappers, Liviers and Settlers. Rev. F. W. Peacock, Superintendent of Moravian Missions in Labrador, refers to "Anglican Eskimos from Rigolet" who "do not consider themselves as being Eskimo and are indeed somewhat ashamed of their Eskimo ancestry" (1966, pers. comm.).

The division between Eskimos and Settlers in northern Labrador is but an estimate. However, it is based on reliable sources from within the communities, in the case of Nain and Hopedale, and is probably as accurate as could be obtained.

Table 10. Number of people by ethnic background and region, winter 1965-66.

	Strait of Belle Isle	Southeastern Labrador	Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville	Northern Labrador	Total
Livier	1706	2573	0	0	4279
Trapper	0	0	755	0	755
Eskimo	0	0	d.m.	870	870
Indian	0	0	365	143	508
Settler	0	0	0	586	586
Stationer*	2	772	176	40	990
Total year-round population	1706	2573	1102	1599	6998
Total population	1708	3345	1296	1639	7988

* These figures pertain to summer 1965, with the exception of northern Labrador which relate to summer 1966.

Source: Pirson (1966, pers. comm.); Henrikson (1966, pers. comm.); Vitt (1966, pers. comm.); Jupp (1966, pers. comm.); Moravian church records, Nain; and, census conducted by the author.

A brief general description of the present distribution of the native peoples was provided in Chapter II. However, it is appropriate, here, to expand slightly and provide a more detailed picture.

Prior to 1956 the Eskimo population of Labrador were mainly confined to the districts of Hebron, Nutak, Nain and Hopedale. The closing of Nutak (officially, on May 22, 1956) caused a substantial southward shift of the Eskimo population with the 38 Nutak families being resettled at Nain (26), North West River (5), Makkovik (4), and Hebron (3). Hebron was closed in 1959 (officially, on October 9) and its 59 families moved to Nain (7), Hopedale (37) and Makkovik (15) (King, 1966, pers. comm.). Both of these communities were resettled by the Newfoundland Department of Public Welfare, Division of Northern Labrador Affairs (DNLA), in conjunction with the Moravian Mission and the International Grenfell Association (IGA). DNLA was financially assisted in this endeavour by the Government of Canada. The resettlement of these two communities was not part of the official, continuing programs discussed above.

The southward movement of Eskimos had commenced on a small scale more than a decade before the closing of Nutak. This, however, was completely voluntary migration by individual families or small groups to Happy Valley in search of wage employment. In 1966 there were 28 Eskimo families (110 people) living in Happy Valley and according to Peacock (1966, pers. comm.)[1] around 20 other families have lived there for periods varying from two months to several years. He also states that the present population may change at any time because of people either coming from or returning to northern Labrador. He explains the return to the north by some families as being due to their failure to find employment because of their lack of English, and by others because they "just could not adapt". Those

living in Happy Valley are employed as labourers, janitors, carpenters, carpenter's helpers, upholsterers, heavy equipment operators, linesmen, an electrician's helper, a taxi driver, guides and domestics.

The year of arrival in Happy Valley for the Eskimo families still residing there is given in Table 11. These families were not financially assisted, by the government, to resettle. The distribution of families and individuals by original settlement is provided in Table 12, which also shows the average family size. Peacock (1966, pers. comm.) explains the predominance, in number, of the Hopedale Eskimos among the Happy Valley group by the "desire for regular wages which seems to be greater among the Hopedalemiut" which, in turn, may be related to base construction and maintenance work available at Hopedale. The amount of wage employment available at Hopedale was formerly much higher and accounted for a larger percentage of the Hopedale labour force then it does at present.

To summarize, the Eskimo population of Labrador during the winter of 1965-66 were distributed as follows: 110 at Happy Valley and approximately 485 at Nain, 210 at Hopedale, 175 at Makkovik and five families at North West River.

The Indians of Labrador live mainly at Davis Inlet in northern Labrador and at North West River at the western end of Lake Melville. The Davis Inlet band (140 individuals) is composed mainly of Nascaupi although there has been some intermarriage with Montagnais from both North West River and Sept Iles, e.g. their chief, Joe Riche, married a Montagnais from Sept Iles (Pirson, 1966, pers. comm.). The only other Indians presently living in northern Labrador are a family of three which winter at Voisey's Bay but move to Nain during summer.

During the summer of 1966, 365 Indians were living in that

Table 11. Number of Eskimo families residing in Happy Valley by year of arrival.

Year of arrival	No. of families
1947	1
1948	3
1950	8
1953	1
1955	2
1956	1
1957	2
1959	3
1960	1
1965	5
1966	1
Total	28

Source: Peacock (1966, pers. comm.).

Table 12. Family size of the Happy Valley Eskimo population and, distribution by settlement of origin, 1966.

Settlement of origin	No. of families	No. of people	Average family size
Hebron	1	5	5.0
Nain	8	43	5.4
Hopedale	16	55	3.5
Makkovik	3	17*	5.7
Total	28	120	4.3

* 14 of these belong to one family.

Source: Peacock (1966, pers. comm.).

portion of territory around the western extremity of Lake Melville which falls within the present area of study. Around 50 of these (8 or 9 families of Montagnais) live, during part of the year, on the western shore of Mud Lake, near the Trapper settlement of the same name. However, during most of the year they are inland engaged in hunting and trapping activities. They visit the Indian village at North West River, infrequently, to attend church services.

The settlement of North West River is built on both the north and south banks of the North West River through which the waters of Grand and Little Lakes drain into Lake Melville. The northern section of the settlement is occupied by Trapper and Eskimo families; the southern section almost entirely by Indians. Only two non-Indian families have built on the south bank of the river, one of which is Trapper; the other mixed Trapper-Eskimo.

The Indians of North West River are a mixed Montagnais-Nascaupi band with about 25% being Montagnais from Sept Iles; 20% Nascaupi from Davis Inlet; and 55% Montagnais who have hunted and trapped the Lake Melville area since the nineteenth century, and probably earlier. Montagnais from Sept Iles started to settle (seasonally) at North West River around 1925 and migrations continued until around 1948-49. A family of Nascaupi moved south from Davis Inlet in 1926 but most came after 1940. Seven families of Nascaupi moved to North West River in 1958, some of whom were tuberculosis patients who wanted to be near the IGA hospital in that community. In 1962-63 seven or eight Nascaupi came from Davis Inlet but returned in the same year because they could more easily support themselves and their families in the latter area. Also, in 1962, 11 Nascaupi moved from North West River to Davis Inlet. A family of eight moved to North West River in 1962, returned to Davis Inlet in 1963 but came back to the former settlement in 1965 (Pirson, 1966, pers. comm.).

Apart from the Indian groups above, all of which live within the boundaries of the study area, only one other family (8 people) resides permanently in Labrador. This is a family of Nascaupi (Riche) who moved from Davis Inlet to Happy Valley around 1945-46. The head of the household is employed on the USAF base at Goose Bay.

Age-sex Structures

Table 13 provides a breakdown of the resident population of coastal Labrador by place of winter residence and age group, for 1965-66. It shows that 54% of the total population are below 18 years of age, and the lowest value which this group represents, regionally, is 49.9% in the Strait of Belle Isle. On the other hand, the portion of the total population aged 65 years and over is only 3.4% and below 5% for all regions. However, these data are not quite as accurate as that for the population under 18 and both numbers and percentages in the former case may be a little higher than stated in Table 13.

Table 13. Age structure of the resident population by settlement and region, 1965-66.

Settlement	Age Group		
	Under 18	18-65	65 and over
L'anse au Clair	92	102	16
Forteau, Buckle's Point and English Point	213	168	9
L'anse au Mour and Point Amour	22	18	2
Fox Cove	7	4	1
L'anse au Loup	182	151	17
Capstan Island	26	28	3
L'anse au Diable	36	29	3
West St. Modeste	91	71	3
Pinware	54	65	11
Red Bay	128	137	17
Total, Strait of Belle Isle	851	773	82
% of Regional Total	49.9	45.3	4.8

Table 13. (cont'd)

Settlement	Age Group		
	Under 18	18-65	65 and over
Pitt's Arm	27	31	1
Lodge Bay	49	51	2
Indian Cove	8	8	1
Battle Harbour	20	38	4
White Point	?	13	0
Mary's Harbour	145	121	17
Fox Harbour	117	110	6
Rickson's Cove	37	4	0
Port Hope Simpson	274	202	13
Square Islands, Pinsent's Arm, and Charlottetown	109	76	6
Frenchman's Island, and Partridge Bay	28	23	0
Batteau, Black Tickle, Salmon Bight, Open Bay, Porcupine Bay and Little Harbour	150	91	11
Cartwright	386	226	4
Paradise River	62	66	6
Separation Point	2	4	0
North River	4	18	2
Total, Southeastern Labrador	1,418	1,082	73
% of Regional Total	55.1	42.1	2.8
Rattler's Bight	0	4	0
Rocky Cove	3	8	2
Goudies Cove and Double Mer	6	6	0
Sandy Cove	2	0	2
Rigolet	57	66	16
Mulligan	0	2	0
North West Islands	0	5	1
North West River	469	329	27
Mud Lake	76	37	2
Total, Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary	613	457	50
% of Regional Total	54.7	40.8	4.5

Table 13. (cont'd)

Settlement	Age Group		
	Under 18	18-65	65 and over
Makkovik	229	114	7
Postville	59	49	4
Hopedale	179	164	8
Davis Inlet and Sango	83	69	4
Nain and district	351	267	12
Total, Northern Labrador	901	663	35
% of Regional Total	56.3	41.5	2.2
Total, study area	3,783	2,975	240
% of Total	54.1	42.5	3.4

Source: 1965 and 1966 field enquiries; and, Newfoundland electoral register, 1966.

Table 14 shows the sex ratio for the population of 18 years of age and over, by settlement for 1965-66. A similar breakdown for the population of less than 18 years old is not available. Entries are made in this table for 40 settlements and settlement groups, all but seven of which have a predominantly male population. Of those seven the ratio in three (Separation Point, Sandy Cove and Mulligan) is 50/50; and, in two others (Davis Inlet and North West River) it is only slightly in favour of females. With the exception of Davis Inlet and North West River these settlements have extremely small total populations.

These data become more meaningful when viewed on a regional basis, and a considerable imbalance of population is then evident. Males represent nearly 57% of the total 18 plus population of coastal Labrador. It is relevant, here, to note that in 1961 males represented 56.5% of the total population of the whole of Labrador. The latter is as might have been expected but when this percentage is applied to coastal Labrador it

suggests a substantial out-migration of females.

A comparison of Tables 13 and 14 indicates that males of labour force age (18-65) represent less than 25% of the total population.

Table 14. Population 18 years of age and over by sex and settlement, 1965-66.

Settlement	Male	Female	Total	Male as a % of total
L'anse au Clair	71	47	118	60.2
Forteau, Buckle's Point and English Point	105	72	177	59.3
L'anse au Mour and Point Amour	9	11	20	45.0
Fox Cove	2	3	5	40.0
L'anse au Loup	97	71	168	57.7
Capstan Island	16	15	31	51.6
L'anse au Diable	17	15	32	53.1
West St. Modeste	39	35	74	52.7
Pinware	48	28	76	63.2
Red Bay	86	68	154	55.8
Total, Strait of Belle Isle	490	365	855	57.3
Pitt's Arm	20	12	32	62.5
Lodge Bay	33	20	53	62.3
White Point	10	4	14	71.4
Indian Cove	5	4	9	55.6
Battle Harbour	25	17	42	59.5
Mary's Harbour	83	55	138	60.1
Fox Harbour	73	43	116	62.9
Port Hope Simpson	130	85	215	60.5
Rickson's Cove	3	1	4	75.0
Square Island's, Pinsent's Arm, and Charlottetown	49	33	82	59.8
Seal Island's, Frenchman's Island, and Partridge Bay	16	7	23	69.6
Batteau, Black Tickle, Salmon Bight, Open Bay, Porcupine Bay and Little Harbour	57	45	102	55.9
Cartwright	125	105	230	54.3
Paradise River	42	30	72	58.3
Separation Point	2	2	4	50.0
North River	11	9	20	55.0
Total, Southeastern Labrador	684	472	1,156	59.2
Rigolet	50	32	82	61.0
Rocky Cove	7	3	10	70.0
Goudies Cove	4	2	6	66.7

Table 14. (cont'd)

Settlement	Male	Female	Total	Male as a % of total
Sandy Cove	1	1	2	50.0
Rattler's Bight	4	0	4	100.0
Mud Lake	24	15	39	61.5
Mulligan	1	1	2	50.0
North West Islands	5	1	6	83.3
North West River	174	182	356	48.9
Total, Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary	270	237	507	53.3
Makkovik	66	55	121	54.5
Postville	31	22	53	58.5
Hopedale	101	71	172	58.7
Davis Inlet and Sango	36	37	73	49.3
Nain and district	153	126	279	54.8
Total, Northern Labrador	387	311	698	55.4
Total, study area	1,831	1,385	3,216	56.9

Source: Newfoundland electoral register, 1966.

Age-sex breakdowns are available, by smaller age groups than those provided above, for two groups of people, i.e. the Lake Melville Indians, excluding the family living near Happy Valley; and, the Davis Inlet Indians; and in less detail for the Eskimos and Settlers of Nain. These data are presented in Tables 15, 16 and 17. The marital status of the populations of Lake Melville (Table 15) and Nain (Table 17) is also shown. Figure 20 shows a graphic representation of the age-sex pyramid for the Davis Inlet Indians.

Demographers consider a normal pyramid as being one in which the sexes are almost evenly divided and each ascending age group has fewer numbers. Judged by these criteria the Davis Inlet pyramid does appear normal, especially when 15 year cohorts are examined. However, judging from the

rather unsatisfactory age breakdown given in Table 15, the Lake Melville Indian pyramid does not seem normal, e.g. there is a large surplus of unmarried females especially in the 6 to 18 age group. The data pertaining to Nain (Table 17) does not indicate whether or not the pyramid is normal as regards the size of age groups but it does show abnormalities in the division between the sexes, in that unmarried males far outnumber unmarried females.

Table 15. Age-sex structure and marital status of the Lake Melville Indians, April 30, 1966.

Sex	Age Group	Marital Status	Number
Male	0-5	single	53
Female	0-5	single	58
Male	6-18	single	45
Female	6-18	single	72
Male	19-30	single	7
Female	19-30	single	5
Male	30 and over	widowers and bachelors	1
Female	30 and over	widows and maids	6
Male	unspecified	married	59
Female	unspecified	married	59
Total			365

Source: Roman Catholic church records, North West River.

Table 18 shows the marital status of Labrador's Indian population in 1935 and compares it with that of the Lake Melville Indians in 1966. This table may also be used to provide a crude estimate of the ratio of adults to children, in that the number of single people represents the maximum possible number of children in a band. The actual number may possibly be much smaller.

Adults probably outnumbered children in all bands in 1935. The ratio now appears to have changed slightly. Children, however, if considered as being less than fifteen years of age probably still represent a smaller

number than adults at Lake Melville. At Davis Inlet, children of below fifteen years of age accounted for only 45.7% of the total population in 1965[2].

Table 16. Age-sex structure of Davis Inlet Indian population, Dec. 31, 1965.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0-4	19	14	33
5-9	8	14	22
10-14	3	6	9
15-19	8	6	14
20-24	2	3	5
25-29	6	11	17
30-34	8	3	11
35-39	6	3	9
40-44	0	4	4
45-49	2	5	7
50-54	2	0	2
55-59	1	1	2
60-64	0	1	1
65-69	0	0	0
70-74	1	2	3
75-79	0	0	0
80-84	0	0	0
85-89	0	1	0
Total	66	74	140

Source: Henrikson (1966, pers. comm.).

Table 17. Age-sex structure and marital status of Eskimos and Settlers at Nain, Dec. 31, 1965.

Sex	Age Group	Marital Status	Number
Male	0-13	single	133
Female	0-13	single	112
Male	13 and over	single	60
Female	13 and over	single	44
Male	13 and over	widowers	8
Female	13 and over	widows	5
Male	13 and over	married	109
Female	13 and over	married	109
Total			580

Source: Moravian church records, Nain.

Fig. 20. Age-sex structure of the Davis Inlet Indian population, December 31, 1965.

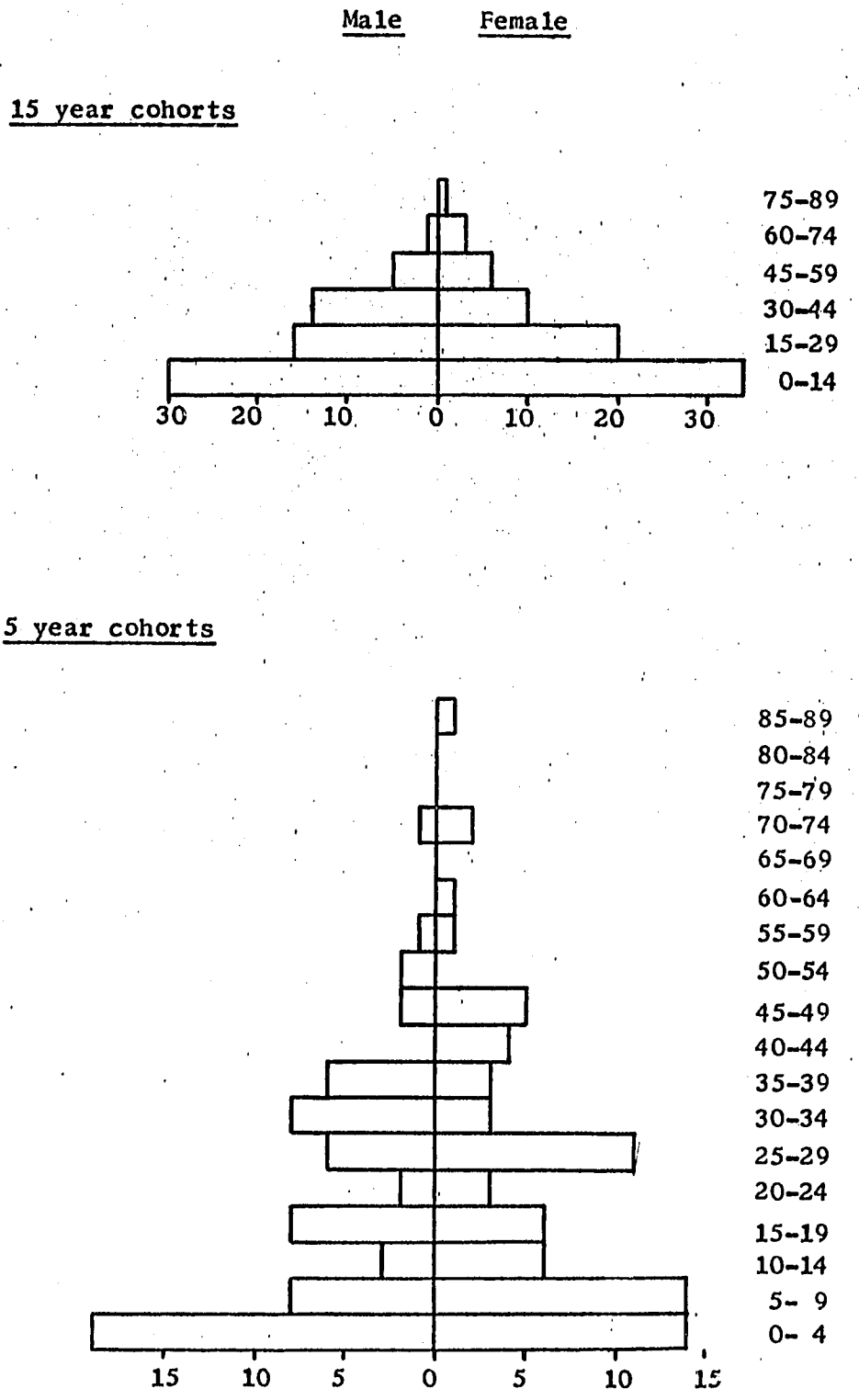


Table 18. Marital status of Labrador Indian bands, 1935 and 1966.

Band and Year	Marital Status			Total	Single as a % of Total
	Single	Widowed	Married		
Davis Inlet, 1935	41	2	38	81	50.6
Voisey's Bay, 1935	20	2	16	38	52.6
Lake Melville, 1935	90	8	56	154	58.4
Total, 1935	151	12	110	273	55.3
Lake Melville, 1966	240	7*	118	365	65.8

*Includes widows, widowers, maids and bachelors.

Source: Tanner (1944, p. 593), for 1935 data; Table 15, for 1966 data.

Vital Statistics

Vital statistics are available, for the period from 1961 to 1965, for four groups of population in coastal Labrador: (a) Lake Melville Indians; (b) Davis Inlet Indians; (c) Eskimos and Settlers at Hopedale; and, (d) Eskimos and Settlers at Nain. The total populations to which these statistics apply are shown in Table 19. Approximately two-thirds of the Hopedale population and five-sixths of the Nain population are Eskimo. The annual number of births for each group, during this period, is shown in Table 20. Tables 21 through 25 provide the annual number of deaths by age group and community.

The rate of birth (live), per thousand, is shown in Table 26 (also see Fig. 21) for each of the four communities during the period from 1961 to 1965, inclusive. They are extremely high in almost all cases and are well above the national average of 27 per 1000 recorded for 1960. The highest birth rate for the four groups was attained by the Lake Melville Indians during all years except 1965 when it came a close second, and in all five years it was much higher than that calculated for the combined

Table 19. Total populations of Lake Melville and Davis Inlet Indians, and Hopedale and Nain Eskimos and Settlers, 1960-1965, inclusive (as at Dec. 31 each year).

	Population				
Year	Lake Melville	Davis Inlet	Hopedale	Nain	Total
1960	264	111	255	499	1,129
1961	279	118	267	519	1,183
1962	301	123	276	530	1,230
1963	317	130	289	550	1,286
1964	344	135	297	572	1,348
1965	361	140	310	577	1,388

Note: People who have since moved from the community are not included in the population for any year.

Source: Roman Catholic church records, North West River; Henrikson (1966, pers. comm.), Davis Inlet; Vitt (1966, pers. comm.), Hopedale; and Moravian church records, Nain.

Table 20. Number of live births among the Lake Melville and Davis Inlet Indians, and Hopedale and Nain Eskimos and Settlers, 1961-1965, inclusive.

	Number of live births				
Year	Lake Melville	Davis Inlet	Hopedale	Nain	Total
1961	23	8	15	24	70
1962	23	6	17	20	66
1963	20	8	16	26	70
1964	29	6	15	26	76
1965	23	7	20	12	62
Total	118	35	83	108	344

Source: Roman Catholic church records, North West River; Henrikson (1966, pers. comm.), Davis Inlet; Vitt (1966, pers. comm.), Hopedale; and Moravian church records, Nain.

Table 21. Number of deaths among the Lake Melville Indians, by age group, 1961-1965, inclusive.

	Age in years					
Year	Infants	1-4	5-14	15-49	50 & over	Total
1961	6	0	0	0	2	8
1962	0	0	0	0	1	1
1963	4	0	0	0	0	4
1964	1	1	0	0	0	2
1965	6	0	0	0	0	6
Total	17	1	0	0	3	21

Source: Roman Catholic church records, North West River.

Table 22. Number of deaths among the Davis Inlet Indians, by age group, 1961-1965, inclusive.

	Age in years					
Year	Infants	1-4	5-14	15-49	50 & over	Total
1961	0	1	0	0	0	1
1962	0	0	0	0	1	1
1963	1	0	0	0	0	1
1964	1	0	0	0	0	1
1965	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total	4	1	0	0	1	6

Source: Henrikson (1966, pers. comm.).

Table 23. Number of deaths among the Eskimos and Settlers of Hopedale, by age group, 1961-1965, inclusive.

	Age in years					
Year	Infants	1-4	5-14	15-49	50 & over	Total
1961	1	0	0	0	2	3*
1962	4	1	1	1	1	8
1963	2	0	0	0	1	3
1964	0	3	0	0	4	7
1965	4	1	0	2	0	7
Total	11	5	1	3	8	28

* Plus one stillbirth.

Source: Vitt (1966, pers. comm.).

Table 24. Number of deaths among the Eskimos and Settlers of Nain, by age group, 1961-1965, inclusive.

	Age in years					
Year	Infants	1- 4	5-14	15-49	50 & over	Total
1961	3	0	0	1	0	4
1962	2	1	0	2	2	9*
1963	3	0	0	2	1	6
1964	1	0	0	2	1	4
1965	1	3	0	1	2	7
Total	10	4	0	8	6	30

* Includes two deaths for which no ages were entered in the church records.

Source: Moravian church records, Nain.

Table 25. Total number of deaths among the Indians of Lake Melville and Davis Inlet, and the Eskimos and Settlers of Hopedale and Nain, by age group, 1961-1965, inclusive.

	Age in years					
Year	Infants	1-4	5-14	15-49	50 & over	Total
1961	10	1	0	1	4	16*
1962	6	2	1	3	5	19**
1963	10	0	0	2	2	14
1964	3	4	0	2	5	14
1965	13	4	0	3	2	22
Total	42	11	1	11	18	85

* Plus one stillbirth.
** Includes two deaths at Nain, for which no ages were entered in the church records.

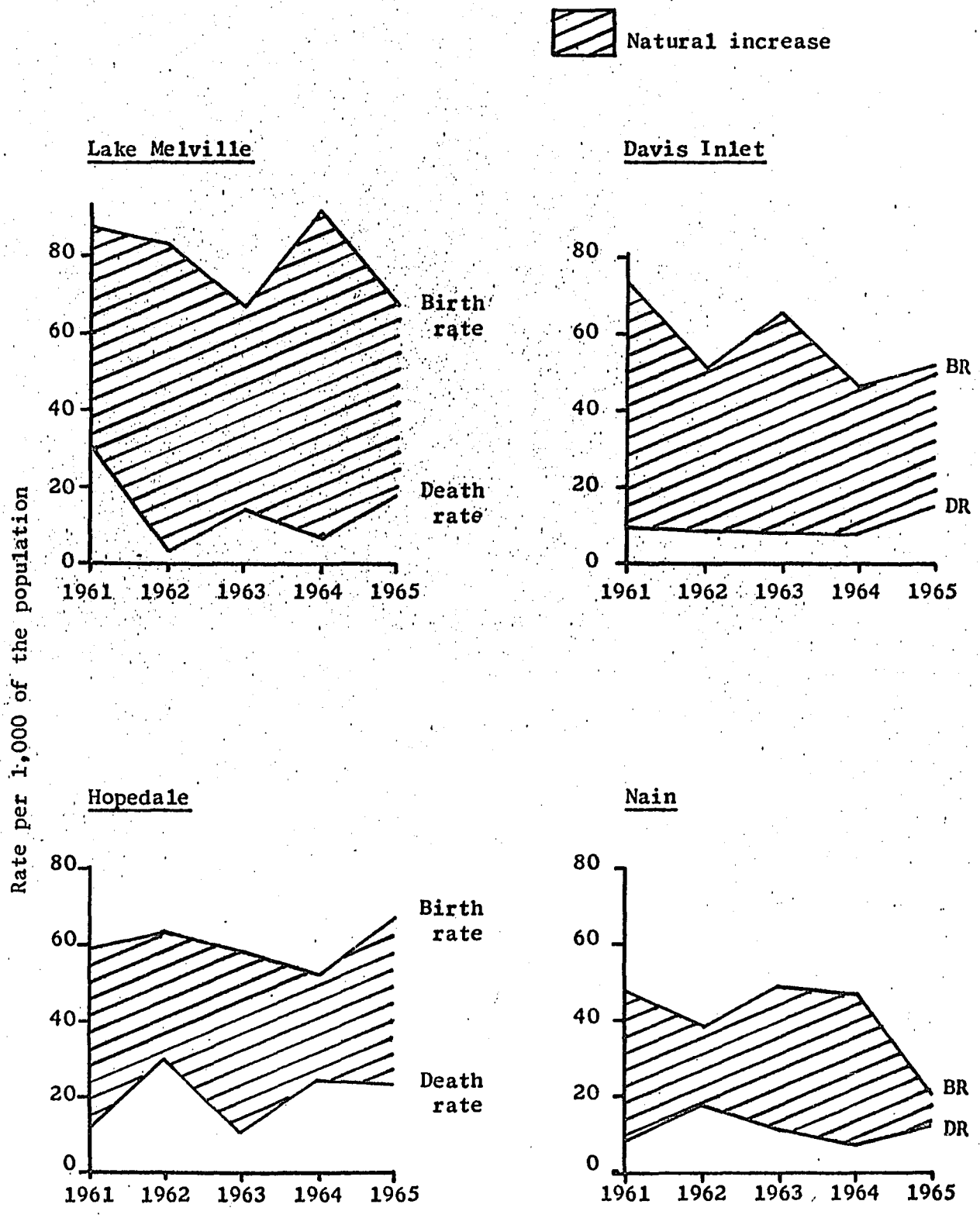
Source: Tables 21 through 24.

Table 26. Rate of birth (live) per 1000 population, for the Lake Melville and Davis Inlet Indians, and the Eskimos and Settlers of Hopedale and Nain, 1961 through 1965.

	Rate of birth				
Year	Lake Melville	Davis Inlet	Hopedale	Nain	Total
1961	87.1	72.1	58.8	48.1	62.0
1962	82.4	50.9	63.7	38.7	55.7
1963	66.4	65.0	58.0	49.1	56.9
1964	91.5	46.2	51.9	47.3	59.1
1965	66.9	51.9	67.3	21.0	46.0
Average	78.9	57.2	60.0	40.8	55.9

Source: Calculated from data contained in Tables 19 and 20.

Fig. 21. Birth, death and natural increase rates, per 1000 population, among the Indians of Lake Melville and Davis Inlet; and, the Eskimos and Settlers of Hopedale and Nain, 1961-65.



populations. The Davis Inlet Indians, which may be considered the least acculturated of the four groups represented, recorded the second lowest average rate for this period. Nain, which recorded the lowest rate during all years except 1964, had the lowest average. All four groups experience considerable annual fluctuations in their birth rates and no distinct trend is indicated.

The crude birth rate among the Happy Valley Eskimos in 1965, was around 36 per 1000[3].

Detailed quantitative data regarding the rate of illegitimate births in these communities are not available, but Jupp (1966, pers. comm.) reported a relatively high rate for Nain. She also stated that adultery is common in this community and related this to the facts that (a) White and mixed Eskimo-White children are favoured by Eskimo parents, and (b) some Eskimo men still change wives. The latter is especially applicable in cases where a man has been begetting all female offspring, whereas a friend of his has been fathering mainly males. A secret, temporary exchange of wives may occur in such an instance because male children are preferred by the Eskimo.

Pirson (1966, pers. comm.) reported only two illegitimate births among the Lake Melville Indians for the period from 1951 to 1966. No information is available concerning the number of pre-marital conceptions.

The illegitimacy rate among the Eskimos of Happy Valley (Table 27) is extremely high, representing more than 20% of the total number of births during all years from 1961 through 1965, and one-third of the total for the period. One of the births shown for 1965 was to an unwed girl from Nain who moved to Happy Valley for the birth of her baby and, returned home shortly afterwards (Peacock, 1966, pers. comm.).

A lower crude birth rate at Nain than among the other three populations represented in Table 26 may be partially attributed to a more common acceptance of birth control methods among the Settler population of that community. Jupp (1966, pers. comm.) reported that seven Settler women from Nain (from a total Settler population of less than 100) have been sterilized at the IGA hospital in North West River, as a means of controlling family size. One Eskimo woman from Nain has also undergone sterilization, because of ill health. Jupp (1966, pers. comm.) also reported some hereditary syphilis among Nain residents and this has caused further sterility. She also states that outbreaks of gonorrhea occur periodically.

Data relating to changes occurring in the age at which individuals marry are available only for the Lake Melville Indians. According to Pirson (1966, pers. comm.) the average age at which females, of this group, marry has risen from 16 in 1952 to 18 in 1966. Presently, the average age at which males marry is around 20.

Some comparative, historical data concerning crude birth rates are presented in Table 28 for the Eskimos and Settlers of northern Labrador during the first decade of the present century. The rate of birth among Eskimos at that time was considerably higher than among Settlers. Further data which might help explain this difference are not immediately available, but it is quite possible that it may have been due to a greater proportion of unmarried men among the Settler population.

The average birth rate at Hopedale during the period from 1961 through 1965 (60.0 per 1000) was well above the average recorded for both Eskimos (48.0 per 1000) and Settlers (33.0 per 1000) during the 1901-1907 period. The average rate for Nain during the 1961-1965 period (40.8 per 1000) was below that for Eskimos during the earlier period, but still much higher than that for Settlers.

Table 27. Total number of births, number of illegitimate births and rate of illegitimacy (per 1000 live births) among the Eskimos of Happy Valley, 1961-1965.

Year	Total births	Illegitimate births	Illegitimacy rate
1961	5	1	200
1962	4	1	250
1963	4	1	250
1964	3	1	333
1965	5	3	600
Total	21	7	333

Source: Peacock (1966, pers. comm.).

Table 28. Birth rates (per 100 population) among the Eskimos and Settlers of northern Labrador, 1901-1907.

Year	Eskimo	Settler
1901	4.4	3.2
1902	4.5	2.8
1903	6.0	4.4
1904	4.3	2.7
1905	5.8	4.0
1906	4.3	3.0
1907	4.2	2.7
Average	4.8	3.3

Source: Tanner (1944, p. 464).

The crude birth rates discussed above are useful in that they afford comparisons between different groups and at different periods. However, they provide a relatively poor measure of a population's fertility rate. For this purpose, a more appropriate measure is a similar rate calculated on the basis of the number of women in the reproductive stage of life. The detail of the age-sex structures presented above is such as to permit the calculation of this rate only for the Davis Inlet Indians. Based on women aged between 15 and 45 years, the fertility rate for this group in 1965 was 233.3 per 1000. Since no similar data are available, from Labrador populations, which might be used for comparative purposes, it might be beneficial to compare the Davis Inlet fertility rate with that calculated for the Nascaupi residing near the mining town of Schefferville, P. Q. The fertility rate for the latter group, which has been exposed to a considerable amount of Euro-Canadian contact including wage employment in recent years, based on women from 16 to 45 years of age was 500.0 per 1000 in 1965[4]. This suggests that a Nascaupi woman at Schefferville may expect to give birth an average of once every two years, during her reproductive period, as compared with once every 4.3 years at Davis Inlet.

Total mortality rates are shown in Table 29 (also see Fig. 21). These rates are subject to considerable annual fluctuations and again no distinct trends are indicated. The five year average of 13.8 per 1000 for the combined populations is much higher than the national average of 8 per 1000 recorded for 1960 but, it may be relatively stable. The lowest death rate occurs at Davis Inlet and the average of 9.6 per 1000, for this group, is only slightly above the national rate given above. The highest death rate occurs among the Hopedale population, which it will be remembered has the largest proportion of Euro-Canadians.

An examination of the number of deaths by age group (Table 25) reveals that nearly half of the total, which occurred during the 1961-1965 period, were among infants. The second largest number occurred in the above 50 age group but, deaths are common in all except the 15-49 year group.

Infant mortality rates (Table 30) also exhibited considerable annual fluctuations, but the average for the combined population, from 1961 through 1965, was high. The Lake Melville Indians experienced the highest average rate and, Nain the lowest. Henrikson (1966, pers. comm.) states that most of the infant deaths at Davis Inlet occurred inland to babies who were also born inland. Still, Davis Inlet recorded the second lowest rate.

Table 31 shows infant mortality rates among northern Labrador's Eskimo and Settler populations from 1901 to 1907, inclusive. A comparison of Tables 30 and 31 show a considerable increase in this rate since the first decade of the present century, with both Nain and Hopedale now experiencing considerably higher rates of infant mortality than were recorded for Eskimos and Settlers during the earlier period.

As stated above, the Davis Inlet Indians, as a group, live closest to the pre-contact level. The populations of Nain and Hopedale contain both white and mixed-breed people, in addition to Eskimos, and there is a considerable amount of contact with people from outside the settlements. Most of the Lake Melville Indians live in the Trapper-Indian-Eskimo settlement at North West River near the town of Happy Valley and Goose airport. Compared with these communities outside contact at Davis Inlet is minimal. However, some of the Lake Melville Indians, i.e. those living at Mud Lake, probably have less contact with Europeans than the Davis Inlet Nascaupi. The residents of Nain, Hopedale and North West River have some wage employment available and, medical facilities are located within the boundaries

of each of the three communities. Both wage employment and medical facilities are lacking at Davis Inlet. All Settlers and Eskimos at Nain and Hopedale live in wood frame houses, although some families spend the summer in canvas tents at their fishing stations. In 1966, 34 of the Lake Melville Indian families were living in wooden houses provided for them by DNLA (20 of which were built in 1965): the rest lived in tents, some of which were all canvas; others had wooden sides and canvas roofs. At Davis Inlet, all but one family were still living in canvas tents in 1966. The Davis Inlet Indians obtain most of their income from hunting and fishing activities, the latter being on a commercial basis. Yet, it has been shown above that among the four groups discussed, the Davis Inlet Nascaupi experience the second lowest birth rate, the second lowest infant mortality rate, and the lowest total mortality rate. Also their fertility rate is less than half of that recorded by the much more highly acculturated Nascaupi of Schefferville. This appears to indicate that birth and fertility rates among hunting populations in pre-contact times may have been relatively low but that they rise with increasing acculturation and the corresponding decrease in reliance on the traditional subsistence activities. This is contrary to the commonly accepted hypotheses regarding the demographic aspects of hunting populations. However, it is further substantiated below by quantitative data which show that the average family size among the Indian populations has increased with increasing acculturation.

Quantitative data presented above also indicate that both infant and total mortality rates were also relatively low in pre-contact times, barring catastrophes[5], but tend to increase with increasing acculturation, at least until a certain level of acculturation is reached.

Table 29. Mortality rates, per 1000 population, for the Lake Melville and Davis Inlet Indians, and the Eskimos and Settlers of Hopedale and Nain, 1961 through 1965.

	Mortality Rate				
Year	Lake Melville	Davis Inlet	Hopedale	Nain	Total
1961	30.3	9.0	11.8	8.0	14.2
1962	3.6	8.5	30.0	17.3	16.1
1963	13.3	8.1	10.9	11.3	11.4
1964	6.3	7.7	24.2	7.3	10.9
1965	17.4	14.8	23.6	12.2	16.3
Average	14.2	9.6	20.1	11.2	13.8

Source: Calculated from data contained in Tables 19 and, 21 through 25.

Table 30. Infant mortality rates, per 1000 live births, among the Indians of Lake Melville and Davis Inlet, and the Eskimos and Settlers of Hopedale and Nain, 1961 through 1965.

	Infant Mortality Rate				
Year	Lake Melville	Davis Inlet	Hopedale	Nain	Total
1961	260.9	0.0	66.7	125.0	142.9
1962	0.0	0.0	235.3	100.0	90.9
1963	200.0	125.0	125.0	115.4	142.9
1964	34.5	166.7	0.0	38.5	39.5
1965	260.9	285.7	200.0	83.3	209.7
Average	151.3	115.5	125.4	92.4	125.2

Source: Calculated from data contained in Tables 20 through 25.

Table 31. Rate of infant mortality (per 100 live births) among the Settlers and Eskimos of northern Labrador, 1901-1907.

Year	Eskimo	Settler
1901	4.6	2.1
1902	6.2	2.8
1903	5.8	1.0
1904	9.6	2.3
1905	7.8	1.4
1906	6.5	2.0
1907	d.m.	2.3
Average	6.8	2.0

Source: Tanner (1944, p. 464).

Causes of death among the Nain population are presented in Table 32. This shows that pneumonia is the most common cause, particularly affecting the younger age groups. The relative number of deaths from asphyxia are extremely high, representing 11.8% of the total, all of which occurred among infants. This accounts for one-third of all infant deaths represented in Table 32. Although botulism caused only one death, Jupp (1966, pers. comm.) states that it is common among the Eskimo population and attributed it to the consumption of unclean, raw meats. Measles accounted for only one death at Nain, during this period, and this was in combination with pneumonia. However, Pirson (1966, pers. comm.) mentioned measles as still being a serious threat to the native populations and described an epidemic which occurred in 1952. The disease appears to have spread from Goose Bay to Hopedale via a mail plane. The presence of measles at the latter settlement became known around two weeks after the arrival of the plane and while the population was still stricken it was carried to Davis Inlet by a visiting IGA doctor. The direct result at Davis Inlet was seven Nascaupi deaths.

According to Pirson (1966, pers. comm.) the main causes of death among the Lake Melville Indians are pneumonia in winter and diahorrea in summer. Deaths often occur because both diseases are normally in an advanced state before the infants are taken to the hospital.

The average rate of natural increase (Table 33 and Fig. 21) among all four populations, for the 1961-1965 period, was well above the national average of 19 per 1000 recorded for 1960, and the Lake Melville Indians experienced an extremely high rate. The low value recorded for Nain in 1965 was due mainly to a sharp decrease in the number of births, compared with previous years.

Table 32. Causes of death among the Eskimos and Settlers of Nain, from January 1961 to August 1966.

Cause	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	Total
Heart failure	0	2	1	2	2	1	8
Pneumonia	2	2	3	0	0	0	7
Measles and pneumonia	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Larncotracheo bronchitis	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Cerebral trombosis	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cancer	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Premature birth	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Asphyxia	1	1	0	0	1	1	4
Botulism	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Other accidental	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
Unspecified	1	2	0	0	1	2	6
Total	4	9	6	4	7	4	34

Source: Moravian church records, Nain.

Table 33. Rate of natural increase, per 1000 population, among the Indians of Lake Melville and Davis Inlet, and the Eskimos and Settlers of Hopedale and Nain, 1961 through 1965.

	Rate of natural increase				
Year	Lake Melville	Davis Inlet	Hopedale	Nain	Total
1961	56.8	63.1	47.0	40.1	47.8
1962	78.8	42.4	33.7	21.4	39.6
1963	53.1	56.9	47.1	38.7	45.5
1964	85.2	38.5	27.7	40.0	48.2
1965	49.5	37.1	43.7	8.7	29.7
Average	64.7	47.2	39.9	29.8	42.2

Source: Calculated from data contained in Tables 26 and 29.

Household and Family Size

Data were collected during 1965 and 1966 pertaining to the average size of families and/or households for most communities of coastal Labrador. Table 34 presents these data for most of the communities whose members reside year-round in Labrador. Settlements with Stationer and mixed Stationer-Livier populations have been excluded because the Stationer house is more often occupied by a fishing crew than by a family.

It is evident from the few entries (Table 34) in which the number of both families and households are stated that the two are usually synonymous and they are considered as such, here. Further calculations of data contained in this table do not indicate any significant differences in the average size of families who migrate annually between two or more settlements, and those who occupy only one settlement. Averages calculated for the total sample given are 5.1 at permanent settlements, 6.0 at winter settlements and 5.4 at summer settlements in southeastern Labrador; 5.0, 3.3, and 5.8, respectively, in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake

Melville estuary; 5.7 for permanent settlements in the Strait of Belle Isle; and, 4.8 for permanent settlements, 4.6 for summer cod fishing settlements, and 5.3 for summer char fishing settlements in northern Labrador. No clear relationship is apparent here. However, when the sample is examined on a regional basis, differences do emerge and the average family size is shown to be smaller in the two northern regions than in the southern regions. These calculations were done on the basis of permanent and winter settlements only: summer settlements were excluded in order to avoid duplication. The results show the average family size as being 5.7 in the Strait of Belle Isle; 5.3 in southeastern Labrador; and 4.8 in both the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary and northern Labrador.

Table 34. Average size of households and families of year-round residents of coastal Labrador, by region and season of occupance of settlement, 1965-66.

	Number of			Average size of	
Place Name	People	Families	Households	Families	Households
Strait of Belle Isle					
Permanent Settlements					
L'anse au Clair	210	d.m.	32	d.m.	6.6
Buckle's Point	52	7	7	7.4	7.4
English Point	98	18	17	5.4	5.8
L'anse au Mour	32	4	4	8.0	8.0
Fox Cove	12	2	2	6.0	6.0
L'anse au Loup	350	d.m.	67	d.m.	5.2
L'anse au Diable	68	13	11	5.2	6.2
Capstan Island	57	12	12	4.8	4.8
West St. Modeste	165	d.m.	33	d.m.	5.0
Pinware	130	24	24	5.4	5.4
Red Bay	282	d.m.	45	d.m.	6.3
Summer Settlements					
Schooner Cove	7	1	1	7.0	7.0
Fry's Cove	12	3	2	4.0	6.0
Barge Bay	36	3	d.m.	12.0	d.m.

Table 34. (cont'd)

Place Name	Number of People	Number of Families	Number of Households	Average size of Families	Average size of Households
Southeastern Labrador					
Permanent Settlements					
Battle Harbour	62	d.m.	10	d.m.	6.2
Indian Cove	17	d.m.	3	d.m.	5.7
Mary's Harbour	283	d.m.	c.55	d.m.	5.1
Fox Harbour	233	d.m.	c.40	d.m.	5.8
Port Hope Simpson	489	d.m.	109	d.m.	4.5
Pinsent's Arm	42	8	8	5.3	5.3
Square Islands	3	1	1	3.0	3.0
Batteau	56	9	9	6.2	6.2
Salmon Bight	42	7	d.m.	6.0	d.m.
Black Tickle	29	5	5	5.8	5.8
Paradise River	134	d.m.	23	d.m.	5.8
Separation Point	6	2	2	3.0	3.0
Winter Settlements					
Pitt's Arm	59	d.m.	12	d.m.	4.9
Rickson's Cove	41	d.m.	5	d.m.	8.2
Charlottetown	146	d.m.	22	d.m.	6.6
Norman's Bay	19	3	d.m.	6.3	d.m.
Frenchman's Island	8	1	1	8.0	8.0
Partridge Bay	43	6	6	7.2	7.2
Open Bay	15	2	2	7.5	7.5
Porcupine Bay & Little Harbour	103	19	d.m.	5.4	d.m.
North River	24	6	d.m.	4.0	d.m.
Flatwater	1	1	1	1.0	1.0
Summer Settlements					
Trap Cove	34	7	7	4.9	4.9
Matthew's Cove	75	d.m.	12	d.m.	6.3
Spear Harbour	23	3	d.m.	7.7	d.m.
Seal Islands	52	d.m.	8	d.m.	6.5
Long Point	6	1	1	6.0	6.0
Paradise Point	9	1	1	9.0	9.0
Godfrey's Head	5	1	1	5.0	5.0
Paddy's Point	5	1	1	5.0	5.0
Indian Harbour S.	3	1	1	3.0	3.0
Old Man's Cove	11	d.m.	4	d.m.	2.8
Independent	31	6	6	5.2	5.2
West Bay	37	d.m.	9	d.m.	4.1

Table 34. (cont'd)

Place Name	Number of People	Number of Families	Number of Households	Average size of Families	Average size of Households
Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary					
Permanent Settlements					
Double Mer	9	3	3	3.0	3.0
Rigolet	139	d.m.	c.30	d.m.	4.6
Mud Lake	115	c.20	c.20	5.8	5.8
Winter Settlements					
Pottle's Bay	3	1	1	3.0	3.0
Rocky Cove	13	4	d.m.	3.3	d.m.
Sandy Cove	4	1	1	4.0	4.0
Summer Settlements					
Rattler's Bight	23	3	d.m.	7.7	d.m.
Ticoralik Head	3	1	1	3.0	3.0
Ticoralik Island	5	1	1	5.0	5.0
Grassy Cove	7	1	1	7.0	7.0
Tickle	6	2	d.m.	3.0	d.m.
Northern Labrador					
Permanent Settlements					
Postville	112	d.m.	20	d.m.	5.6
Nain (Eskimos and Settlers, only)	577	122	d.m.	4.7	d.m.
Summer Cod Fishing Settlements					
Strawberry	15	3	d.m.	5.0	5.0
Ikey's Point	12	1	1	12.0	12.0
Barr Harbour	6	d.m.	1	d.m.	6.0
Black Island (Postville)	10	2	2	5.0	5.0
Black Island (Nain)	52	11	d.m.	4.7	d.m.
September Harbour	50	10	d.m.	5.0	d.m.
Young's Harbour	46	10	d.m.	4.6	d.m.
Dog Bight	15	4	d.m.	3.8	d.m.
Ford's Harbour	14	4	d.m.	3.5	d.m.
Evelek	16	3	d.m.	5.3	d.m.
Anton's Place	25	7	d.m.	3.6	d.m.
Kamesuk*	22	5	d.m.	4.4	d.m.

Table 34. (cont'd)

Place Name	Number of People	Number of Families	Number of Households	Average size of Families	Average size of Households
Northern Labrador (cont'd)					
Char Fishing Stations					
Ekuliasuk	17	3	3	5.7	5.7
Kairtukuluk	16	3	3	5.3	5.3
Kukkuk	6	1	1	6.0	6.0
Pettukik	10	2	2	5.0	5.0
Pangertok	20	4	4	5.0	5.0
Ramah	5	1	1	5.0	5.0
Tessyuyak	6	1	1	6.0	6.0

* This does not include year-round residents of the settlement.

Note: The data given for permanent settlements pertain to the winter season.

Source: Field surveys conducted by the author.

Data obtained in 1965 through personal interviews with 61 married fishing skippers (Liviers, Trappers, Settlers and Eskimos) show a range in family size from 3 to 15 persons. The size of families at the eight summer cod fishing stations occupied by Nain residents (from Black Island to Kamesuk in Table 34) in 1966 ranged from 1 to 11.

In 1965, 24 married Stationer fishing skippers were interviewed and data recorded concerning family size. These families were found to range from 3 to 8, with an average of 5.7. However, not all of the family members migrate to Labrador for the summer.

The family size of Labrador's Indian bands in 1966 is given in Table 35 and compared with similar data for 1935. Probably the most outstanding feature here is the increase in family size which has occurred since 1935. The Lake Melville Indians have experienced the greatest increase, from 4.3 to 5.8. The average family size for the total Indian population has

increased from 4.1 to 5.3. It is also notable that the average size at Lake Melville in 1966 was 5.8 as compared with 4.4 at Davis Inlet. The Voisey's Bay band now live mainly at Davis Inlet. Population increases among the combined Davis Inlet-Voisey's Bay group have been small, from 119 to 143 people and 31 to 33 families, between 1935 and 1966. During the same period, increases at Lake Melville were from 154 to 365 people and from 36 to 63 families.

Table 35. Average family size of Labrador Indians, 1935 and 1966.

	Population		Families		Average Family Size	
	1935	1966	1935	1966	1935	1966
Lake Melville	154	365	36	63	4.3	5.8
Happy Valley	0	8	0	1	0.0	8.0
Davis Inlet	81	140	21	32	3.9	4.4
Voisey's Bay	38	3	10	1	3.8	3.0
Total	273	516	67	97	4.1	5.3

Source: Pirson (1966, pers. comm.); Henrikson (1966, pers. comm.); Table 18; and, data collected by the author.

Religious Affiliations

The Moravian church, as stated in Chapter II, was the first to send missionaries to Labrador. Their efforts have been concentrated mainly on the Eskimo and Settler populations of the northern region but since the early 1950's they have also established churches at Happy Valley and North West River. The establishment of the Moravians in these two settlements has been in response to requests from some of their former parishioners who had migrated southwards and settled in the area around Goose airport.

The Roman Catholics, working with the Indians of Davis Inlet and Lake Melville were the only other denomination to concentrate mainly on

the native population. Anglican, Methodist and other clergy moved into Labrador at a later period, in the wake of European settlers, and have been mainly confined to the area to the south of Cape Harrison. The one exception to this has been the Pentecostal church which moved into Kaipokok Bay around 25-30 years ago and now claims most or all of the population of Postville as its followers.

The population around the Rigolet area are mainly Anglicans, but there are also some United Church. The Anglican clergy serving Rigolet resides at Happy Valley and, the United Church clergy at North West River. The latter serves the United Church congregation as far south as Pinsent's Arm. The only other United Church minister in the study area is a student-minister residing at Red Bay and serving the Strait's settlements.

A large number of religious denominations, in relation to the total population, are represented in southeastern Labrador and the Strait of Belle Isle. Most permanent and winter communities contain representatives of two or more sects, with Cartwright and Port Hope Simpson having four each. The Anglican church, which has the largest number of followers in these two regions is represented in almost all communities. The United Church is the secondmost widespread. However, only two Anglican clergymen are found south of Lake Melville: one at Cartwright, with a parish extending from West Bay southwards to Batteau; and, one at Mary's Harbour, serving the area from Partridge Bay southwards to the Newfoundland-Quebec border.

The Roman Catholic church has followers among the population of Cartwright, Porcupine Bay, Port Hope Simpson, Battle Harbour, Capstan Island, and L'anse au Loup, and the whole populations of Black Tickle, Pinware, West St. Modeste, and L'anse au Diable belong to this denomination. The only Roman Catholic priest in these two regions resides at West St.

Modeste.

The Pentecostal church, with a minister at Charlottetown, has followings at Cartwright, Charlottetown and Port Hope Simpson. The Jehovah's Witness are presently confined to around 3-5% of Fox Harbour's winter population. The Plymouth Brethern have been making inroads into the Strait of Belle Isle population, during the last decade, and presently have followers at Red Bay, L'anse au Loup, English Point, Buckle's Point and Forteau. The minister of the latter sect is stationed at Red Bay.

A considerable amount of data, in addition to the above, were collected during the 1965 and 1966 field seasons regarding the distribution of the followers of different religious sects, the frequency of visits by clergy to the outlying communities of their parishes, and other related aspects. However, the presentation and discussion of such material does not appear necessary here. The discussion of religious affiliations, presented above, has been provided mainly because it affects the educational system operating in the area. A further examination of the available data, as may be expected, shows no relationship between denominational affiliations and transhumance.

Education

Table 36 presents some data concerning the educational facilities within the study area. Some of the settlements listed are summer settlements but most are either year-round or winter settlements. The schools in three of the summer settlements (Snug Harbour, Seal Islands, and Batteau) are operated only during the summer season, while in the others (Trap Cove, William's Harbour and George's Cove) they are operated during both autumn and spring. In the latter case, teachers and pupils, and sometimes the school furniture as well, move to the winter settlement during that season.

This may also apply to some of the other summer settlements whose residents move to the winter settlements listed in Table 36. In some of the year-round settlements, e.g. Mary's Harbour, the pupils may remain until summer vacation begins and then join their parents at the summer settlement.

Table 36. Number of schools, classrooms, teachers and pupils, by region, 1964-65.

Settlement	No. of Schools	No. of Classrooms	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils
L'anse au Clair	1	2	2	48
Forteau	3	7	7	135
L'anse au Mour	1	1	1	12
L'anse au Loup	2	4	4	82
Capstan Island	1	1	1	14
L'anse au Diable	1	1	1	18
West St. Modeste	1	2	2	49
Pinware	1	1	1	32
Red Bay	1	3	3	84
Total, Strait of Belle Isle	12	22	22	474
Pitt's Arm	1	1	1	26
Lodge Bay	1	1	1	21
Trap Cove	1	1	1	30
Battle Harbour	1	1	1	9
Indian Cove	1	1	1	10
Mary's Harbour	1	2	2	79
Fox Harbour	1	2	3	54
William's Harbour	1	1	1	10
Port Hope Simpson	2	5	5	156
Pinsent's Arm	1	1	1	17
George's Cove	1	?	?	?
Charlottetown	3	3	3	42
Snug Harbour	1	1	1	6
Seal Islands	1	1	?	?
Batteau	1	1	1	19
Spotted Islands	1	1	1	34
Cartwright	2	6	7	200
Paradise River	1	2	2	52
Total, Southeastern Labrador	22	31	32	765

Table 36. (cont'd)

Settlement	No. of Schools	No. of Classrooms	No. of Teachers	No. of Pupils
Rigolet	1	1	1	38
North West River	2	10	12	253
Mud Lake	1	1	1	31
Total, Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary	4	12	14	322
Makkovik	1	3	4	73
Postville	1	1	1	27
Hopedale	1	3	4	97
Davis Inlet	1	2	2	22
Nain	1	4	5	90
Total, Northern Labrador	5	13	16	309
Total, Study Area	43	78	84	1,870

Source: Newfoundland Dept. of Education, and 1965 field survey.

Probably the most outstanding features of Table 36 are the large number of one-room schools in the area, and, the small student enrollment at each. One of the two schools at North West River, with an enrollment of 161, is the largest in the area. The smallest in operation during the winter of 1964-65 was at Battle Harbour with nine pupils, and the summer school at Snug Harbour had only six pupils in attendance in 1965. However, most of the larger winter and year-round settlements either have rudimentary educational facilities located within their own borders, or available in a nearby community where the children may attend school while residing with friends and relatives.

Education in coastal Labrador, as with primary and secondary education elsewhere in Newfoundland, operates along denominational lines, with the different religious sects often maintaining separate schools within

the one settlement. This applies here to Forteau, L'anse au Loup, Port Hope Simpson, Charlottetown, Cartwright and North West River. This not only requires a higher capital investment in the physical plant, but in such small communities it means that any one teacher must be responsible for a larger number of classes than would be necessary if there were only one school. Also, the smaller schools which result usually attract less qualified teachers than might otherwise be the case, and means that a larger number of teachers are required.

The academic qualifications of teachers working in these schools (Table 37) are extremely low, with 58.5% having less than one year of university training. Further examination of the records of the Newfoundland Department of Education shows that most of this group have only a Junior Matriculation education.

Table 37. Academic qualifications of teachers, by region, 1964-65.

Region	No Univ. Training*	One yr. Univ.	Two yrs. Univ.	Three yrs. Univ.	Four yrs. Univ.	More than four yrs.
Strait of Belle Isle	12	6	0	3	1	0
Southeastern Labrador	21	3	3	2	2	0
Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville esturay	4	4	3	2	0	1
Northern Labrador	11	1	3	0	0	0
Total	48	14	9	7	3	1

* Also includes teachers who attended university but failed to complete the first year of training.

Note: Academic qualifications of two teachers in southeastern Labrador were not available.

Source: Newfoundland Dept. of Education.

Data pertaining to the educational attainment of the population within the study area, as opposed to the whole of Labrador, are not available. However, for the total Labrador population not attending school in 1961, 1,470 had never attended school; 3,610 had some elementary education; 3,111 had some secondary education; and 246 had attended university (Summers, 1966, p. 15). These figures inlcude the Happy Valley and Goose Bay populations, thus the level of educational attainment within the study area may be considerably lower.

Occupational Distribution

The distribution of the resident population aged 18 years and over, by occupation and region for 1965-66, is shown in Table 38. A more detailed distribution, by sex and community, is provided in Appendix D which also defines the different occupational groupings used.

Table 38. Occupational distribution of the resident population aged 18 years and over, by region, 1965-66.

Occupation	S. of Belle Isle		Southeastern Labrador	
	No.	%	No.	%
Fishing	286	33.5	462	40.0
Trapping	0	0.0	0	0.0
Labouring	44	5.1	46	4.0
Transport	8	0.9	0	0.0
Maint., Constr., and Carp.	5	0.6	23	2.0
Services	59	6.9	75	6.5
Professional	26	3.0	19	1.6
Unemployed	13	1.5	15	1.3
No occupation stated	33	3.9	34	2.9
Retired	82	9.6	73	6.3
Sick and disabled	24	2.8	9	0.8
Student	3	0.4	1	0.1
Housekeeping	272	31.8	397	34.3
Other	0	0.0	2	0.2
Total	855	100.0	1,156	100.0

Table 38. (cont'd)

Occupation	Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville		Northern Labrador	
	No.	%	No.	%
Fishing	54	10.7	261	37.4
Trapping	51	10.1	0	0.0
Labouring	32	6.3	18	2.6
Transport	11	2.2	5	0.7
Maint., Constr., and Carp.	23	4.6	20	2.9
Services	74	14.7	57	8.2
Professional	21	4.2	12	1.7
Unemployed	14	2.8	8	1.1
No occupation stated	8	1.6	18	2.6
Retired	50	9.9	32	4.6
Sick and disabled	0	0.0	2	0.3
Student	1	0.2	0	0.0
Housekeeping	165	32.7	262	37.5
Other	1	0.2	3	0.4
Total	505	100.0	698	100.0

	Total Study Area	
	No.	%
Fishing	1,063	33.1
Trapping	51	1.6
Labouring	140	4.4
Transport	24	0.7
Maint., Constr., and Carp.	71	2.2
Services	265	8.2
Professional	78	2.4
Unemployed	50	1.6
No occupation stated	93	2.9
Retired	237	7.4
Sick and disabled	35	1.1
Student	5	0.2
Housekeeping	1,096	34.1
Other	6	0.2
Total	3,214	100.0

Source: Newfoundland electoral register, 1966.

Fishing, the most important occupation, accounts for one-third of the total 18 plus population of the area and more than one-third for all regions except the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary. However, the total number of fishermen and the amount of dependance on the fisheries is even greater than suggested in Table 38. These data are extracted from the Newfoundland electoral register, which records only one occupation per person, whereas many of the residents of coastal Labrador who engage in other occupations, are also fishermen. In order to overcome this limitation the total number of residents engaged in the fishing industry, during the 1965 season, is provided in Table 39. The number of Stationer fishermen is also presented in this table since they help support the few people who are engaged in the provision of services and some of the other occupations listed in Table 38. In comparing the number of resident fishermen as stated in these two tables it must be noted that Table 39 also includes fishermen of less than 18 years of age.

Table 39. Number of fishermen, by region, 1965.

Region	Resident	Stationer	Total
Strait of Belle Isle	354	2	356
Southeastern Labrador	621	506	1,127
Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary	55	125	180
Northern Labrador	325	30	355
Total	1,355	663	2,018

Source: Field survey, 1965.

Trapping, which was once widespread and of considerable importance throughout the area, is now engaged in as a primary occupation only in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary. A rough indication of

the number of skilled workers in the area may be obtained by grouping 'transport', 'maintenance, construction and carpentry' and 'services'. Such a grouping shows that the largest regional percentage of skilled workers is found in Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville (21.5%), where most are employed at Goose airport. Only 11.1% of the total for the study area fall within this category. The small number of professionals (2.4% of the total) are mainly medical doctors, nurses, and school teachers, most of whom are not permanent residents of the area.

The low rate of female participation in the labour force is indicated by the large percentage classed as housekeepers. More detailed calculations, based on Appendix D, Section 2, show that the actual female participation rate is extremely low, being less than 10% in all regions except Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville where it is 21.7%. The male participation rate appears fairly high in all four regions, especially if old age pensioners are excluded from the total male labour force population, but almost all employment represented is seasonal, lasting only 3-5 months.

CHAPTER VI

SEASONAL MIGRATIONS

Introduction

The migratory habits of Labrador's coastal population have been mentioned by many writers, e.g. Packard (1891), Gosling (1910), and Tanner (1944), but Black (1957) was the first to provide a worthwhile discussion of the seasonal migrations, complete with any notable amount of quantitative data. Black (1957) restricted his analysis to the year-round residents of the coast but in subsequent works (1960; 1962) he treated various aspects of the Floater fishery. The Stationer population, however, was not dealt with in any of his discussions. The present discussion is confined mainly to the resident and Stationer populations. Although the Labrador Fisheries Development Survey collected a considerable amount of data pertaining to the economic and technological aspects of the Floater fishery, time did not permit the assembly of much new quantitative data regarding the Floater population. Summers (1965; 1966) has analysed the data collected. The present discussion is further limited to the seasonal migrations which occur in relation to the cod, salmon and char fisheries. Other migrations also occur, especially in northern Labrador associated with sealing, but those are on a much reduced scale.

Migration of the Year-round Population

Black found that nearly 60% of the resident population of the area corresponding to the southeastern Labrador and Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville regions, excluding the western end of Lake Melville, were "... migratory in habit, moving between winter and summer stations" (1957, p. 59).

In 1965-66, 61% of the Livier population of southeastern Labrador were involved in seasonal migrations[1]. However, in the Strait of Belle Isle only around 4% migrate, and the value for the total Livier population is around 38%.

The main kinds of migration in the Strait of Belle Isle and southeastern Labrador are from winter stations (a) to cod and cod-salmon fishing stations, and (b) to salmon fishing stations. The former is by far the more important, accounting for around 90% of all Livier migrations, and 100% of migrations from winter stations south of Cartwright. Cod fishing dominates the scene at the cod-salmon fishing stations, with salmon fishing being usually engaged in, by a smaller number of people, to supplement income from the more important activity. A third kind of migration, which occurs on a relatively small scale, involves three moves annually, i.e. from winter station to salmon fishing site where the migrants remain until the end of the salmon fishing season, then to a cod or cod-salmon station to participate in the cod fishery before returning to winter quarters. The latter requires that each participant family maintain three houses. It is practised by only a few residents who winter at Cartwright and Paradise River.

In 1965-66 around 18% of the year-round residents of the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary migrated between summer and winter quarters. If the settlements at the western end of Lake Melville are excluded the value for the remaining population becomes 72%. This combined with the 61% noted for southeastern Labrador shows an increase, since 1950, in the percentage of the area's total population which migrate. The 1950 value as provided by Black (1957, p. 59), and noted above, was around 60%. The degree of centralization of year-round settlements in this area, which has already

been discussed, appears largely responsible for this increased migration. This is especially true in cases where the year-round settlement has now become a summer settlement, e.g. Spotted Island's, rather than being completely abandoned.

Most seasonal migrations in the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary are between winter quarters and salmon fishing stations. Table 40 shows that the resident population of this region occupy only three cod and cod-salmon stations as opposed to 32 salmon fishing stations.

Black (1957, p. 65) states that 64.3% of the resident population of northern Labrador migrated between winter and summer stations in 1952. In 1966 this figure was reduced to around 36%. Sufficient information is not available to fully explain this sharp decline but it may be partially accounted for by (a) an increase in the amount of wage employment available at the five main settlements, and, probably (b) the migration to the Goose Bay area being mainly by people who were former seasonal migrants.

The seasonal migrations in northern Labrador are (a) to cod and cod-salmon fishing stations, (b) to salmon fishing stations, and (c) to Arctic char fishing stations. Migrations to Harp seal netting stations and seal hunting stations, as mentioned above, are not considered in the present discussion. As is the case in southeastern Labrador, most movement in northern Labrador is to cod and cod-salmon fishing stations. Again, cod fishing is the dominant activity at the cod-salmon stations and, indeed, throughout the whole region. In 1966 the percentage of migrants moving to each kind of station was approximately 83% to cod and cod-salmon stations; 3% to salmon fishing stations; and, 14% to Arctic char stations.

In the Strait of Belle Isle and southeastern Labrador the summer settlements are relatively large, with one (Pack's Harbour) having 125

Table 40. Settlements of coastal Labrador grouped according to occupance and function, by region, 1965-66.

Year-round Settlements	Strait of Belle Isle	Southeastern Labrador	Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville	Northern Labrador	Total
with additional winter population	3	8	5	6	22
with no additional winter population	10	6	1	2	21
with additional summer population	-	10	-	2	12
with no additional summer population	13	4	6	6	29
with additional Livier[1] summer population	-	10	-	2	12
with Stationer summer population	-	7	-	-	7
with additional Livier population only	-	3	-	2	5
with additional Stationer population only	-	-	-	-	-
from which some fishing activities are conducted	12	13	6	8	39
from which fishing activities are not conducted	1	1	-	-	2
Total year-round settlements	13	14	6	8	41
Winter Settlements					
Total	-	11	6	7	24
Summer Settlements					
With Livier populations, only					
Cod and cod-salmon stations	3	10	2	26	41

Table 40. (cont'd)

	Strait of Belle Isle	Southeastern Labrador	Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville	Northern Labrador	Total
Summer Settlements (cont'd)					
Salmon fishing stations	-	19	32	6	57
Char fishing stations	-	-	-	7	7
Sub-total	3	29	34	39	105
With Stationer populations, only					
Cod and cod-salmon stations	1	11	6	2	20
Sub-total	1	11	6	2	20
With both Livier and Stationer populations					
Cod and cod-salmon stations	-	30	1	-	31
Sub-total	-	30	1	-	31
Total Summer Settlements	4	70	41	41	156

1. For purposes of convenience, the term Livier, as used in this table, includes all of the population residing year-round in coastal Labrador.

Source: Data collected by the author.

individuals. In the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville region all summer settlements are small, with most having less than 10 people. Most of northern Labrador's summer settlements, with the exception of some cod fishing stations occupied by Nain residents, also have only a few inhabitants. The migratory pattern in southeastern Labrador appears rather stable, with the same families and fishing crews usually moving to the same sites year after year. The summer settlements of this region convey an impression of permanence and past census reports indicate that most outlive their winter counterparts. This observation is especially valid for summer settlements occupied by families from the smaller winter stations which lack educational and medical facilities and other public services. Usually the investment in capital and labour is greater at the summer site because it is here that the shore installations necessary for the exploitation of the fisheries are located.

The trap berth is another attraction which serves to entice the fisherman and his family to return annually to the same summer station. The cod trap is probably the most efficient, known means of catching cod while they are in the shallow, inshore waters and it is the piece of gear most extensively used by Labrador fishermen. Unlike other cod fishing gear, the trap requires a berth. Since the introduction of the trap in the 1880's, most trap berths along the coast have become known and graded as 'prime' or 'secondary'. In most areas berths are hereditary: they are 'pieces of real property which are passed down from father to son and many have been in the one family for several decades. The berths are normally in waters of from 10 to 20 fathoms deep, and it is those waters that normally have temperatures suitable for cod during the trap season. The trap berth attracts the fisherman to the same summer settlement, annually, not only because it

is his berth and the one with which he is most familiar but also because in most cases a cod trap is designed to fit a particular berth and would not operate as efficiently elsewhere.

Most summer settlements of the Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville estuary lack the degree of permanence found in southeastern Labrador and, as noted earlier, a comparison of sites occupied in 1951 and 1965 show that during the interim period many were abandoned, while new sites have been occupied. The summer settlements of northern Labrador, with a few notable exceptions such as Ailik and Black Island (Nain), also lack the permanence of those of southeastern Labrador, and even those of Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville. This statement is substantiated by the fact that 1965 was the first year since 1957 that Hopedale residents moved to cod fishing stations. A further illustration of changes occurring in the migratory pattern of northern Labrador is provided by Table 41. This shows that the migratory population wintering at Nain and moving to cod fishing stations during summer not only increased by 50% between 1965 and 1966, but also occupied five sites in 1966 which were uninhabited during summer 1965.

Table 41. Cod fishing stations occupied by Nain residents, summer 1965 and 1966.

Place Name	No. of Nain Residents	
	1965	1966
Black Island	52	52
September Harbour	55	47
Evelek	-	16
Young's Harbour	50	46
Dog Bight	-	15
Ford's Harbour	-	14
Anton's Place	-	24
Kamasuk	-	22
Total	157	236

Source: Data collected by the author (1965); and, Anderson and White (1966, pers. comm.).

Such changes, however, are rather exceptional. The increase in the number of Nain residents migrating to cod fishing stations may be mainly attributed to a large, concurrent reduction in the number of residents participating in the Arctic char fishery.

Nain became the centre of Labrador's Arctic char fishery after the resettlement of Hebron, which had formerly been the main settlement involved. Since most char fishing stations are either located in Hebron Fiord or north of Hebron, the shifting of the charfisher's winter quarters to Nain (around 150 miles south) meant a considerable increase in the distance involved in seasonal migrations associated with this fishery. Transportation, to and from the summer stations, is by small, open boat. Occasionally, the northward trip may require as long as three weeks because of delays caused by adverse climatic conditions, especially drift ice. In 1965, 42 fishermen and their families occupied char stations to the north of Nain, while only 19 fishermen (15 families) returned during the summer of 1966. A further reduction, as it concerns Nain residents, occurred in 1967 when 17 fishermen (16 families) occupied the northern stations, with three or four families being residents of Makkovik[2]. The char fishery in 1966 was conducted mainly, if not entirely, by former Hebron residents who presently winter at Nain, and it is likely that the Makkovik residents who participated during 1967 were also relocatees from Hebron.

The recent decrease in the number of people engaged in the char fishery is largely the result of the long distances involved in travel and as such is a direct, but delayed result of the resettling of Hebron. Another contributing factor is the low price paid for char in Labrador[3].

The char fishing sites occupied vary from year to year and also during the one season. Smith (1967, pers. comm.) reported that a considerable

amount of shifting to various sites occurred in some areas during 1967. All occupants of those stations live in tents during summer as do many of those who occupy both the salmon and cod fishing stations of northern Labrador. However, in the three southern regions all live in wooden houses while at the summer settlements.

Stationer and Floater Migrations

The Stationer population, which numbered 980 in 1965, come from all areas of insular Newfoundland north of an imaginary line connecting St. John's and Corner Brook. The largest numbers come from Conception and Notre Dame Bays, which account for 59.1% and 21.1%, respectively[4]. Most of the population are fishermen since only the skipper of a crew is accompanied by his family while at the summer station. Other crew members are not accompanied by their families because while in Labrador the skipper must provide food and shelter for his entourage. Thus, unproductive dependants, other than his immediate family, are not usually welcomed. Not all skippers are accompanied by their families but when they are the wives are responsible for preparing the crew's meals and other household chores. Sons of more than 12 or 13 years old participate in the fishing activities. In 1965, 67.7% of the Stationer population were fishermen[5]. A few of the others were employed by merchants, mainly in the collection of cod and salmon, but most were wives and children of skippers.

All Stationer fishermen are engaged in the cod fishery and some also pursue the salmon fishery as a secondary activity. As noted earlier, the fishing stations occupied by Stationers are mainly located in southeastern Labrador. Table 40 shows that in this region Stationers reside at year-round Livier settlements and summer settlements occupied by Liviers as well as those occupied solely by Stationers. At the former two types of

settlements, mixed Livier-Stationer fishing crews are often found.

The Floater population come from most areas of insular Newfoundland, but mainly from the northeast coast and especially Notre Dame Bay. While on the Labrador coast, they live on board their ships. The ship is used to transport the crew, fishing gear, and other equipment to and from Labrador, and to take the summer's catch to market. It also serves as a fishing stage. However, the ship itself is not employed in the actual fish catching operations, but as a base from which the crew operate. All Floaters are cod fishermen, with the cod trap being the main piece of gear used.

The Floater fishery ceased in the early 1950's but started again in 1958 when one or two ships became engaged. Since then it has increased rapidly and in 1965 accounted for 48 ships and 483 men. In 1965, 59 ships participated. Summers (1965, p. 4) has examined this re-birth and the recent upward trend and attributed them to (a) a substantial increase in the price paid for salted codfish since the mid-fifties, (b) the availability of fishing crews engendered by a decline in defence base construction and maintenance jobs, and (c) the availability of ships. The latter has been brought about mainly by a decline in the coastal freighting trade. The average age of ships employed in the Floater fishery in 1964 was 19 years (Summers, 1965, p. 5).

Dates of Migration

The dates of migration of the resident population are determined by a number of variables with climatic conditions, especially ice conditions, being the most important. Ice conditions affect the date by preventing migrations during both freeze-up and break-up. The moves must be made either by boat during the open-water season or by dog sled or motorized snow vehicle after a solid ice cover has formed. Drift ice may impede

migrations during spring and early summer. Ice conditions and other climatic influences also affect the migration of fish stocks and thus the length of the fishing season. The latter also partially determines the dates of human migrations.

Table 42 provides the dates of migration of the resident population from selected winter settlements to cod and cod-salmon stations in 1965. Generally, the people of southeastern Labrador leave winter quarters at a much earlier date and remain at the summer stations later than do those of the two northern regions. The close of the fishing season appears to have a much greater influence on the date of migration than does the beginning of the season.

The dates of migration, as recorded by Black (1957), for the 1949-52 period are shown in Table 43. It appears that, at that time, part of the winter population of Sandy Hill Bay, Muddy Bay, Paradise River, Dove Brook and North River conducted the salmon fishery from their winter settlements before moving to summer cod fishing stations. This explains the late dates of movement for some of the population from these settlements. Sandy Hill Bay and Muddy Bay have now been abandoned as winter stations but are still occupied during the salmon fishing season. Dove Brook has been completely abandoned.

A comparison of Tables 42 and 43 shows that the seaward migration in the Pitt's Arm-Mary's Harbour area now occurs at a much earlier date than it did in 1949-50. In much of the rest of southeastern Labrador the dates are similar. The return to winter quarters in much of this region is now at an earlier date than it was in the early 1950's. The migration to cod and cod-salmon stations in Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville is now more than three weeks later than it was in 1949-50. In northern

Labrador the dates of the seaward migration are similar for both periods, but the return to winter quarters is now much earlier.

Table 42. Date of migration of the population of selected winter stations to cod and cod-salmon fishing stations, 1965.

Winter Station	Departure	Return
Strait of Belle Isle		
Red Bay	May 15 - June 1	Sept. 20
Southeastern Labrador		
Pitt's Arm	April 1	Sept. 30
Lodge Bay	April 10 - 30	Oct. 1 - 25
Mary's Harbour	May 1 - 31	Sept. 1 - Oct. 31
Rickson's Cove	June 1	Sept. 30
Port Hope Simpson	May 20 - June 5	Aug. 30 - Oct. 30
Charlottetown	May 15 - 31	Oct. 1 - 15
Partridge Bay	April 15 - 30	Nov. 1
Porcupine Bay	March 20 - April 20	Oct. 15 - Jan. 1
Open Bay	March 20 - April 20	Oct. 20 - 30
Cartwright	June 1 - 18	Aug. 31 - Oct. 31
Paradise River	June 1 - 6	Sept. 1
North River	June 20	Sept. 15
Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville		
Pottle's Bay	June 25	Sept. 30
Rattler's Bight	June 25	Sept. 30
Rocky Cove	June 25	Sept. 30
Double Mer	June 25	Sept. 30
Northern Labrador		
Makkovik	June 5 - 10	Aug. 20 - Sept. 15
Postville	June 25 - July 5	Aug. 20 - 31
Hopedale	July 1	Sept. 15
Nain	June 15	Sept. 20 - Nov. 5

Source: Data collected by the author.

Table 43. Approximate dates of migration of the population of winter stations to cod and cod-salmon fishing stations, 1949-1952.

Winter Station	Departure	Return
Southeastern Labrador, 1949-1950		
Pitt's Arm	June 1	Oct. 15 - 30
Lodge Bay	June 1	Oct. 30
Mary's Harbour	June 1	Oct. 15 - 30
Rickson's Cove	June 1	Oct. 15 - 30
Port Hope Simpson	June 1	Oct. 30
St. Michael's Bay area	April 15 - May 30	Oct. 15
Trout Brook	April 15	Oct. 15
Norman's Bay	April 15	Oct. 15
Shoal Bay	April 15	Oct. 15
Black Bear Bay	April 10	Oct. 20
Open Bay and Mussel Brook	April 15	Oct. 20
Reed's Pond	March 15	Jan. 1
Rocky Bay and Porcupine Bay	April 15	Oct. 7
Sandy Hill Bay	June 1 - Aug. 7	Oct. 1
Goose Cove	June 1	Oct. 1 - 7
Cartwright	June 1 - 10	Sept. 20 - 30
Muddy Bay	June 1 - Aug. 7	Oct. 1 - 10
Paradise River	June 1 - Aug. 1	Oct. 1 - 7
Dove Brook	June 1 - Aug. 10	Oct. 1 - 7
North River	June 1 - Aug. 1	Oct. 1 - 7
Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville, 1949-1950		
Pottle's Bay	June 1	Nov. 1
Rattler's Bight	June 1	Sept. 30
Northern Labrador, 1952		
Makkovik area	June 15 - July 1	Oct. 14
Hopedale area	June 15 - July 1	Oct. 14
Davis Inlet area	June 15 - July 1	Oct. 14
Nain area	June 15 - July 1	Oct. 14 - Nov. 1
Okak area	June 15 - July 1	Oct. 14 - Nov. 1
Hebron area	June 15 - July 1	Oct. 14 - Nov. 14

Source: Black (1957, p. 63 and 68).

The date of migrations between winter quarters and salmon fishing stations is shown in Table 44. These correspond closely to the duration of the salmon fishing season in all areas. The date of migration to the Arctic char fishing stations, as shown in Table 44, is the departure date from Nain. The actual date of arrival at the summer station is often determined by drift ice conditions.

Table 44. Date of migration of the resident population to salmon and char fishing stations, 1965-1966.

Location	Arrival	Departure
Salmon Fishing Stations		
Sandwich Bay	June 10-12	July 15-31
Groswater Bay South	July 1	July 20-31
Hamilton Inlet	June 15-30	Aug. 1-31
The Narrows	June 15-30	Aug. 1-31
Lake Melville (western end)	July 1-10	Aug. 31
Hopedale district	July 15	Aug. 15
Arctic Char Fishing Stations		
Hebron Fiord-Nachvak Fiord	June 10	Aug. 25-Sept. 15

Source: Data collected by the author.

In all areas the year-round population are the first to arrive at the summer stations and generally the last to leave. The Stationers are the second group to arrive and also second to leave. Floaters arrive last and leave first.

The delayed departure of the Floater population from insular Newfoundland may be explained by time spent in outfitting the vessels and on last minute repairs. The Stationers usually do most of their repair work either before returning to winter quarters in autumn or after arriving

at the summer station, while awaiting the beginning of the fishing season. The earlier return of Floaters from Labrador is due to the fact that the ship serves as a storage depot for the summer's catch, thus limiting the amount of fish which may be taken and, in turn, the amount of time spent on the coast during the season. The actual date of departure from Labrador depends on the productivity of the fishery during the season and the efficiency of the crew. Only in two instances have a Floater crew constructed storage facilities on shore, which permit them to remain after its ship has been loaded. The construction of such shore installations is not customary among Floaters because it would partially limit the crew's mobility by restricting their activities to a particular area. Should a crew have a first 'voyage' sufficiently successful to enable it to return to its homeport and discharge the catch at a relatively early date, a second voyage may be undertaken.

Almost all Stationers travel to and from their summer settlements in Labrador by ships operated by the Marine Division of the Canadian National Railways (CNR). Annually, soon after the navigation season commences, along the Labrador coast, the CNR provide extra ships which make 'fishermen's trips' from insular Newfoundland to Labrador. These trips are designed to carry Stationers and their equipment to their summer stations. The Stationer arranges his passage to Labrador in advance and is picked up by a ship at or near his homeport. The fare for the passage is six dollars each way for fishermen. Their wives and children are transported free of charge but fees are charged for the transport of bulky equipment such as fishing boats. On board ship the fishermen and their families must either purchase their meals at the normal rate or provide their own. Most choose the second alternative. The accommodation provided by the CNR on such trips

is seldom attractive and the men, women and children often have to sleep, under crowded conditions, in the cargo holds.

Table 45 shows the dates on which Stationers arrived at, and departed from selected summer stations during 1965. The date of arrival is similar in all areas, with all arriving during the first half of June. An examination of records maintained by the Marine Division of the CNR, St. John's, shows that the dates of arrival during 1962, 1963 and 1964 were similar. The dates of departure from the summer stations are also similar with most returning to insular Newfoundland during late September - early October.

Table 45. Date of Stationer migrations for selected summer stations, 1965.

Summer Station	Arrival	Departure
Henley Harbour	June 1	Sept. 30
Chimney Tickle	June 15	Oct. 20
St. Francis Harbour	June 5	Oct. 15
Occasional Harbour	June 1	Sept. 1
Boulter's Rock	June 7-11	Oct. 31
Webber's Cove	June 12	Oct. 15
Salter's Island	June 12	Sept. 31
Batteau	June 12	Sept. 31
Gready	June 14	Sept. 1
Pack's Harbour	June 14	Sept. 1
Indian Harbour-Smokey area	June 15	Sept. 20-Oct. 10

Source: Data collected by the author.

CHAPTER VII

ENVIRONMENTAL INTERACTIONS INFLUENCING SEASONAL MIGRATIONS

Introduction

It is now generally accepted by social scientists that the natural environment limits, rather than determines, human activities. However, in addition to limiting, it partially dictates the way in which many activities are conducted by people of a given culture. Natural environmental influences are exerted mainly on the economic aspects of a culture and partially controls activities within the present economic structure of that culture. The limitations and other influences can be overcome, or reduced, through new technological developments or adaptions. The economic costs, however, of such technological changes are often prohibitive.

The environmental interactions influencing seasonal migrations on the Labrador coast are grouped below, for purposes of convenience, under three main headings: (a) physical environmental influences; (b) biological environmental influences; and (c) influences of the socio-cultural environment. The variables of each environment interact. There are also interactions between variables of the different environments.

Physical Environmental Influences

The primary variables of the physical environment which influence population distribution and movement are discussed, generally, in Chapter I, and the ways in which they have influenced site selection are treated in Chapter II. Here, it is necessary to reiterate some of the earlier observations and expand, slightly, particularly in regard to the seasonal migrations described in Chapter VI.

Submarine topography and the configuration of the coastline, together, exert the greatest physical environmental influences on the distribution of population and seasonal migrations. The former determines the location and size of fishing banks. A combination of these two variables determines the location, quantity and quality of trap berths. The proximity of good berths and banks, with the former being the more important, largely determines whether or not a summer station is located at a particular site. The importance of having a summer station located as near as possible the actual fishing grounds can only be fully appreciated when the present stage of technology (see below) is considered. Submarine topography and coastline configuration also determine the location of suitable harbours and the navigable routes between harbours and the actual fishing areas. Some of the effects of these two variables in determining the site of summer settlements are illustrated in Figures 22 and 23. Most summer settlements are built on unsuitable terrain, but are located near lucrative fishing stocks and have harbours which afford good shelter for small craft. A large number of examples could be given to substantiate the latter statement, but Venison Tickle, Snug Harbour, Boulter's Rock, Salter's Island, Five Islands, Gready and Pack's Harbour will suffice.

Labrador, for most practical purposes, may be said to have two coastlines. The inner coast is that of the main land mass, which in most areas is sheltered from Atlantic storms and gales by the numerous islands lying to seaward. The islands, along with the more protruding headlands of the mainland, form an outer coast along their easternmost edge. The existence of two coasts is recognized by both mariners and the local fishermen, in that they recognize two main navigation routes: (a) the 'outer run', an unsheltered route skirting the outer coast; and (b) an 'inner run' which

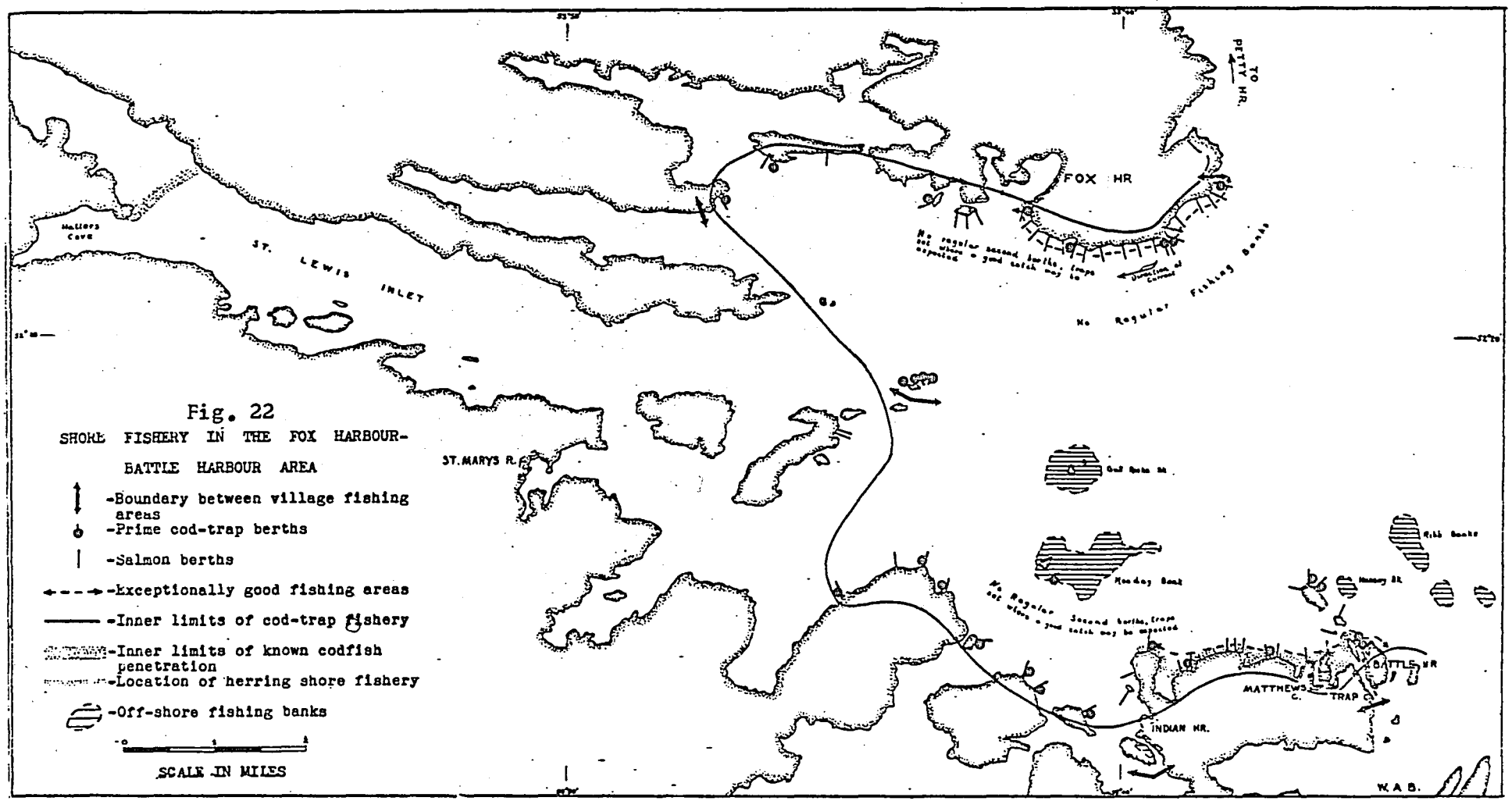


Fig. 22

SHORE FISHERY IN THE FOX HARBOUR-BATTLE HARBOUR AREA

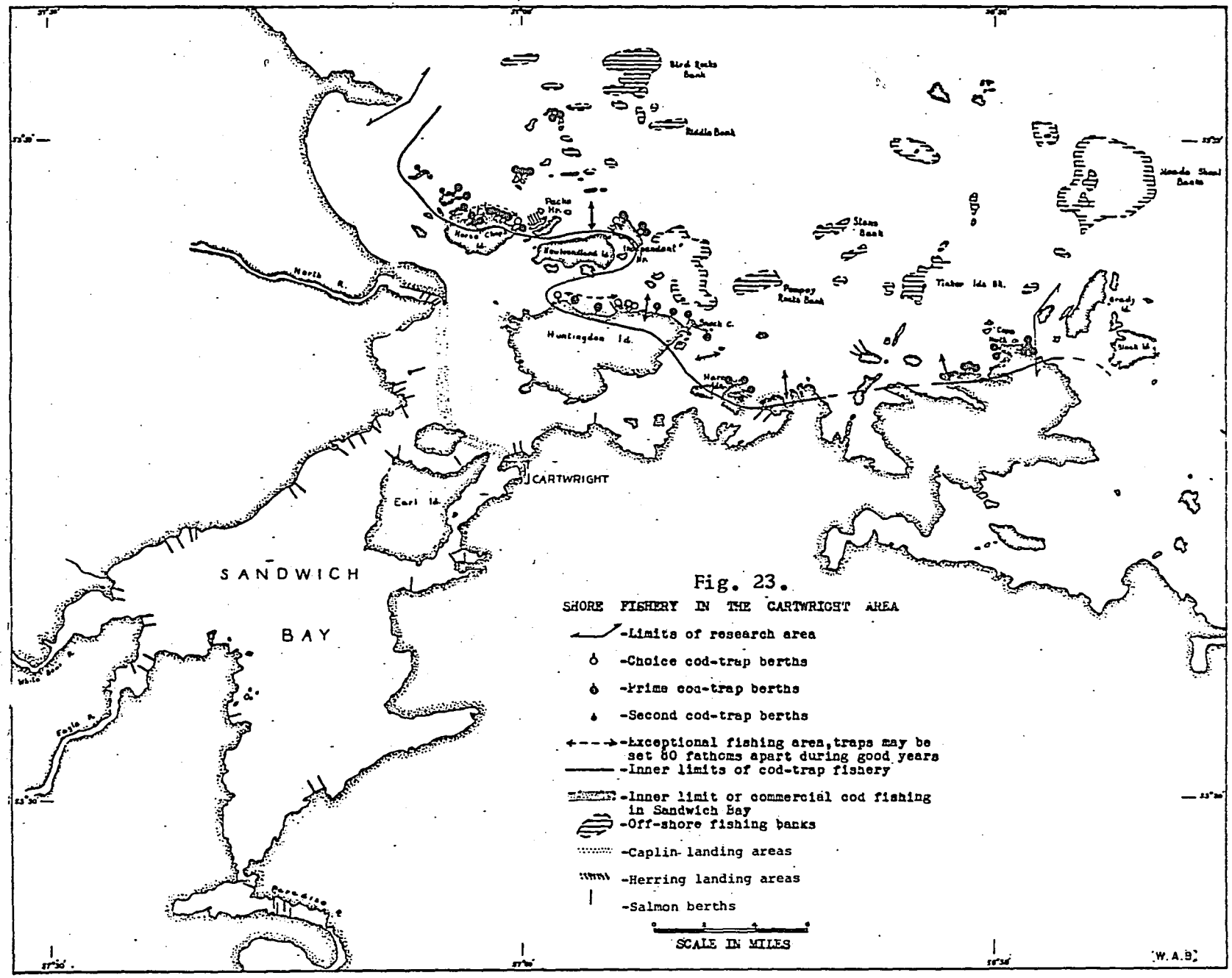


Fig. 23.

SHORE FISHERY IN THE CARTWRIGHT AREA

lies seaward of the mainland but is sheltered by the outer islands. The inner run from Nain to Makkovik is probably the best example of the latter. In some areas, a navigable 'middle run' winding through a maze of islands and shoals, is also used by navigators with knowledge of local hydrographic conditions. The waters near the inner coast are often shallow and hazardous, permitting navigation only by small craft. Of more importance, however, in attempting to explain the seasonal population movements are the higher temperatures and lower salinities common to those shallow waters. These are sufficient, in most areas, to limit the inshore penetration of Atlantic cod, especially in stocks of a size warranting commercial exploitation (Figs. 22 and 23). Another example of the effect of reduced salinities on the distribution of marine resources may be Lake Melville, from which Atlantic cod are absent. The winter stations, e.g. Cartwright and Paradise River in Figure 23, are located on the more sheltered inner coast. The summer settlements, e.g. Pack's Harbour, Snack Cove, Hare Island and Cape North (Fig. 23) are on the outer coast near the trap berths and other cod fishing areas.

The physical limitations on salmon net berths are not as restrictive as those on cod trap berths, and since salmon distribution is not limited by salinities they may be fished from stations on both coasts. Most salmon stations, however, are on the inner coast. In the Sandwich Bay area, the importance of the salmon fishery serves to retain part of the population on this coast throughout the year, and to delay the seaward migration of others.

Surface topography affects population through its influence on both settlement site selection and transportation. As noted above, its influence on the selection of summer fishing sites is normally secondary to that of submarine topography and coastline configuration. It also imposes

limitations on the size of settlement which any site can accomodate, physically. Probably the most important factor here, especially at cod fishing stations, is the amount of first class waterfront space available for the construction of the necessary shore installations.

The practise of agriculture, even on a subsistence level, has never been popular in Labrador. Thus, the quality or amount of soil available has not influenced site selection. Nor could agriculture be used to explain why part of the population live year-round in the one settlement. The utilization of land at Battle Harbour is shown in Figure 24. All properties south of a line which would connect the north corner of the fish flakes (unused) with the RCMP residence belong to the merchant (Earle Freighting and Services Ltd). If these properties, along with the church, school, RCMP residence and public wharf were excluded, the land use would be similar to that at most of the smaller cod and cod-salmon fishing stations in southeastern Labrador. The larger of the cod and cod-salmon stations may also be the site of a merchant's establishment, but his properties are not normally as extensive as those at Battle Harbour. The lack of solid foundations for building has not presented any problems in Labrador's coastal settlements.

The availability of potable water does not appear to have restricted the selection of summer fishing sites, since it is either available from small streams or springs, or may usually be made available by sinking a well. It exerted a greater influence in the selection of sites for winter and year-round settlements. In the latter instance it was preferable to locate near a river which would provide water throughout the winter. Otherwise, it might have to be obtained by melting ice or snow.

The major rivers (Fig. 1) appear to have further influenced the

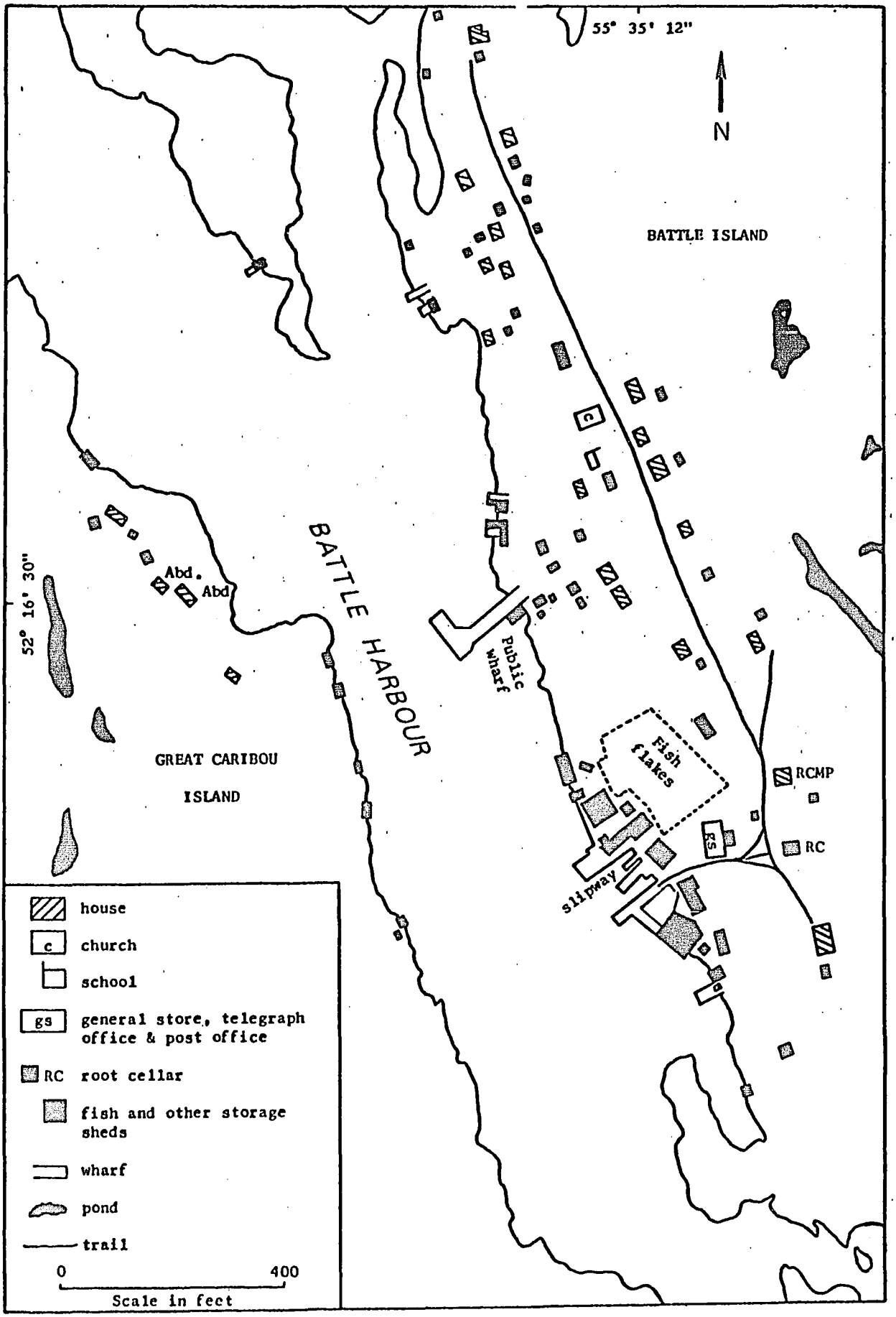


Fig. 24. Community land use, Battle Harbour, 1965.

selection of winter settlement sites because they provided small areas of relatively flat land near their mouths, and access corridors to the interior. They are of limited use as access routes during summer because few are navigable. However, in winter they become highroads through the forest, especially suited for travel by dog team. As such, they are used when travelling to and from the few trap lines which are still operated, and while on other hunting trips. Their limited utility in summer is relatively unimportant because at that time most people are at the summer fishing stations and the immediate interior is practically abandoned.

Some of the winter settlements located near river mouths may have attracted populations from other sites which are more suited to year-round occupance but less qualified as winter stations. One of the major attributes of winter stations such as Porcupine Bay and Paradise River appears to be the proximity of a river and the large stretches of the interior which it renders accessible.

The location of a river mouth is the determining factor in the selection of Arctic char fishing sites. Since the char are taken while migrating from river to sea, and vice versa, the most productive berths are near river mouths and it is here the stations are located. This relationship, however, does not always exist between salmon fishing sites and river mouths.

Whereas the quality of a harbour is one of the major considerations in selecting a cod fishing site, salmon and char fishing stations often lack harbours and are situated on relatively straight coastlines (Fig. 23). The shore installations associated with the inshore cod fishery are necessary for the landing and processing of large quantities of fish. The salmon and char fisheries, because they involve smaller quantities of fish and much less

processing, do not require shore installations. Nor do they require docking facilities and well protected harbours because the small boats operated are normally hauled out of the water when not in use.

Topographic conditions further influence population distribution and seasonal migrations through their effects on climate and the distribution of biological resources.

The effects of climate in limiting the periods during which migrations are possible are discussed in Chapter VI. In association with topography and vegetation it also influences settlement site selection, especially on the outer coast where (the factors discussed above being equal) the more sheltered areas are sought for building. The two coasts, which have been discussed physiographically, also exhibit major climatic differences. The windswept outer coast records colder temperatures in winter and cooler temperatures in summer, than does the sheltered inner coast. The inner coast affords the more tolerable conditions for human occupance during winter. However, in summer the outer coast, although it experiences much more fog, appears the more attractive to many because it is comparatively free from the hoards of biting flies which swarm on the inner coast. Climate also influences population indirectly, i.e. through the distribution of biological resources.

Biological Environmental Influences

The primary variables of the biological environment, which influence population distribution and seasonal migrations, are the distributions of the utilizable species of fish, marine mammals, terrestrial mammals, birds and plants. These are discussed briefly in Chapter I. The influence exerted by each is roughly proportionate to the role it plays in the local economy. As such, cod stocks are of the most importance. The

majority of the coastal population are directly supported, and most of the rest are indirectly supported, by the exploitation of those stocks. Settlement of the Strait of Belle Isle and southeastern Labrador by the Livier population may be directly attributed to the large stocks of cod found in the area. Those stocks still attract large numbers of Stationers and Floaters, annually. Salmon, char, furs and timber are also of some importance as sources of cash income. All of the biological resources mentioned above contribute income in kind which serves as an important supplement to earned cash income and cash income received in the form of transfer payments[1]. Forests also serve to provide sheltered sites for winter settlements.

The relative importance of the biological resources in contributing to the earned cash sector of the fishing population's income may be seen from an examination of data collected by the Labrador Fisheries Development Survey in 1965. Of the 73 Livier, Trapper, Settler and Eskimo fishing crew skippers interviewed, 55 derived all of their earned cash income from fishing activities[2]. Three skippers operated small general stores; five were employed on a wage basis during winter; two operated trap lines; five engaged in autumn and winter sealing; and, four engaged in both trapping and sealing. During the summer fishing season, 19 of these crews fished cod only; three fished salmon only; one fished salmon and seals; 22 fished cod and salmon; 12 fished cod and seals; and, 16 fished cod, salmon and seals. These data are sufficient to show that the marine resources are of considerably more importance to the economy of the coast than are the terrestrial resources. However, the percentage of total income which a fisherman derived from the utilization of the terrestrial resources was much greater in the past. Although the utilization of these resources does not produce much cash income at present, it does contribute significant amounts of income

in kind, e.g. firewood, fresh meats, and wild fruits and berries.

Throughout most of the study area the marine and terrestrial resources are widely separated. The former are found near the outer coast while the more important terrestrial resources are located near the inner coast. The distance separating the two is usually sufficient to render the exploitation of both, from the one base, impractical. This appears to have been largely responsible for the establishment of the dual settlement pattern and its associated seasonal migrations.

Influences of the Socio-Cultural Environment

The socio-cultural influences on seasonal migrations are many but, unfortunately, most are either undocumented or inadequately documented. However, some insights are provided by the material presented in Chapters II through VI.

The level of technological development in the local fishing industry appears to be the most important of these influences. Along with the two coasts and their associated biological resources, the level of technology is the primary cause of the seasonal migrations. The fisheries are conducted from small boats more than 90% of which are less than 30 feet in length, and only 66% are motor powered. These are extremely limited in mobility, subject to considerable seasonal limitations, and further limited as regards the variety of species which may be taken. Almost all fishing gears used are stationary. One of the most notable facts about this industry has been the almost complete lack of technical innovation to increase productivity. Since the development of the cod trap in the 1880's and the adaption of the gasoline engine to small fishing craft shortly after the turn of the century, the only innovation to have any impact on production has been the introduction of gear manufactured from synthetic materials.

The latter occurred during the present decade. Incomes from the fisheries are low. Data collected by the Labrador Fisheries Development Survey in 1965 show that of 72 resident fishing skippers interviewed, 84.7% earned less than $2000. in 1964; of 164 other resident crew members, 98.2% earned less than $2000. and 79.9% earned less than $1000.; of 26 Stationer fishing skippers, 46.0% earned less than $2000.; and, of 101 Stationer crew members, all earned less than $2000. and 93.1% earned less than $1000. As mentioned above, incomes from fishing activities are supplemented by income, in both cash and kind, from other activities and from transfer payments. However, the low incomes do partially explain the reluctance, on the part of the fishermen, to invest in more sophisticated fishing boats and gear. Present investments by Livier, Trapper, Settler and Eskimo skippers average around $3200.; and that by Stationer skippers, around $3700.

As noted above, the winter settlements on the inner coast are the more suited to winter occupance and are necessary for the exploitation of the terrestrial, biological resources. However, even if all other factors rendered them suitable for summer occupance and permitted fishing activities to be conducted from them, in most cases this would not be economically feasible because of the retarded nature of the technology. Larger and faster boats, especially, would be necessary to permit exploitation of the marine resources, if greater distances of travel were involved than are, at present. Some winter stations are near enough to the marine resources to serve as a base for the fishery but lack the necessary harbour facilities, shelter, and ease of approach. Expensive harbour development programs would be necessary to transform the latter into suitable fishing ports. Other winter stations do exist, from which fishing activities can be, and often are conducted, e.g. Fox Harbour. Yet, part of the winter population

of such settlements move to summer fishing stations. For movements such as these, other explanations are necessary.

The seasonal migrations, especially in southeastern Labrador, have considerable social significance. The seaward migration ends a long, dreary season of isolation for many of those who winter in the smaller settlements. The summer stations are near the more travelled transportation routes. Also, at the summer stations they renew contact with friends and relatives who have moved there from other settlements of coastal Labrador and insular Newfoundland. The latter bring information concerning still more friends and relatives residing elsewhere in the Province. Thus, in many ways it represents a home-coming and, it is the summer station which is normally referred to as 'home' by the year-round population.

The environmental influences on seasonal migrations, discussed above, apply to those of the year-round population. That presented in the last paragraph also applies, in part, to the Stationer population. Many Stationers are related to Liviers, through either descent or marriage, and a few were Liviers before becoming Stationers. Conversely, some Liviers were originally Stationers.

Some of the Stationer migrations, as well as some of the year-round population can be explained only as custom or habit. The migrations have become an accepted part of the annual activity cycle and one eagerly awaited by many of both the year-round residents and Stationers. The main explanation of the Stationer migrations, however, appears to be of an economic nature. Most come from areas of insular Newfoundland where the inshore fishing grounds are crowded and where few good, unclaimed cod trap berths are available. The primary berths near the Stationer's home-port have been claimed by other fishermen: his berth is located near his summer

station in Labrador, as are his fishing installations.

The return to winter quarters, as suggested above, is for some the beginning of a long winter of isolation. For others, it means moving to larger settlements, especially those which have educational, religious and medical facilities. Migrations to winter stations of this sort, which are usually occupied year-round by part of their populations, are rapidly increasing in importance. Such settlements now account for most of the winter population. The autumn migration is also, as noted in the preceding sections, a move to a site more suited, climatically, for winter occupance and to the base of winter activities.

The effects of resettlement in northern Labrador on seasonal migrations were discussed in Chapter VI, where it was shown to have increased the distance involved in migrating to Arctic char fishing stations by around 150 miles. At the same time it reduced the number of families moving to these stations. Official resettlement programs have also affected seasonal migrations in the Strait of Belle Isle and southeastern Labrador. While resulting in a small degree of population centralization during winter, it has led to an increase in the number of people migrating, e.g. the resettlement of the residents of Barge Bay, which had been occupied year-round, into Red Bay has necessitated annual migrations to Barge Bay for the duration of the fishing season. The resettlement of Spotted Island's, a year-round settlement in southeastern Labrador, has meant a small increase in the number of people migrating. Also, for residents of Spotted Island's, who formerly moved to other winter stations, it has increased the distance involved.

An examination of the seasonal migrations, between winter quarters and summer fishing stations, in relation to ethnic backgrounds

shows that Trappers have the greatest propensity to migrate[3]. Liviers have the second greatest propensity and, the Indian population the least. However, the influence of ethnic background on these migrations is of much less importance than are the influences of technology and the physical and biological environmental influences. Most people who reside year-round in the one settlement do so either because, they are retired or disabled; they are employed on a wage basis at that site; or, because the settlement is suited as a base for both winter and summer activities.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

1. Cf. "In the 16th. century, European fishermen began to pursue the cod that frequented the waters off eastern Canada, and to settle along the shores of Newfoundland and on the southern coast of the Labrador peninsula." (Vanstone, 1966, p. 11).

2. An examination of cemetaries in many of the settlements confirm this statement, e.g. some of the earliest tombstones at Red Bay bear the names of Yetman's and Moor's, born at Carbonear, Conception Bay. Many of Red Bay's early settlers were Stationers who sold their catches to a merchant, Penny, from Carbonear who operated a summer business at Red Bay. When Penny settled permanently in this village around the middle of the nineteenth century, so did many of his followers.

3. Cf. Fox Harbour is "... inhabited by Indians, Esquimaux, and several half breed families." (Stearns, 1884, p. 288).

> "We visited American Island ... colonized during summer by a man named Williams ... Williams was distinguished from other of his countrymen by having married a full-blooded Eskimo-woman. They had no children of their own, but had adopted, strange to say, a mountaineer or Naskope Indian child." (Packard, 1891, p. 166).

4. Jenness (1965, p. 25) gives the date of the establishment of the Nachvak Fiord post at around 1831; Tanner (1944, p. 809) places it "... after 1866 or somewhat later."

5. A footnote in the 1884 census report states that "the resident population of the coast north of Indian Harbour is, with the exception of about 40 or 50 people, composed almost entirely of Esquimaux ...."

6. A French trader, Louis Fornel, established the first trading post at North West River in 1743.

7. Dated July 21, 1834.

8. This post, established by George Cartwright in 1775, was acquired by Hunt and Henly in 1815.

9. Cf. "The Settler population has a rather composite national background, but the English-speaking element, already from the beginning, was in the majority. In a mission report from Makkovik in 1906 it is stated that the district's 122 Settlers are of Norwegian, French-Canadian, Scottish, English, Irish, and Welsh origin." (Kleivan, 1966, p. 92).

Chapter III

1. The population figures given for dates after 1884 will not necessarily correspond with the official total populations of Labrador as contained in the census reports. This is because the study area does not include the whole of Labrador, e.g. population figures for Blanc Sablon, Isle au Bois and Killinek are not included here although they are included in the census reports prior to 1927. Population figures for Goose Bay and Happy Valley, after 1935, are also excluded as are those for the western mining towns and associated settlements.

2. For a list of epidemics in northern Labrador, see Jenness, 1965, p. 43-44.

3. Cf. "In spite of new mills and other new industries recently introduced, the number is not increasing. This is due partly to the fact that some return to Newfoundland to benefit by the schools and other advantages, or to escape starvation or the isolation that arises from no line of communication in the winter." (Grenfell, 1910(a), p. 178).

Chapter IV

1. 1951-52 for northern Labrador.

2. All values used in this section are calculated from statistics contained in Appendix B.

3. Mr. Georg Henrikson is presently engaged in anthropological research on the Nascaupi Indians at Davis Inlet; and, Mr. H. Anthony Williamson is conducting human geographical research at Nain, a Settler-Eskimo village. Both are attached to the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Chapter V

1. Rev. F. W. Peacock provided all data concerning the Eskimo population of Happy Valley, used in this chapter. Certain statements by him are given below to help clarify these data.

> "It must be noted that the following information is as accurate as possible but there are complications in determining the Eskimo population of Happy Valley. Eskimo girls have married White men and are now classed as White. On the other hand Eskimo men have married White girls in one or two cases and their children are considered to be Eskimo."
>
> "A widower ... or a bachelor living alone in his own home is reckoned as a family."
>
> "There are a number of single girls working on the Base who are not

accounted for in the above figures as they are living in their employer's homes." (Peacock, 1966, pers. comm.).

2. Calculated from Table 16.

3. Calculated from data contained in Tables 12 and 27. One birth, which was to an unwed girl from Nain, only temporarily residing in Happy Valley, has not been taken into account.

4. Calculated from data obtained from the Anglican Church records, Schefferville, P. Q.

5. An example of such a catastrophe affecting death rates among past Nascaupi populations could be a large forest fire completely destroying the caribou moss. This would cause the caribou herds to leave the area and thus deprive the Nascaupi of their main food source and, conceivably cause widespread starvation.

Chapter VI

1. Percentages given in this section concerning the portion of regional populations which migrate between summer and winter stations are calculated from data contained in Appendix C, Section 1.

2. Data pertaining to populations at Arctic char fishing stations during 1965 and 1966 were collected by the author. Data concerning the 1967 season were provided by Mr. Peter Smith (1967, pers. comm.).

3. In 1965 char fishermen received 16¢ per pound for red char and 12¢ per pound for pale, as compared with 35¢ per pound being paid for salmon.

4. Calculated from data contained in Appendix C, Section 2.

5. Calculated from data contained in Table 39 and Appendix C, Section 2.

Chapter VII

1. For a discussion of welfare payments and incomes resulting from cod, salmon and char fishing and sealing activities, see Summers (1966).

2. This includes spring sealing.

3. This does not take into account the Trappers of North West River and Mud Lake who have accepted wage employment in the Goose Bay area.

APPENDIX A

LOCATION OF SETTLEMENTS OCCUPIED IN 1965-66

Introduction

The nine maps contained in this appendix show the location of all except nine of the settlements occupied during 1965-66. Figure A1 provides an index to the maps which follow. Figures A2-A9 show the location of the individual settlements. Such a set of maps are considered necessary in a study of this sort because many of the settlements located on them have not appeared on any published maps or charts.

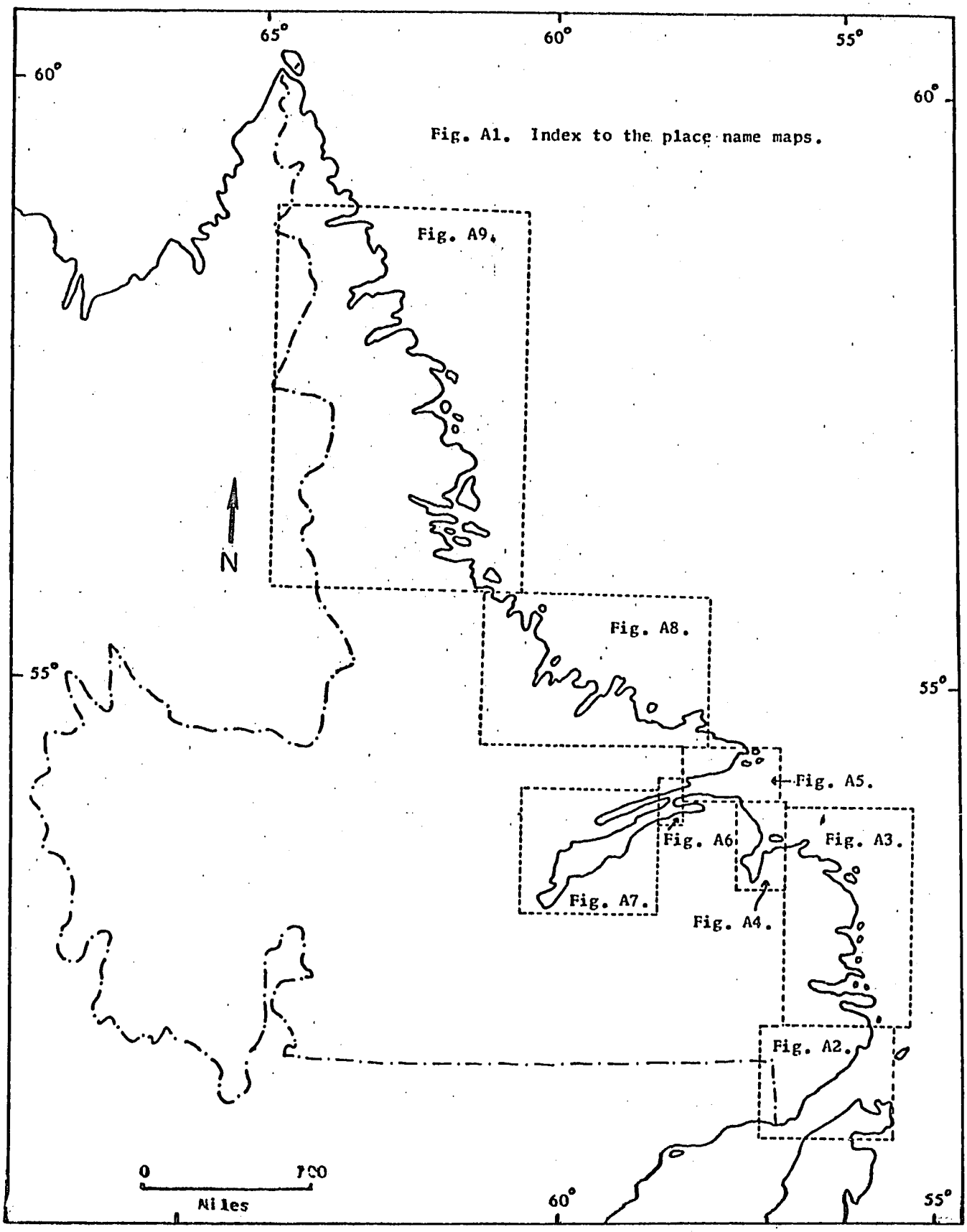
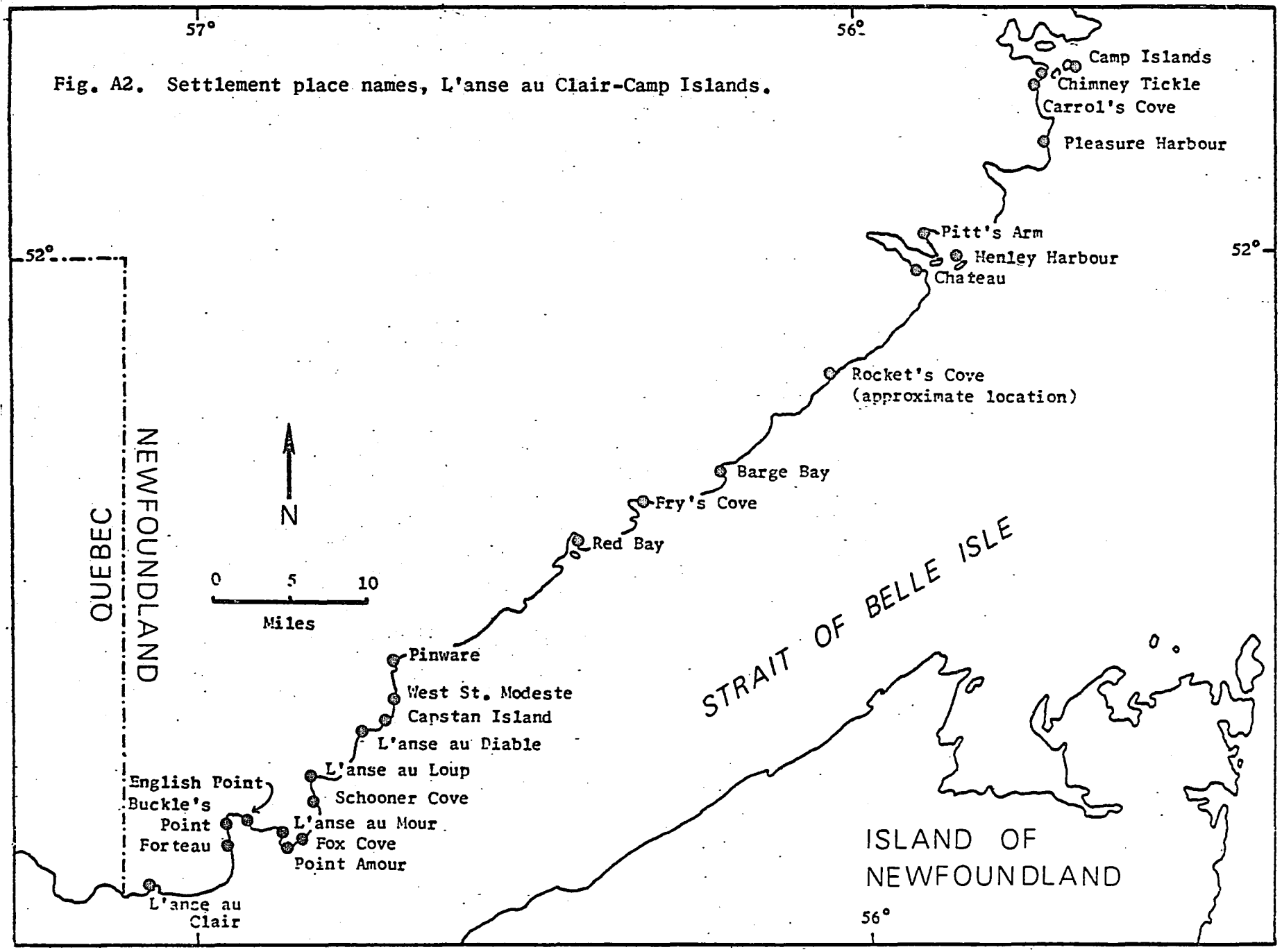


Fig. A1. Index to the place name maps.

Fig. A2. Settlement place names, L'anse au Clair-Camp Islands.



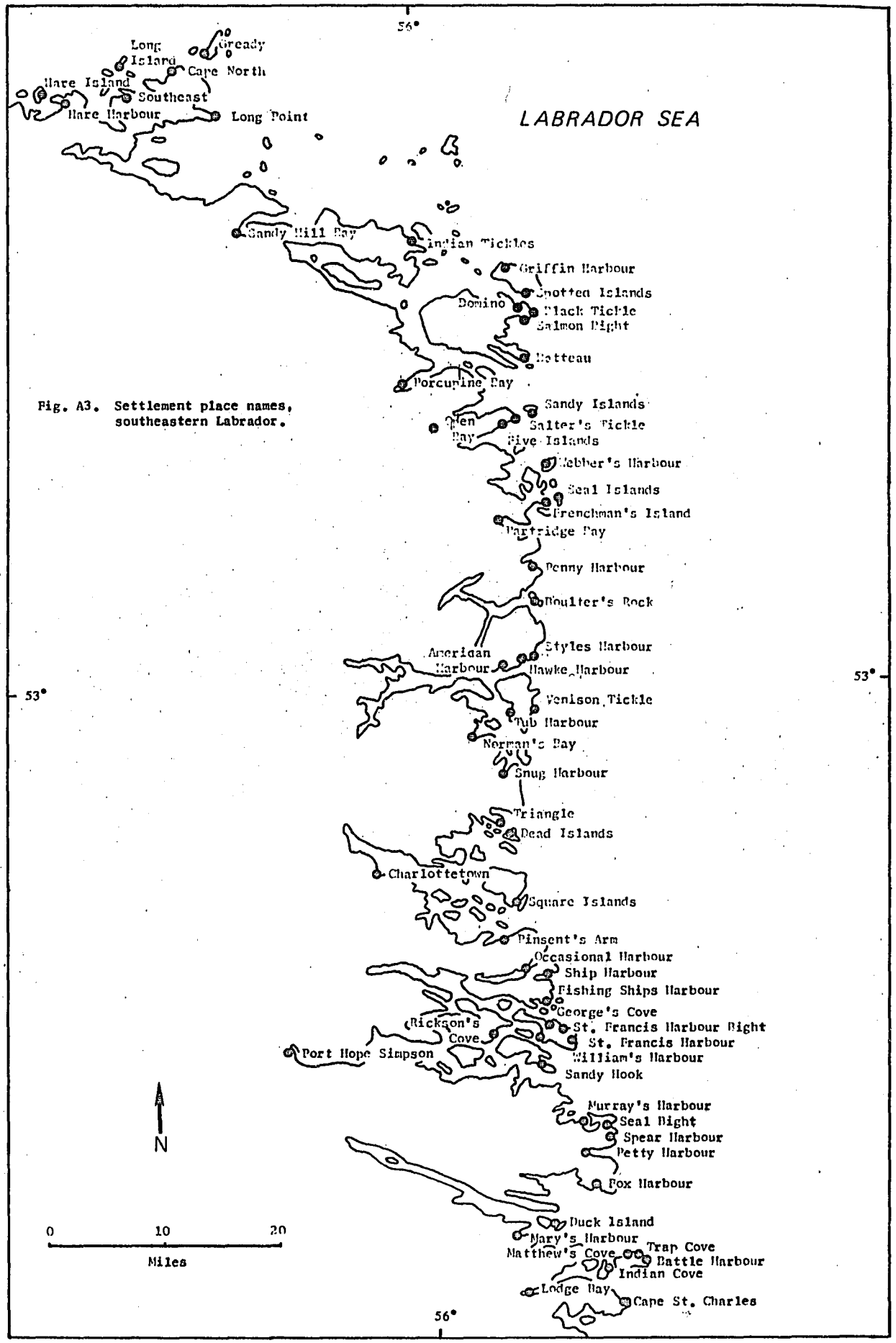


Fig. A3. Settlement place names, southeastern Labrador.

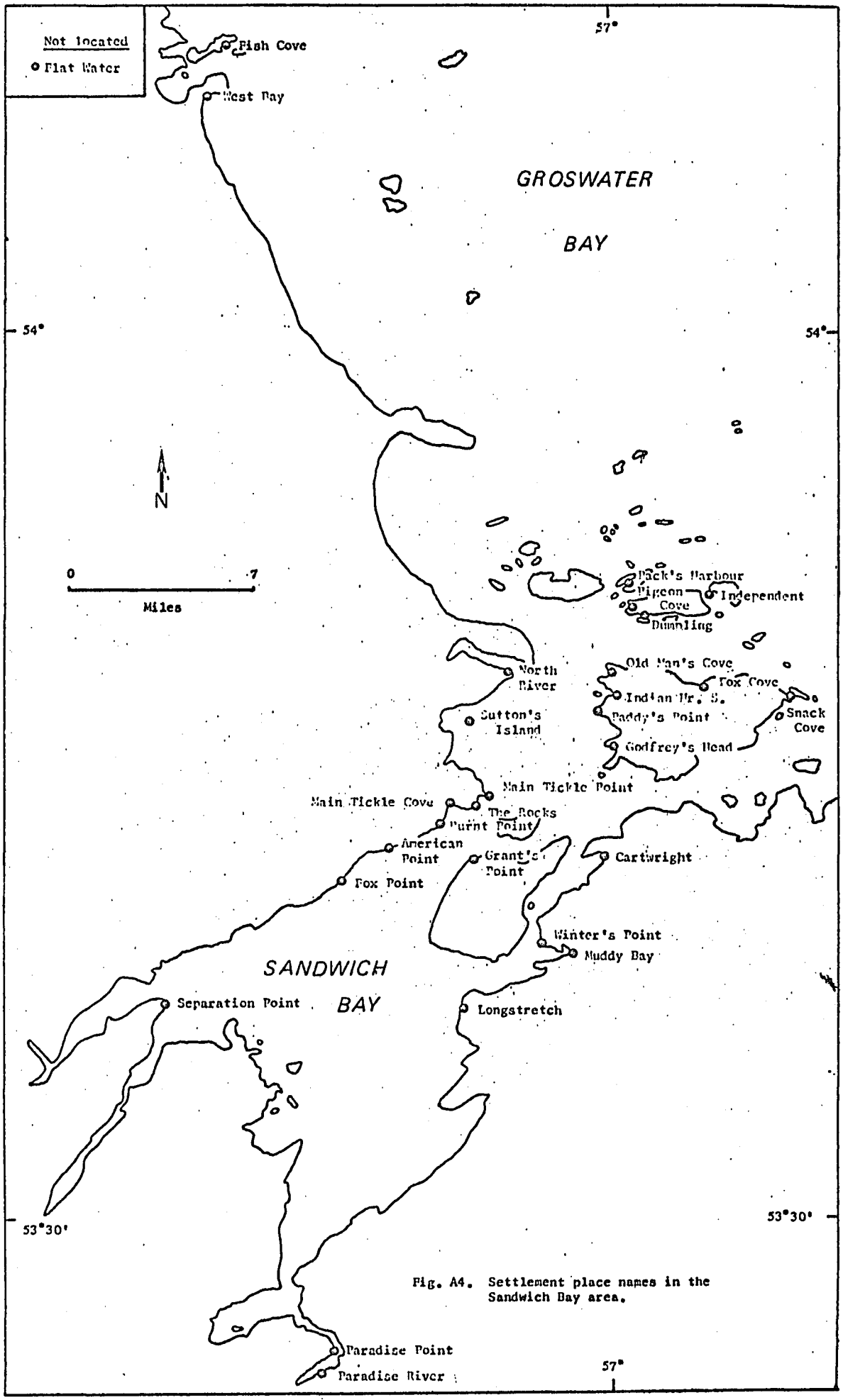
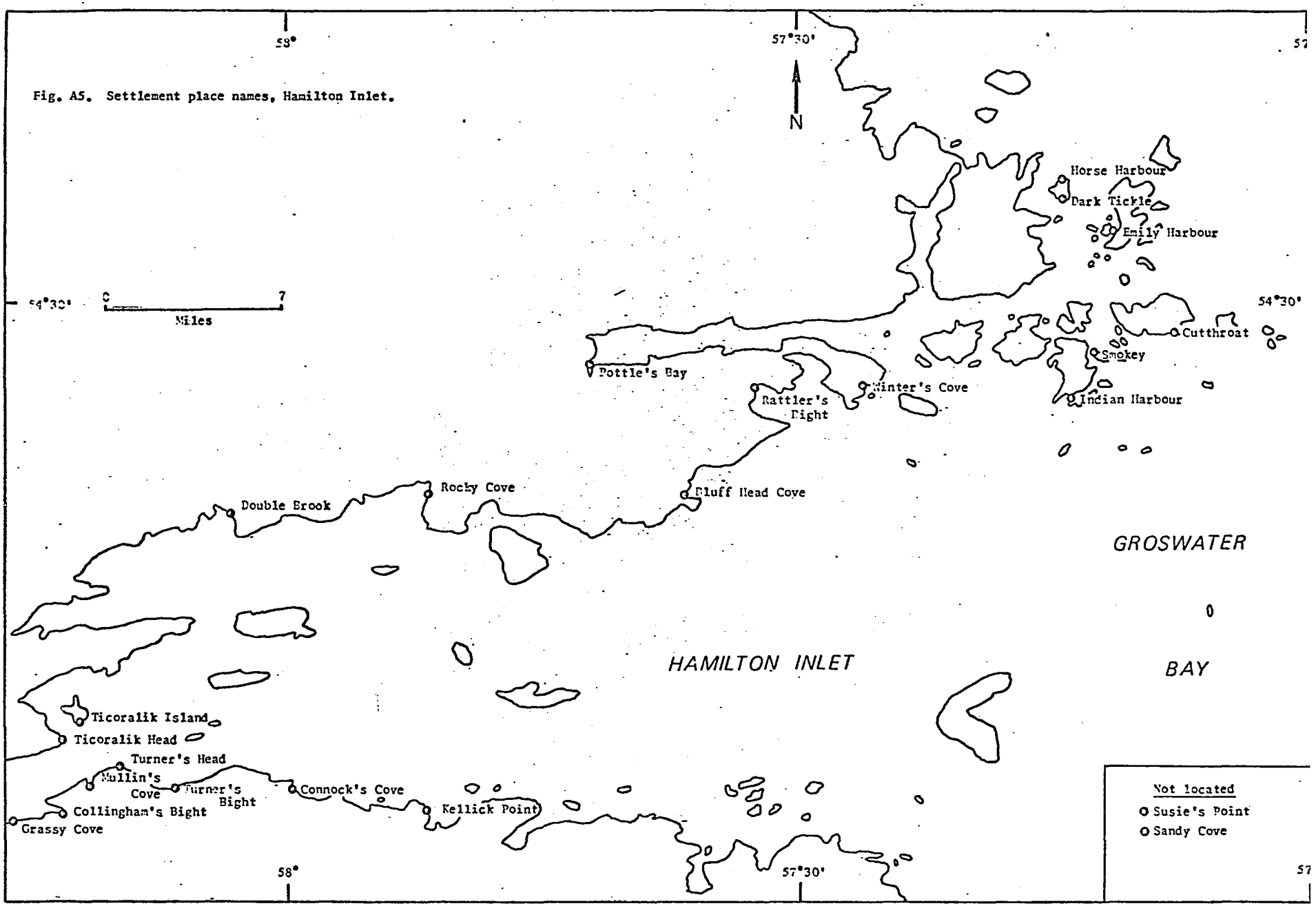


Fig. A4. Settlement place names in the Sandwich Bay area.

Fig. A5. Settlement place names, Hamilton Inlet.



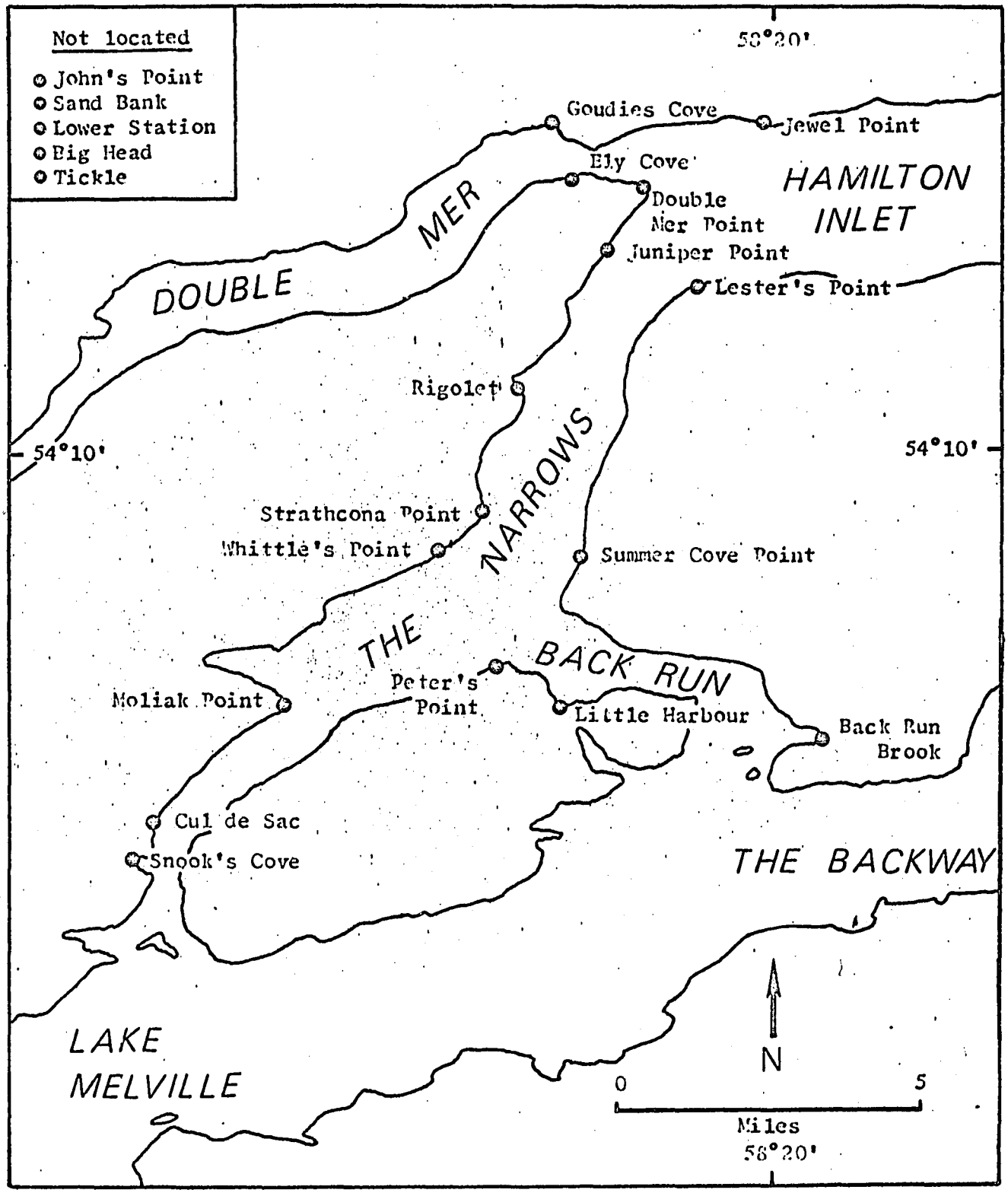


Fig. A6. Settlement place names in the Rigolet area.

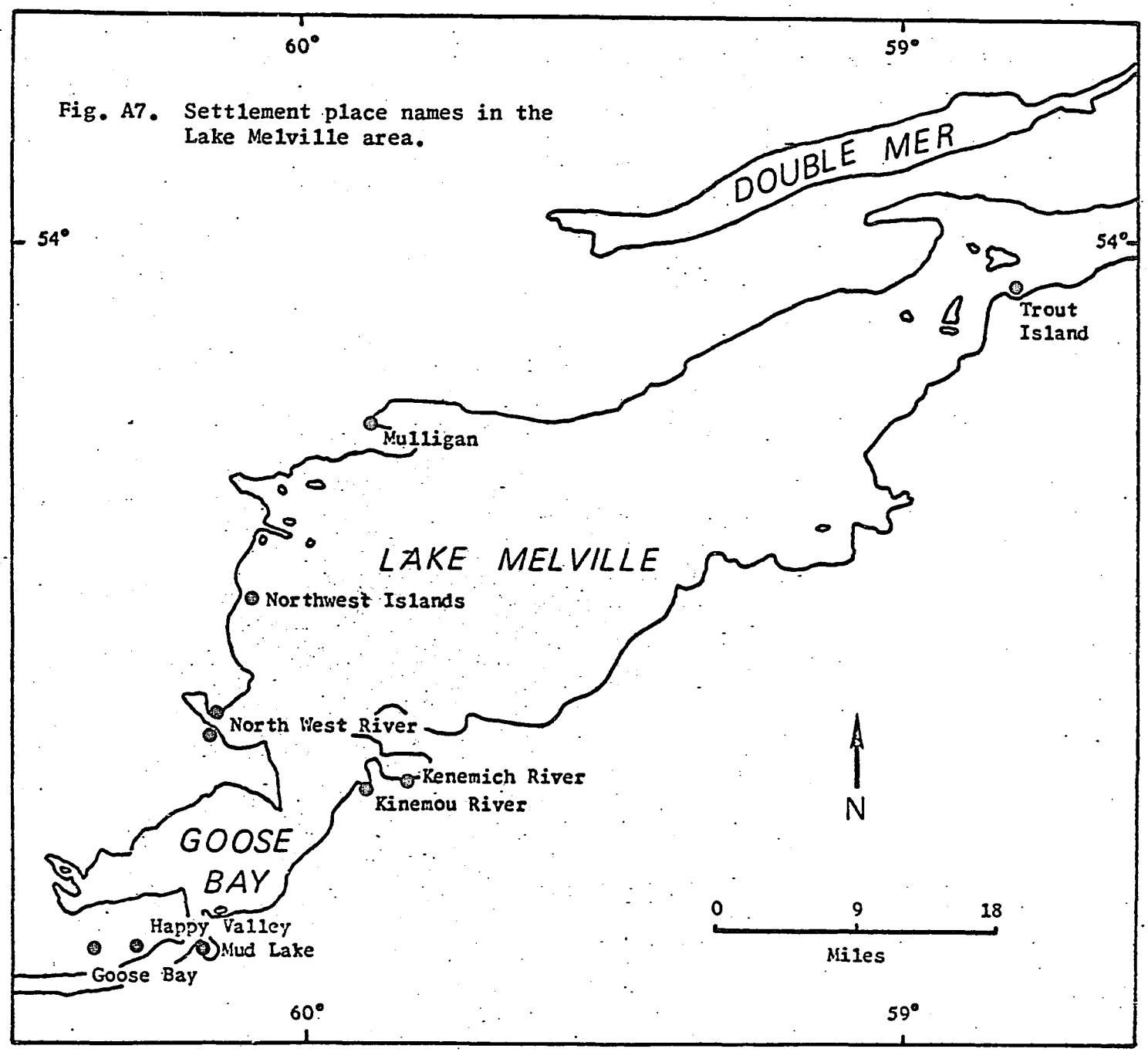


Fig. A7. Settlement place names in the Lake Melville area.

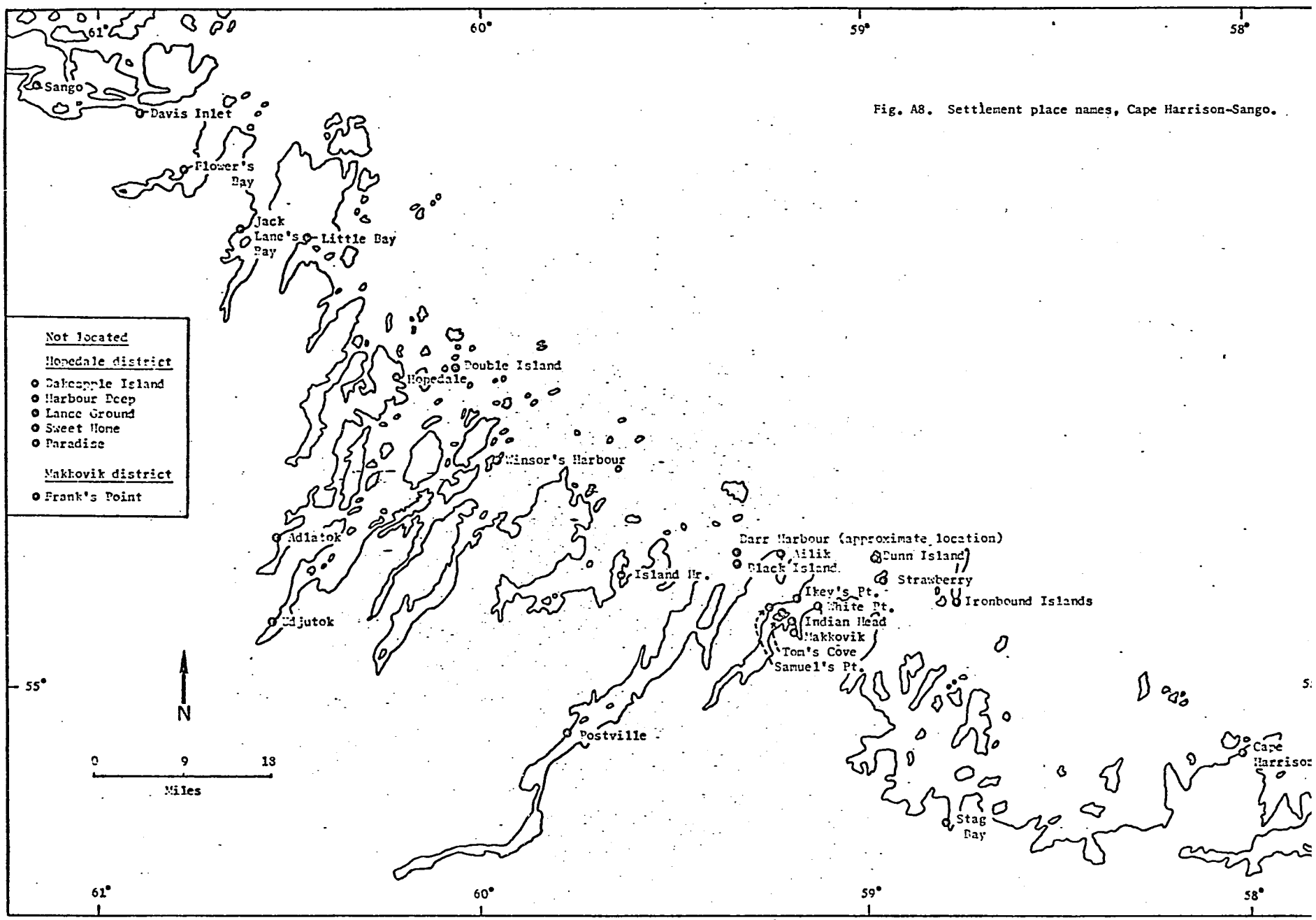


Fig. A8. Settlement place names, Cape Harrison-Sango.

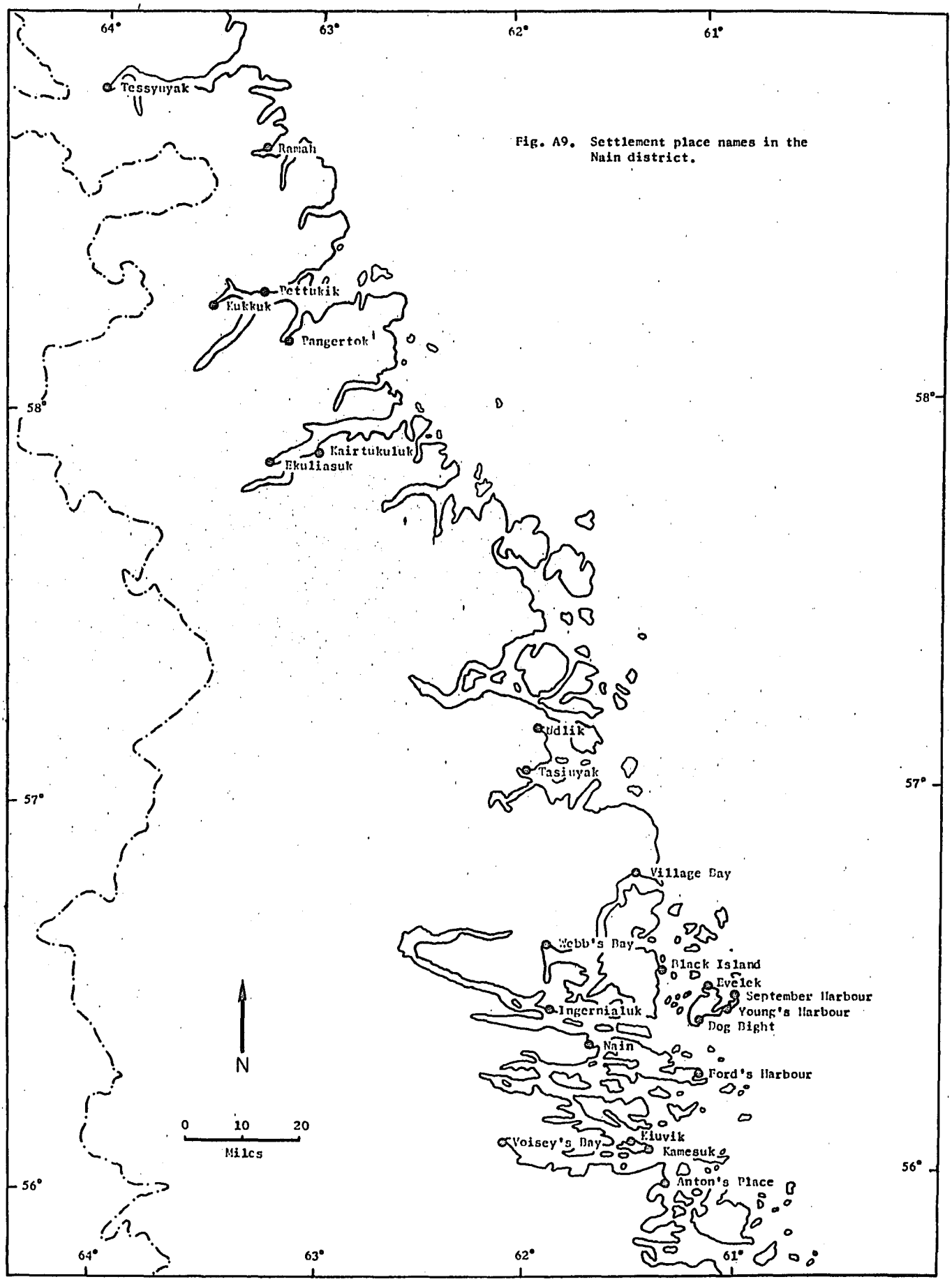


Fig. A9. Settlement place names in the Nain district.

APPENDIX B

TOTAL POPULATION BY SETTLEMENT, 1884-1966

Introduction

This appendix is divided into two sections. Section 1 provides the total population figures for all settlements, within the boundaries of the study area, from 1884 to 1966. Section 2 presents those available for Labrador settlements which are excluded from the present area of study.

The table headings of Section 1 require some explanation. All values given under '1884' to '1945', inclusive, '1956' and '1961' derive from the Censuses of Newfoundland and Censuses of Canada and all pertain to the specified year. Two entries are made under '1951', i.e. those which derive from the 1951 Census of Canada and are given under 'C'; and, those provided by Black (1957) and entered under 'B'. Although the latter are shown as pertaining to 1951, the figures for southeastern Labrador and Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville are for 1950-51, and those for northern Labrador are for 1951-52. The season to which the official census data apply is not known, but Black's data (1951 B) pertain to winter. The 1965 entries relate to summer 1965, with the exceptions of Kenemich River, Kinemou River, North West River, Cape Harrison, Island Harbour, Nain, Black Island, September Harbour, Evelek, Young's Harbour, Dog Bight, Ford's Harbour, Anton's Place, Kamesuk, Ekuliasuk, Kairtukuluk, Kukkuk, Pettukik, Pangertok, Ramah and Tessyuyak, which pertain to 1966. The 1965 entries under 'S' provide the Stationer population at each settlement; and, those under 'R' the population residing year-round in Labrador, i.e. Liviers, Trappers, Settlers, Indians and Eskimos. A total of entries under 'S' and 'R' would give the total population at the settlements during the summer fishing season. The entries

made under 1965-66 specify the population at each settlement during winter. The values given for Ublik, Kiuvik, Webb's Bay, Village Bay, Ingernialuk, and Tasiuyuk under 1965-66 are approximate figures provided by Williamson (1966, pers. comm.) and pertain to the winter of 1964-65, instead of 1965-66. All other entries for 1965 and 1965-66 are from a census conducted by the author.

The difficulties, encountered while working with the official census reports for Labrador, are discussed in Chapter III. The main difficulty affecting the assembly of data presented in this appendix was that a settlement would often appear in different census reports under different names. As may be seen from Section 1, most settlement place names in Labrador are composed of two terms, a specific and a generic. That the one settlement often appeared in different reports under different names was usually the result of (a) different generics being used, e.g. Head instead of Point; (b) the specifics being spelled in different ways, e.g. Frey's instead of Fry's; and (c) specifics being accompanied by a generic in some reports but not in others, e.g. Mulligan and Mulligan Bight. Often it was obvious that two or more names were but different forms of the one name and pertaining to the same settlement. Others were not quite so obvious and thus, the compilation of Section 1 required some toponymic research. However, extensive research of this type was not possible and as a result some settlements may still appear in Section 1 under different names. Some of the findings which permitted the final compilation are given below. A few of these are mere assumptions.

Place Name as Entered in Section 1	Other Forms as Entered in the Official Censuses	
	Form	Date
L'anse au Clair	St. Clair Bay	1901
Fry's Cove	Frey's Cove	1891 & 1901
Indian Cove	Indian Harbour	1884 to 1901
Mary's Harbour	St. Mary's River	1945
Boulter's Rock	Bolster's Rock	
Table Bay	Table Bay Point	1891 & 1901
Sandy Hill Bay	Sandhill	1884 to 1901
	Sandhill Bay	1911 & 1921
	Sandy Hills	1945
Gready	Grady	
Hare Island	Hare Island Cove	1901 & 1911
Paddy's Point	Paddy's Cove	1921
American Point	American Cove	1911
Paradise Point	Paradise Arm	1945
Bluff Head Cove	Bluff Head	1935
Salt Pond	Saltwater Pond	1935
Caravalla	Carawalla	
Mullin's Cove	Mulling's Cove	1911
Jewel Point	Jule's Point	1911
Moliak Point	Mulliak	1911
	Mullock	1921
	Mulliock	1935
Back Run Brook	Back Run	1921
Goudies Cove	Goudies Bight	1901
Traverspine	Traver's Pin	
Big Head	Big Point	1901
Sebasquasto	Sebasquasha Bight	1901 & 1911
Kenemich River	Kinnemesh	
Mulligan	Mulligan Bight	
Rigolet	Rigolette	
Double Mer	Double Mare; Double Mere	
Wolfrey's Point	Woodfrey's Point	1911
Adlatok	Allatok Bay	1935
Itibliasuk	Ittiblearsuk	1921
	Itibliarsuk	1935
Kamesuk	Karmarsuk	1935
Udjutok	Ugjuktok Bay	1921
Jack Lane's Bay	Big Bay	1935
Amand's Cove	Aman's Cove	1935
Makkovik	Maggovick	1901

Note: In the 1901 census report, Makkovik also includes Turnavik; and, Hopedale includes Davis Inlet.

In addition to the above, there were many other changes which have not been recorded.

Section 1. Population distribution by settlement, 1884-1966.

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
L'anse au Clair	86	79	120	114	100	100	141	152	dm	180	202	-	210	210
Forteau	111	103	178	177	134	229	164	192	dm	223	232	-	240	240
Buckle's Point	-	-	-	-	30	-	30	-	dm	-	-	-	52	52
English Point	-	-	-	-	27	-	62	53	dm	58	98	-	98	98
L'anse au Mour	-	12	-	16	14	45	36	17	dm	12	-	-	32	32
Point Amour	-	-	-	10	11	-	12	9	dm	11	23	-	10	10
Fox Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dm	9	12	-	12	12
L'anse au Loup	68	78	86	103	106	162	217	268	dm	291	343	-	335	350
Schooner Cove	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	dm	-	-	-	7	-
Capstan Island	39	23	17	19	20	29	39	48	dm	48	55	-	57	57
L'anse au Diable	25	27	25	29	48	42	40	44	dm	42	58	-	68	68
West St. Modeste	97	92	120	124	75	78	73	91	dm	105	141	-	164	165
Pinware	36	63	51	5	25	51	77	74	dm	106	121	-	130	130
East St. Modeste	50	56	50	27	19	34	20	12	dm	12	-	-	-	-
Carroll's Cove	36	29	29	33	21	16	10	-	dm	-	-	-	-	-
Red Bay	131	152	128	109	114	135	159	183	dm	207	261	-	227	282
Fry's Cove	-	9	7	12	19	24	-	-	dm	-	-	-	12	-
Barge Bay	-	19	24	20	11	35	-	-	dm	25	-	-	36	-
Rockett's Cove	-	-	-	7	9	-	-	-	dm	-	-	2	-	-
Chateau	41	15	22	28	16	-	-	-	dm	-	-	15	3	-
Henley Harbour	45	20	37	48	55	57	51	85	dm	78	80	15	65	-
Pitt's Arm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dm	-	-	-	-	59
Pleasure Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dm	-	-	9	2	-
Carrol's Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dm	-	-	5	15	-
Chimney Tickle	8	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	dm	-	-	6	-	-
Camp Islands	41	34	27	16	21	-	-	-	dm	-	-	30	5	4
Cape St. Charles	76	52	74	97	106	91	92	-	-	-	-	4	93	-
Lodge Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	82	92	79	95	-	-	102
Assizes Harbour	20	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indian Cove	74	45	29	30	33	35	46	73	71	29	-	-	60	17
Matthew's Cove	68	31	93	52	62	-	31	-	90	-	-	-	75	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Trap Cove	87	58	-	48	37	-	34	-	-	-	-	-	34	-
Battle Harbour	122	281	89	110	95	233	106	108	145	103	87	17	95	62
White Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	103	133	-	-	-
Mary's Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	18	53	83	58	212	264	-	75	283
Duck Island	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-
Green Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	24	-	-	-	-	-	-
White Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	-	-	dm	dm
Hatter's Cove	-	-	-	-	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Riverhead	-	-	-	-	-	-	82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lewis Bay	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fox Harbour	45	47	71	63	70	101	52	151	151	195	232	8	184	233
Deepwater Creek	17	10	10	23	34	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Punch Bowl	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murray's Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	13	13	-	-	-	-	6	32	-
Petty Harbour	18	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	5	-
Seal Bight	23	23	17	20	9	17	19	27	-	-	-	*	*	-
Spear Harbour	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	-
Sophia Harbour	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Little Harbour	3	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sandy Hook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	34	-
Alexis River	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Port Hope Simpson	-	-	-	-	-	-	352	252	222	311	402	-	253	489
Rickson's Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	39	39	33	33	-	-	41
William's Harbour	12	13	29	23	24	28	-	-	-	-	-	2	60	-
St. Francis Hr.	6	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	7	-
St. Francis Hr. Bight	38	8	-	7	-	31	-	-	-	-	-	5	25	-
George's Cove	-	25	46	49	61	83	-	27	-	38	10	2	94	-
Fishing Ship's Harbour	-	-	-	-	6	6	6	-	-	-	-	10	14	-
Sloop Cove	4	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ship Harbour	10	-	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	5	18	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Occasional Hr.	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	9	-
Scrammy	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pinsent's Arm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	42
Square Islands	30	33	63	20	20	22	-	-	-	-	-	4	94	3
Nowlan's Harbour	14	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tub Harbour	7	7	3	-	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	12	-
Charlottetown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	103	21	-	-	146
Newtown	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	44	36	12	-	-	-	-
White Bear Arm	-	-	29	5	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dead Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	8	-
Triangle	-	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	2	44	-
Snug Harbour	10	17	6	4	-	8	-	11	-	-	-	16	19	-
Venison Tickle	86	69	36	23	26	30	-	-	-	-	-	45	7	-
Hawke Harbour	-	10	7	3	-	11	14	30	27	18	-	2	9	-
American Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
Styles Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
Boulter's Rock	26	33	42	48	49	43	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-
Penny Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
Comfort Bight	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	13	-	-	-	-	-
Salt Pond	10	-	-	-	3	3	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seal Islands	65	67	79	26	57	70	-	-	-	22	-	1	51	-
Trout Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
Gilbert's Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kerry Cove	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Norman's Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	12	12	25	18	-	-	19
Hawke's Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	9	-	-	-	-	-
St. Michael's Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	22	24	-	-	-	-	-
Caplin Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Big Island	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shell Island	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ferrel Island	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hill's Harbour	-	-	-	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Burn's Harbour	-	-	-	12	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Salmon Point	-	27	17	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shoal Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	-	80	-	-	-	-	-
Shoal Tickle	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Roache's Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mussel Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	38	9	-	-	-	-
Bill's Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	41	9	-	-	-	-
Frenchman's Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	6	-	11	12	15	2	8
Partridge Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	17	32	-	-	43
Black Bear Bay	12	15	2	-	-	7	8	7	14	5	-	-	-	-
Webber's Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	-	-
Salter's Tickle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-
Sandy Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dm	-	-
Five Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-
Batteau	-	-	5	30	33	63	63	15	-	40	-	19	97	56
Reed's Pond	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	-	-
Open Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	28	22	12	-	-	15
Salmon Bight	-	-	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	24	78	42
Black Tickle	-	10	-	18	33	40	59	23	32	73	30	24	30	29
Porcupine Bay & Little Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	53	66	85	-	-	103
Domino	15	2	13	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-
Spotted Islands	75	67	59	74	71	88	45	-	-	70	64	7	140	-
Griffin Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-
Saddler's Arm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-
Savage Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
Red Point	-	-	7	6	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fox Bight	-	-	19	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Otter Brook	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fox Island	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Red Island	-	-	-	-	5	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Red Island Brook	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Campbell's Cove	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennock's Cove	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pigeon Cove	-	-	-	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indian Islands	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flat Island	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Green Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indian Tickle	30	-	6	13	12	27	-	-	-	-	-	57	8	-
Sandy Hill Bay	16	20	9	9	8	-	7	10	9	-	-	-	4	-
Long Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Table Bay	15	7	14	5	-	-	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mullin's Cove	15	9	14	15	5	16	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gready	7	10	-	7	14	11	-	-	-	-	-	80	8	-
Long Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-
Cape North	-	-	2	20	23	33	-	-	-	-	-	14	17	-
Southeast	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	22	-
Hare Harbour	-	-	-	13	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-
Hare Island	-	-	8	13	5	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
Cartwright	-	-	3	49	87	148	183	244	165	359	493	-	271	616
Winter's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Muddy Bay	-	-	21	-	-	5	12	21	20	5	-	-	8	-
Muddy Bay Orphanage	-	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Longstretch	-	-	8	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Paradise River	-	-	74	7	16	-	112	115	114	114	161	-	2	134
Paradise Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	17	-	-	-	-	9	-
Separation Point	-	-	20	15	10	31	51	34	29	44	10	-	49	6
Dove Brook	-	-	27	-	-	-	46	22	43	4	-	-	-	-
Fox Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Goose Cove	-	-	15	-	-	-	48	51	43	76	-	-	-	-
Dyke's Bay	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cooper's Cove	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eagle River	-	-	12	8	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
White Bear River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7	-	-	-	-	-
Bobby Joy's Brook	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	22	-	12	-	-	-	-
Barron Brook	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
American Point	-	-	11	1	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Burnt Point	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Grant's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Main Tickle Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	7	-	-	-	2	-
Main Tickle Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
The Rocks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Sutton's Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Sandwich Bay	301	318	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North River	-	-	20	18	4	5	12	14	31	24	-	-	3	24
Flatwater (Bk.)	-	-	7	15	-	15	11	-	18	22	-	-	-	1
Godfrey's Head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Paddy's Point	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Indian Harbour S.	-	-	7	10	9	7	21	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Old Man's Cove	-	-	-	10	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Fox Cove	-	-	-	9	2	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Pack's Harbour	-	-	-	29	27	128	-	-	-	-	-	19	106	-
Pigeon Cove	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	14	-
Dumpling	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	64	19	-
Snack Cove	-	-	-	55	24	16	-	-	-	-	-	6	14	-
Independent	-	-	-	35	14	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	-
West Bay	-	-	18	27	10	31	-	33	7	18	23	-	37	-
Fish Cove	-	-	-	6	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Cape Porcupine	-	-	4	6	-	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rabbit Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	18	-	-	-	-	-
Plant's Bight	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	13	-	-	-	-	-
Capsan Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gitter's Bight	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woody Point	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clance Bight	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Gillisport	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
West Passage	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chance Cove	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barachois	-	-	-	-	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tinker Harbour	-	-	11	12	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lance Cove	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Big Island	-	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mark's Tickle	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seal Cove	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nunwark	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hannoick	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pottle's Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	18	12	-	-	-	3
Rattler's Bight	-	-	11	18	14	10	10	8	9	4	-	-	23	4
Winter's Cove	-	-	19	14	25	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Bluff Head Cove	-	-	15	23	13	5	19	16	-	3	-	5	17	-
Rocky Cove	-	-	9	-	6	10	25	-	13	15	-	-	-	13
Ticoralik Head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	7	-	3	-
Ticoralik Island	-	-	12	25	19	-	31	-	14	-	-	-	5	-
Jewel Point	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Goudies Cove	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	4
Double Mer	-	-	14	10	28	26	9	-	1	-	-	-	5	8
Mullin's Cove	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Ely Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Grassy Cove	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Lester's Point	-	-	11	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Cul de Sac	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Burntwood Cove	-	-	-	-	23	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burntwood	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Little Brook	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pearl River	-	-	-	-	8	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lowlands	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Valley's Bight	-	-	9	3	-	-	5	-	7	-	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Caravalla	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Back Bay	-	-	13	-	-	-	41	-	19	-	-	-	-	-
Collingham's Bight	-	-	7	17	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Cunningham's Tickle	-	-	-	-	15	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Long Point	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pompey Head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9	-	-	-	-
Black Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Ticoralik Bight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Fox Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Big Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Middlehouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Peace Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Palliser Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
English River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-
Peter Lewis Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-
Big Bight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Northwest River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Sandy Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Rigolet	-	-	24	26	57	26	35	129	27	49	108	-	43	139
Whittle's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Moliak Point	-	-	-	10	31	25	12	-	4	-	-	-	8	-
Snook's Cove	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
Trout Island	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	1	-
Peter's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Tickle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Back Run Brook	-	-	-	-	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Big Head	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Double Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Connock's Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
John's Point	-	-	-	-	-	9	8	-	9	-	-	-	6	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Juniper Point	-	-	-	-	6	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Killick Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	1	-
Little Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Lower Station	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Sand Bank	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Strathcona Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Summer Cove Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Susie's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Turner's Head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Turner's Bight	-	-	-	6	-	21	8	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Mulligan	-	-	18	19	9	32	39	42	-	11	-	-	2	2
North West Islands	-	-	-	-	8	9	16	8	dm	10	-	-	-	6
Kenemich River	-	-	11	11	-	9	12	-	dm	-	-	-	7	-
Kinemou River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dm	-	-	-	1	-
Mud Lake	-	-	-	-	77	58	68	97	dm	122	107	-	114	115
North West River	-	-	33	57	182	209	495	511	dm	563	752	-	794	825
John Bull Island	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sebasquasto	-	-	28	47	22	30	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Butter and Snow	-	-	-	-	-	7	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grove's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Village	-	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Lake	-	-	-	7	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand River	-	-	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Traverspine	-	-	-	16	7	9	20	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mequatto River	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goose Bay[1]	-	-	7	15	9	10	15	dm	dm	dm	dm	dm	dm	dm
Shapuk Bay	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	dm	-	-	-	-	-
Hamilton Inlet	493	486	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indian Harbour N.	-	-	13	11	34	8	21	-	-	-	-	50	-	-
Cut Throat	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	-	-	14	-	4	-	-
Smokey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	-
Emily Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-6(
Dark Tickle	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-
Horse Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	-	-
Holton Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Byron's Bay	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wolfrey's Cove	-	-	-	16	14	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bob's Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cape Harrison	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8	7	-	10	-	-
Indian Harbour to Cape Harrison	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tilt Cove	-	-	-	-	4	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pamialuk	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Mannolk's Island	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Big Bight	-	-	-	-	9	15	14	5	5	-	-	-	-	-
Tessinguluk	-	-	-	-	13	31	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adlavik	-	-	-	-	7	11	12	9	9	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Bound Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-
Makkovik	21	-	132	168	32	66	74	101	101	100	168	-	248	350
Makkovik Bay	-	-	-	-	11	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Turnavick	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samuel's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
Stag Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
Strawberry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-
Tom's Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Ikey's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
Indian Head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	-
Dunn Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-
Frank's Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
White Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Postville	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	95	84	-	55	112
English River	-	-	-	-	9	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ben's Cove	-	-	-	-	8	-	6	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Tukkerarsuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Three Rapids	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
Lucyville	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	-	-	-	-	-
Little Rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Kaipokok Bay	24	-	-	-	40	41	85	80	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ailik	5	-	-	-	15	18	16	-	-	-	-	-	41	-
Barr Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Black Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Island Harbour	12	-	-	-	20	17	-	-	5	-	-	-	6	-
Hopedale	170	341	229	215	170	155	167	144	142	211	218	-	257	351
Bakeapple Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Double Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-
Harbour Deep	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Paradise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
Sweet Home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-
Winsor's Harbour	5	-	-	-	2	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Pomuakuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eskimo Point	-	-	-	-	-	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leal Cove	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tessinjaluk	-	-	-	-	-	31	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Island Harbour Bay	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tunngajohluk	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Amand's Cove	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tessuijak	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tessiujak	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lance Ground	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	11	11	-	-	-	8	-
Adlatok	8	-	-	-	-	27	14	-	15	-	-	-	1	-
Flower's Bay	-	-	-	-	6	10	-	-	7	-	-	-	2	-
Jack Lane's Bay	-	-	-	-	23	24	9	8	8	-	-	-	8	-
Little Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	2	-
Udjutok	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Davis Inlet	10	-	-	-	18	81	120	89	73	133	98	-	152	152
Daniel's Rattle	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Sango	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	4	4
Zoar	139	92	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Voisey's Bay	-	-	-	-	35	38	18	16	21	9	-	-	-	3
"Indians"	130	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kauk Bight	-	-	-	-	-	11	5	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
Paul's Island	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Itibliasuk	-	-	-	-	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Merryfield Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Kanagatok	-	-	-	-	5	7	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Pamgnanisick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
Nain	235	272	287	230	159	257	283	285	234	222	465	-	303	565
Black Island	-	-	-	-	18	15	20	16	24	15	-	-	52	-
September Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-
Oktapik Bay	-	-	-	-	6	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oktapik Point	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Langee Bay	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Loar	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Killiuck	-	-	-	106	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tikkereick Bight	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anaksarkarueck	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kikkertaujaluk	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tessinjaksoak	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Akuliakattak	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kiblikataluk	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kangardlualuk	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parnguairvik	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Evelek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	-
Young's Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	-
Dog Bight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-
Ford's Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-
Anton's Place	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	2
Kamesuk	-	-	-	-	-	10	10	10	10	-	-	-	32	18

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Nutak	-	-	-	-	-	20	66	184	32	122	-	-	-	-
Okak	311	362	396	351	21	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parkavik	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Sillutalik	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agasiarvik	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teninek	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Natan	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nakkia	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ublik	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	5
Kiuvik	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Webb's Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	15	45	-	-	14
Village Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Ingernialuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Tasiuyuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	3
Napartok Bay	-	-	-	-	11	-	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Okak Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-
Umiaktorvik	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
Han's Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Ingeganekulluk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Amitok	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Cut Throat Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	-	-
Moore's Harbour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
Ikkersaluk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-
Shark Gut Tickle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-
Kangeralukulluk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Tikkeratsuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-
Itterungnek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-
Illuilek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
Napartoksoak	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kogarsuk	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sillupat	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pitoke	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951 C.	1951 B.	1956	1961	1965 S.	1965 R.	1965-66
Nuertoravick	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bick Bay	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sivoneorvick	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hebron	207	256	211	196	72	134	166	196	150	202	189	-	-	-
Ekuliasuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	-
Kairtukulak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	-
Saglek Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	-	-	32	-	-	-	-
Kukkuk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Pettukik	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Pangertok	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
Ramah	69	64	72	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Tessyuyak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Cape Chidley	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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* included with Murray's Harbour.

1. Population figures for Goose Bay after 1945 are not included in this table, since Goose Bay does not fall within the present study area. However, all population figures available for Goose Bay and other excluded settlements are presented in Section 2 of this appendix.

Note: The figure entered for Trap Cove under 1951-B also includes the population of Matthew's Cove.

Source: Censuses of Newfoundland, 1884-1945; Censuses of Canada, 1951-1961; Black (1957); Williamson (1966, pers. comm.); and data collected by the author.

Section 2. Population of Labrador settlements[1] which are excluded from the study area.

Place Name	1945	1951	1956	1961	1966
Goose Bay	15	2,416	4,007	3,040	dm
Happy Valley	229	257	1,145	2,861	4,215
Labrador City	-	-	-	386	5,037
Wabush	-	-	-	151	dm
Ross Bay Junction	-	-	dm	123	dm
Sea Horse	-	-	dm	12	dm
Little Wabush	-	-	dm	7	dm
Oreway	-	-	dm	37	dm
Twin Falls	-	-	-	275	dm
Ashuanipi	-	-	dm	dm	dm
Emeril	-	-	dm	22	dm
Esker	-	-	dm	28	dm
Menihek	-	-	dm	dm	dm
Embar	-	-	dm	dm	dm

1. With the exception of Goose Bay and Happy Valley all are located in Western Labrador.

Source: Census of Newfoundland, 1945; Censuses of Canada, 1951-1966.

APPENDIX C

SEASONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LABRADOR'S COASTAL POPULATION, 1965-66.

Introduction

This appendix is designed to provide a detailed record of the distribution of the population of coastal Labrador, by season, for 1965-66. Section 1 contains data concerning the population residing year-round in Labrador, and Section 2, data pertaining to Stationers. A few explanatory remarks may aid interpretation of these data.

The year-round population, shown in Section 1, denote the number who live at the site of winter residence throughout the year. The winter population are those who migrate from winter quarters to summer fishing stations. For the latter group the summer stations which they occupy and the number moving to each are also provided. These data pertain to 1965, with the exception of Kenemich River, Kinemou River, Island Harbour and the summer stations occupied by people from Nain. During the summer of 1966, one family (3 people) from Makkovik lived at September Harbour, a summer station in the Nain district. However, they are entered here in the Makkovik district where they spent the summer of 1965. This explains why the population of September Harbour is given here as 47, while it appears in Appendix B, Section 1 as 50.

Section 2 shows the distribution of Stationers by place of winter residence in insular Newfoundland, and summer station in Labrador. All entries pertain to 1965.

Section 1. Seasonal distribution of population residing year-round in coastal Labrador, by site of winter residence, 1965-66.

Winter Residence	Population		Summer Station	
	Year-round	Winter	Name	No.
L'anse au Clair	210	-		
Forteau	240	-		
Buckle's Point	52	-		
English Point	98	-		
L'anse au Mour	32	-		
Point Amour	10	-		
Fox Cove	12	-		
L'anse au Loup	335	15	Schooner Cove	7
			Chateau	1
			Henley Harbour	3
			Cape St. Charles	4
L'anse au Diable	68	-		
Capstan Island	57	-		
West St. Modeste	164	1	Chateau	1
Pinware	130	-		
Red Bay	227	55	Barge Bay	36
			Fry's Cove	12
			Chateau	1
			Pleasure Harbour	2
			Cape St. Charles	3
			Pinsent's Arm	1
Pitt's Arm	-	59	Henley Harbour	59
Lodge Bay	-	102	Henley Harbour	3
			Carrol's Cove	15
			Cape St. Charles	84
Camp Islands	4	-		
Battle Harbour	61	1	Camp Islands	1
Indian Cove	17	-		
Mary's Harbour	75	208	Battle Harbour	34
			Indian Cove	43
			Matthew's Cove	75
			Trap Cove	34
			Duck Island	18
			Fox Harbour	4
Fox Harbour	180	53	Cape St. Charles	2
			Murray's Harbour & Seal Bight	23
			Petty Harbour	5
			Spear Harbour	23
Port Hope Simpson	250	239	Murray's Harbour & Seal Bight	9
			Sandy Hook	34
			William's Harbour	28
			St. Francis Harbour	7
			St. Francis Hr. Bight	25
			George's Cove	94

Section 1. (cont'd)

Winter Residence	Population Year-round	Population Winter	Summer Station Name	Summer Station No.
Port Hope Simpson (cont'd)			Fishing Ships Hr.	14
			Ship Harbour	18
			Occasional Harbour	9
			Square Island's	1
Rickson's Cove	-	41	William's Harbour	32
			Port Hope Simpson	3
			Goose Bay	6
Pinsent's Arm	16	26	Square Island's	26
Square Island's	3	-		
Charlottetown	-	146	Pinsent's Arm	1
			Square Island's	64
			Dead Islands	8
			Triangle	44
			Tub Harbour	12
			Venison Tickle	7
			Hawke Harbour	9
			Seal Islands	1
Norman's Bay	-	19	Snug Harbour	19
Frenchman's Island	-	8	Seal Islands	8
Partridge Bay	-	43	Frenchman's Island	2
			Seal Islands	41
Batteau	56	-		
Black Tickle	28	1	Batteau	1
Open Bay	-	15	Batteau	15
Porcupine Bay & Little Harbour	-	103	Batteau	25
			Salmon Bight	36
			Black Tickle	2
			Spotted Island's	40
Salmon Bight	42	-		
Cartwright	271	345	Spotted Island's	53
			Seal Islands	1
			Indian Tickle	8
			Sandy Hill Bay	4
			Long Point	6
			Gready	8
			Cape North	17
			Southeast	22
			Hare Island	12
			Hare Harbour	18
			Longstretch	6
			Muddy Bay	8
			Grant's Point	4
			Winter's Point	2
			Fox Point	4
			American Point	1
			Burnt Point	5

Section 1. (cont'd)

Winter Residence	Population		Summer Station	
	Year-round	Winter	Name	No.
Cartwright (cont'd)			Main Tickle Cove	2
			The Rocks	6
			Main Tickle Point	11
			Sutton's Island	7
			Separation Point	12
			Pack's Harbour	49
			Pigeon Cove	14
			Dumpling	15
			Snack Cove	14
			Old Man's Cove	11
			Godfrey's Head	5
			Paddy's Point	5
			North River	2
			Fox Cove	11
			Fish Cove	2
Paradise River	2	132	Separation Point	31
			Pack's Harbour	57
			Dumpling	4
			Independent	31
			Paradise Point & Cartwright	9
Separation Point	6	-		
Flatwater (Bk.)	-	1	North River	1
North River	-	24	West Bay	24
Rigolet	43	96	West Bay	13
			Rattler's Bight	14
			Double Brook	1
			Juniper Point	4
			Killick Point	1
			Connock's Cove	6
			Turner's Bight	7
			Turner's Head	3
			Susie's Point	4
			Mullin's Cove	6
			Tickle	6
			John's Point	6
			Strathcona Point	5
			Moliak Point	3
			Sand Bank	5
			Summer Cove Point	6
			Back Run Brook	3
			Big Head	1
			Little Harbour	1
			Lower Station	1
Rattler's Bight	-	4	Winter's Cove	4
Double Mer	5	3	Bluff Head Cove	3
Sandy Cove	-	4	Bluff Head Cove	4

Section 1. (cont'd)

Winter Residence	Population Year-round	Population Winter	Summer Station Name	Summer Station No.
Rocky Cove	-	13	Bluff Head Cove	2
			Ticoralak Island	5
			Ticoralak Head	3
			Collingham Bight	3
Pottle's Bay	-	3	Bluff Head Cove	3
Goudie's Cove	-	4	Jewel Point	1
			Ely Cove	3
Happy Valley	dm	c.50	Spotted Island's	c.24
			Indian Harbour S.	3
			Rattler's Bight	9
			Bluff Head Cove	5
			Collingham Bight	1
			Grassy Cove	7
			Jack Lane's Bay	1
Mulligan	2	-		
North West Islands	-	6	Snook's Cove	6
North West River	794	31	Lester's Point	2
			Whittle's Point	1
			Moliak Point	5
			Cul de Sac	4
			Snook's Cove	2
			Trout Island	1
			Peter's Point	3
			Kenemich River	6
			Kinemou River	1
			Island Harbour	6
Mud Lake	114	1	Kenemich River	1
Makkovik	248	102	Samuel's Point	12
			Stag Bay	8
			Strawberry	15
			Tom's Cove	5
			Ikey's Point	12
			Makkovik Harbour	7
			Indian Head	22
			Dunn Island	13
			Frank's Point	1
			White Point	7
Postville	55	57	Ailik	41
			Barr Harbour	6
			Black Island	10
Hopedale	257	94	Bakeapple Island	4
			Double Island	21
			Harbour Deep	1
			Paradise	20
			Sweet Home	15
			Winsor's Harbour	11
			Lance Ground	8

Section 1. (cont'd)

Winter Residence	Population		Summer Station	
	Year-round	Winter	Name	No.
Hopedale (cont'd)			Adlatok	1
			Flower's Bay	2
			Jack Lane's Bay	7
			Little Bay	2
			Udjutok	2
Sango	4	-		
Davis Inlet[1]	152	-		
Voisey's Bay	-	3	Nain	3
Kamesuk	10	8	Nain	8
Kiuvik	-	12	Nain	12
Anton's Place	1	1	Nain	1
Nain[2]	c.249	c.316	Black Island	52
			September Harbour	47
			Evelek	16
			Young's Harbour	46
			Dog Bight	15
			Ford's Harbour	14
			Anton's Place	24
			Kamesuk	22
			Ekuliasuk	17
			Kairtukuluk	16
			Kukkuk	6
			Pettukik	10
			Pangertok	20
			Ramah	5
			Tessyuyak	6
Webb's Bay	-	14	Nain	14
Ingernialuk	-	4	Nain	4
Village Bay	-	4	Nain	4
Ublik	-	5	Nain	5
Tasiuyuk	-	3	Nain	3

1. This does not account for extended hunting trips in the interior during winter.

2. The population given for Nain during winter makes no allowance for the fact that around 50 people were at Harp seal netting stations from mid-November to early January.

Source: Williamson (1966, pers. comm.) for some of the data pertaining to the Nain district; and, data collected by the author.

Section 2. Distribution of the Stationer population by site of winter residence and summer station, 1965.

Winter Residence	No.	Summer Station Name	No.
Corner Brook	37	Rockett's Cove	2
		Chateau	3
		Henley Harbour	1
		Pleasure Harbour	3
		Camp Islands	24
		Cape St. Charles	4
Norris Point	6	Chateau	1
		Henley Harbour	5
Total, Western Newfoundland	43		
Plum Point	1	St. Francis Harbour	1
Daniel's Harbour	1	Triangle	1
St. Anthony	1	Batteau	1
St. Leonards	11	Indian Tickles	11
Hare Bay	1	Sandy Hook	1
Main Brook	12	Indian Tickles	12
Englee	6	Battle Harbour	6
Total, Great Northern Peninsula	33		
Westport	1	Ship Harbour	1
Fleur de Lys	2	Penny's Harbour	2
Other, White Bay	2	Frenchman's Island	2
Total, White Bay	5		
Lushes Bight	6	Fishing Ships Harbour	1
		Bluff Head Cove	5
Miles Cove	3	Pigeon Cove	3
Card's Harbour	23	Dumpling	23
Triton, Card's Harbour, Jim's Cove, Lushes Bight, and Beaumont	68	Gready	68
Birchy Bay	1	Dead Islands	1
Leading Tickles	4	Pack's Harbour	4
Pilley's Island	19	Triangle	1
		Tub Harbour	3
		Pack's Harbour	3
		Pigeon Cove	9
		Dumpling	3

Section 2. (cont'd)

Winter Residence	No.	Summer Station Name	No.
Springdale	7	Occasional Harbour	7
Robert's Arm	15	Occasional Harbour	8
		Pack's Harbour	7
Lewisporte	1	George's Cove	1
Herring Neck	4	Fox Harbour	2
		Square Island's	2
Twillingate	47	William's Harbour	1
		Gready	11
		Long Island	3
		Dumpling	26
		Snack Cove	6
Other, Notre Dame Bay	9	Frenchman's Island	4
		Iron Bound Islands	4
		Gready	1
Total, Notre Dame Bay	207		
Greenspond	6	Snug Harbour	6
Hare Bay	4	St. Francis Hr. Bight	4
Glovertown	26	Iron Bound Islands	26
St. Brendan's	47	Black Tickle	15
		Domino	12
		Griffin Harbour	20
Sandringham	5	Square Island's	1
		Snug Harbour	3
		Dumpling	1
Burnside	2	Dumpling	2
St. Chad's	2	Dumpling	2
Princeton	1	Fox Harbour	1
Bonavista	3	Fishing Ships Harbour	3
Other, Bonavista Bay	3	Fox Harbour	3
Total, Bonavista Bay	99		
Little Catalina	1	Fishing Ships Harbour	1
Port Rexton	1	Fishing Ships Harbour	1
Random Island	5	Henley Harbour	5
Hant's Harbour	1	Battle Harbour	1
Heart's Desire	1	Salmon Bight	1
Other, Trinity Bay	1	Fox Harbour	1
Total, Trinity Bay	10		

Section 2. (cont'd)

Winter Residence	No.	Summer Station Name	No.
Brian's Cove	18	Pleasure Harbour	6
		Five Islands	12
Coley's Point	8	Henley Harbour	3
		Fishing Ships Harbour	1
		Occasional Harbour	2
		Long Island	2
Bay Roberts	18	Occasional Harbour	6
		Dumpling	7
		Pack's Harbour	5
Harbour Grace	15	Carrol's Cove	5
		Chimney Tickle	6
		Camp Islands	3
		Hawke Harbour	1
Clarke's Beach	62	Webber's Cove	10
		Black Tickle	6
		Salmon Bight	23
		Domino	2
		Cape North	14
		Indian Tickle	7
Red Head Cove	1	Battle Harbour	1
Bacon Cove	4	American Harbour	4
North River	1	Salter's Tickle	1
South River	1	Spotted Island's	1
Georgetown	2	Smokey	2
Cupids	6	Spotted Island's	6
Conception Harbour	1	Smokey	1
Western Bay	12	Indian Tickles	12
Gull Island	2	Dead Islands	2
Salmon Cove	1	Batteau	1
Carbonear, Victoria, and Blackhead	146	Chateau	11
		Henley Harbour	1
		Camp Islands	2
		Battle Harbour	9
		William's Harbour	1
		St. Francis Harbour	9
		St. Francis Hr. Bight	1
		Fishing Ships Harbour	1
		Ship Harbour	3
		Square Island's	1
		Dead Islands	1
		Snug Harbour	7
		Venison Tickle	45
		Style's Harbour	5
		Boulter's Rock	8
		Frenchman's Island	5
		Batteau	15

Section 2. (cont'd)

Winter Residence	No.	Summer Station Name	No.
Carbonear, Victoria, and Blackhead (cont'd)		Indian Tickles	14
		Southeast	7
Upper Island Cove	81	Hawke Harbour	1
		Boulter's Rock	5
		Webber's Cove	24
		Salter's Tickle	1
		Five Islands	29
		Indian Harbour N.	11
		Smokey	1
		Dark Tickle	5
		Cut Throat	4
Shearstown	3	George's Cove	1
		Fishing Ships Harbour	1
		Smokey	1
Port de Grave	6	Black Tickle	3
		Long Island	3
Bay de Verde	3	Ship Harbour	1
		Batteau	2
Brigus	32	Penny's Harbour	4
		Indian Harbour N.	22
		Smokey	6
Bishop's Cove	12	Salter's Tickle	6
		Horse Harbour	1
		Emily Harbour	5
Spaniard's Bay	127	Fishing Ships Harbour	1
		Salter's Tickle	5
		Five Islands	9
		Indian Harbour N.	17
		Smokey	18
		Dark Tickle	19
		Emily Harbour	25
		Horse Harbour	33
Other, Conception Bay	17	Murray's Harbour & Seal Bight	6
		Petty Harbour	6
		Frenchman's Island	4
		Indian Tickle	1
Total, Conception Bay	579		
St. John's	3	Camp Islands	1
		Fox Harbour	1
		Petty Harbour	1
Other insular Newfoundland	1	Seal Islands	1
TOTAL	980		

Source: Data collected by the author.

APPENDIX D

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS BY SEX AND SETTLEMENT

Introduction

This appendix provides the occupational distribution of the population, aged 18 years and over, residing year-round in coastal Labrador. The data, presented by settlement and region, are divided into two sections. Section 1 shows the occupational distribution of the male population; and, Section 2 that of the female population. The terms used in classifying the different occupations are defined below.

Fishing:- this term is self-explanatory. In Labrador all fishermen are engaged in the production of cod, salmon and char.

Trapping:- those engaged in the trapping of fur bearing animals as their primary occupation.

Labouring:- unskilled workers. In coastal Labrador those usually work away from their home settlements.

Professional:- includes clergy, school teachers, medical doctors, and nurses.

Transport:- truck drivers, ferry operators, merchant seamen, and those engaged in road construction and maintenance.

Maintenance, construction and carpentry:- plumbers, electricians, carpenters and other tradesmen.

Services:- includes taxi drivers, store clerks, telephone operators, post office employees, Welfare officers, RCMP officers, Fisheries' officers, forest rangers, and fish and game wardens.

Housekeeping:- self-explanatory.

Unemployed:- self-explanatory.

Retired:- old age pensioners.

No occupation stated:- self-explanatory.

Disabled:- self-explanatory.

Student:- self-explanatory

Other:- any occupation which cannot be classified in the categories defined above.

Section 1. Distribution of the male population, aged 18 years and over, by occupation and settlement, 1966.

Place Name	Fishing	Trapping	Labouring	Professional	Transport	Maint., Constr. & Carpentry	Services	Unemployed	Retired	No occupation stated	Disabled	Student	Other
Strait of Belle Isle													
L'anse au Clair	33	-	11	5	1	1	3	-	14	-	3	-	-
Forteau, Buckle's Pt. & English Pt.	62	-	1	3	5	2	9	-	9	-	13	1	-
L'anse au Mour & Point Amour	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-
Fox Cove	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L'anse au Loup	64	-	1	3	1	1	9	-	15	3	-	-	-
Capstan Island	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
L'anse au Diable	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
West St. Modeste	21	-	3	4	1	-	3	-	3	-	4	-	-
Pinware	35	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	4	-	-
Red Bay	36	-	25	5	-	1	8	-	10	-	-	1	-
Sub-total	286	-	44	20	8	5	36	-	62	3	24	2	-
Southeastern Labrador													
Pitt's Arm	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Lodge Bay	28	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-
White Point	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indian Cove	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
Battle Harbour	18	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	Fishing	Trapping	Labouring	Professional	Transport	Maint., Constr. & Carpentry	Services	Unemployed	Retired	No occupation stated	Disabled	Student	Other
Mary's Harbour	59	-	5	1	-	1	4	1	12	-	-	-	-
Fox Harbour	51	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	6	12	-	-	2
Rickson's Cove	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Port Hope Simpson	70	-	34	1	-	1	9	-	9	1	5	-	-
Square Island's, Pinsent's Arm & Charlottetown	38	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	-	-
Frenchman's Island & Partridge Bay	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Batteau, Black Tickle, Salmon Bight, Open Bay, Porcupine Bay & Little Harbour	46	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	9	1	-	-	-
Cartwright	71	-	5	4	-	21	20	-	2	-	1	1	-
Paradise River	33	-	2	2	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	-
Separation Point	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
North River	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Sub-total	462	-	46	12	-	23	59	1	56	14	8	1	2
Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville Estuary													
Rattler's Bight	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rocky Cove	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-

Section 1. (cont'd)

Place Name	Fishing	Trapping	Labouring	Professional	Transport	Maint., Constr. & Carpentry	Services	Unemployed	Retired	No occupation stated	Disabled	Student	Other
Goudies Cove & Double Mer	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sandy Cove	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Rigolet	36	-	2	-	-	-	4	-	8	-	-	-	-
Mulligan	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West Islands	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
North West River	4	46	27	4	8	20	31	5	24	4	-	1	-
Mud Lake	1	3	2	1	3	3	4	4	2	-	-	-	1
Sub-total	54	51	32	5	11	23	39	9	38	4	-	1	1
Northern Labrador													
Makkovik	50	-	2	1	-	3	6	-	4	-	-	-	-
Postville	21	-	3	1	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-
Hopedale	44	-	7	-	2	15	22	1	7	-	-	-	3
Davis Inlet & Sango	32	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Nain & district	114	-	6	1	3	2	12	-	12	1	2	-	-
Sub-total	216	-	18	4	5	20	45	1	27	1	2	-	3
Total	1,063	51	140	41	24	71	179	11	183	22	34	4	6

Source: Newfoundland electoral register, 1966.

Section 2. Distribution of the female population, aged 18 and over, by occupation and settlement, 1966.

Place Name	Professional	Services	Unemployed	Retired	Housekeeping	No occupation stated	Student	Disabled
Strait of Belle Isle								
L'anse au Clair	2	2	-	2	40	1	-	-
Forteau, Buckle's Pt. & English Pt.	-	5	-	-	67	-	-	-
L'anse au Mour & Point Amour	-	1	-	1	9	-	-	-
Fox Cove	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
L'anse au Loup	1	5	2	2	52	9	-	-
Capstan Island	1	2	-	1	9	2	-	-
L'anse au Diable	-	1	-	1	13	-	-	-
West St. Modeste	-	4	1	-	23	6	1	-
Pinware	1	-	-	5	22	-	-	-
Red Bay	1	3	10	7	35	12	-	-
Sub-total	6	23	13	20	272	30	1	-
Southeastern Labrador								
Pitt's Arm	-	-	1	-	9	2	-	-
Lodge Bay	-	-	-	-	18	2	-	-
White Point	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-
Indian Cove	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-
Battle Harbour	-	-	6	-	8	3	-	-
Mary's Harbour	-	3	-	5	47	-	-	-
Fox Harbour	2	1	-	-	34	6	-	-
Rickson's Cove	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Port Hope Simpson	1	4	-	4	73	2	-	1
Square Island's, Pinsent's Arm & Charlottetown	-	-	2	1	30	-	-	-
Frenchman's Island & Partridge Bay	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
Batteau, Black Tickle, Salmon Bight, Open Bay, Porcupine Bay & Little Harbour	-	4	1	2	34	4	-	-
Cartwright	4	2	2	2	95	-	-	-
Paradise River	-	-	2	3	25	-	-	-

Section 2. (cont'd)

Place Name	Professional	Services	Unemployed	Retired	Housekeeping	No occupation stated	Student	Disabled
Separation Point	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
North River	-	1	-	-	8	-	-	-
Sub-total	7	16	14	17	397	20	-	1
Hamilton Inlet-Lake Melville Estuary								
Rattler's Bight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rocky Cove	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Goudie's Cove & Double Mer	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Sandy Cove	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Rigolet	1	-	4	8	19	-	-	-
Mulligan	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
North West Islands	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
North West River	15	35	1	3	125	3	-	-
Mud Lake	-	-	-	-	14	1	-	-
Sub-total	16	35	5	12	165	4	-	-
Northern Labrador								
Makkovik	2	2	-	3	44	4	-	-
Postville	-	-	-	1	20	1	-	-
Hopedale	1	3	6	1	60	-	-	-
Davis Inlet & Sango	1	2	-	-	30	4	-	-
Nain & district	4	5	1	-	108	8	-	-
Sub-total	8	12	7	5	262	17	-	-
Total	37	86	39	54	1,096	71	1	1

Source: Newfoundland electoral register, 1966.

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