A LONG JOURNEY

Residential Schools in Labrador and Newfoundland

Andrea Procter

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FOREWORD

A Long Journey as a Healing and Commemoration Legacy Component

Serendipity, or happy coincidence, played a large part in Andrea Procter coming to write this scholarly work on education in Labrador. After several unsuccessful attempts to engage prominent writers who were known to the Indigenous community in Labrador, my friend Dr. Hans Rollmann gave me Andrea's name as someone who was knowledgeable in Labrador's Indigenous culture and who had a track record of a good working relationship within the community. As each of the potential candidates presented good reasons why scheduling, personal circumstances, and geography — among other things — would not allow them to complete this work, our good fortune found Andrea at a stage of her academic and working career to enthusiastically accept the concept of the Healing and Commemoration process we laid out to her.

As the lengthy class action lawsuit that had proceeded through the Newfoundland and Labrador Supreme Court came to an abrupt close with the proactive actions of the Trudeau Liberals in 2016, the western Canadian law firm of Ahlstrom Wright Oliver and Cooper LLP, led by the ebullient Steven Cooper and represented in this province by the firm run by John Crosbie, Q.C. acting on behalf of the plaintiff students, reached a negotiated Settlement Agreement with Canada alone; the other defendants — the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, The International Grenfell Association, and the Moravian Church — were all absolved of liability through the settlement process. No doubt these parties breathed a sigh of relief from the lifting of the potential for financial burden or a

negative impact on their corporate image. For the students, this simply meant some additional worry as the opportunity to hear acknowledgement and apologies from Newfoundland, the IGA, and the Moravian Church hierarchy was swept away by the stroke of a pen.

Canada and Cooper proceeded in a Settlement Agreement process to ask the Indigenous leaders of the Inuit, NunatuKavut people, and Innu Nation to select representatives as the preliminary step in a consultation process to breathe life into the Agreement. From there, the law firm selected plaintiff Toby Obed; the Innu Nation chose Helen Andrew; NunatuKavut Community Council selected Kirk Lethbridge; and the Nunatsiavut government chose me. We held a preliminary meeting in Ottawa in June 2017, and among other decisions made then, I was appointed as Ministerial Special Representative to partner with federal government colleagues in a project of Healing and Commemoration activities to honour the group of some 950 students.

Our small advisory panel listened to the lawyers and federal government officials, who presented a list of potential ideas to discuss and make additional comments upon, and while the Healing and Commemoration Advisory Panel, as we were called, generally liked the negotiated agreements mentioned, we, as Indigenous people, balked at being the voice for all the students without further consultation with the larger student group back home. We thought a further meeting in a Labrador location with a sample of students might give everyone a better chance to hear a clearer, expanded, and inclusive list of reconciliation activities.

The next meeting did indeed have strong support for a priority list of activities: a personal visit to Labrador by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau with a formal apology to representative students and Indigenous officials; artists and craftspersons contracted to produce lasting and meaningful pieces for everyone to celebrate; community visits to hear students' personal experiences in the schools; a permanent sound and visual record of digitally produced vignettes; and, finally and importantly, a recounting of the history of education in Labrador with an emphasis on how the delivery

of education evolved to become our piece of the Canadian jigsaw puzzle of federal and provincial policies, imposed on the Indigenous population, that served to demonstrate the colonial influences so representative of an era that perpetuated insidious bigotry and a dismissive attitude of any cultural norms not held as Christian or Eurocentric.

Thus began a year and a half journey to work towards the goal of commemoration of the resilience of the students, and to employ the healing benefits of talking within a respectful, safe, comforting setting with trained professionals who were willing to act as mentors, supports, sounding boards, confidants, and, in many cases, friends to anyone who wanted to speak about any aspect of school life, personal mental growth, challenges, aspirations, and reflections. The interventions, we were told in these sessions, allowed many to find a sense of lightheartedness or of a load being lifted from one's shoulders as they recounted their experiences. Finally, someone was listening to their personal stories of childhood pain, shame, and loss, tempered with growth and resilience as they reflected on these times as adults.

Andrea Procter agreed to join us in these sessions. She knew many students intimately, and her understanding of the histories of the communities in the context of schooling made everyone appreciate her presence. She joins an impressive group of scholars and historians who are expanding our knowledge of the Indigenous peoples of Labrador and their relationships with the provincial and federal governments and their numerous agents of assimilating forces. Following in the footsteps of Carol Brice-Bennett in *Our Footprints Are Everywhere*, Maura Hanrahan in *The Lasting Breach: The Omission of Aboriginal People from the Terms of Union between Newfoundland and Canada and Its Ongoing Impacts*, and Martha MacDonald in *Inside Stories: Agency and Identity through Language Loss Narratives in Nunatsiavut*, and others, Dr. Procter has gathered a fascinating account of the recorded annals, books, archives, and personal stories to provide an up-to-date and comprehensive appreciation of the Labrador experience. She chronicles how the experiences of

Indigenous children in Labrador shifted from a family-centred, culturally relevant immersion in life to the worldwide phenomenon of Christian-based norms and values that combined with subtle and overt colonialist attitudes to drive a wedge between these children and their families and distinctive culture.

As my role as Ministerial Special Representative developed, our priority was to test the willingness of the Canadian government to have Prime Minister Trudeau come to Labrador and offer an apology. Andrea has captured the essence of that event in this book, so I need not say any more about it. However, the morning after the event, I had the task of being a shuttle driver for students and any others who needed to get to the airport, and my first early morning run was to have CBC parliamentary reporter David Cochrane as a passenger. He made a comment that has stayed with me since it spoke to the impacts of the residential schools as a stark reminder of how nature and nurture work to mould a person in this country. He said that what struck him the most, when Toby Obed went on the stage and shook his good hand with Prime Minister Trudeau and gave him a celebratory hug, was that the two men *were the same age*. Mr. Obed's life challenges arose even before he was born, when his family and all Inuit of Hebron in northern Labrador were forcefully relocated in the late 1950s to more southern Labrador communities. Personal and family cohesion was gone; hunting grounds were gone; self-esteem as male and female providers was gone; church affiliations were gone. The fast spiral downward destroyed Toby's family and any chance that this quick-witted, funny, intelligent, and resourceful guy could aspire to much beyond survival. But what did survive was an iconic man who cared deeply that an apology be delivered to the surviving students. As we all watched Toby and held our collective breath, he wrestled with his emotions to accept the apology on behalf of all the students, putting aside his personal and private hurt for the good of others and demonstrating how far he had come in personal growth and resilience. At that moment, in the eyes of all the students, his acceptance was as fine and sincere an

acceptance as was the prime minister's apology, and the emotional impact — on those present and the many others who could not be in the auditorium — was profound.

The story Andrea tells — of good-intentioned peoples and groups, churches, and governments wearing the robe of patriarchal authority but blind to the very people they hope to advance — is still being played out in many spheres. We learn from Andrea's book that histories need reporting, need explanation, and that the harsh light of scholarly examination needs to shine in all the corners of Canada to prevent bad decisions from being perpetuated through seemingly good intentions.

In the course of the Healing and Commemoration sessions we heard the stories of students who have been scarred by the residential school experience, and we also were told forcefully by others of the value of and appreciation for the education they received. We heard how the resilient youth of the dorm days allowed great friendships to be fostered, romances to grow, the hopes and dreams for a peaceful adulthood to be achieved. Some of these stories — the bad and the good — are central in the broader historical narrative that Andrea Procter offers in this book. The common denominator for positive change is, as always, the youth who defy old norms, who are fearless in demanding new relationships, and whose spirit has every Indigenous group in Labrador exchanging family and cultural ties, where before, people stuck to their own lives and communities to the exclusion of the rest of Labrador. So also it is with Newfoundlanders who embrace Labrador life and people, and who are now developing the accepting values of understanding and breaking the old barriers of bigotry. Because of the youth and their willingness to bend their beliefs, Indigenous people in Labrador are more self-confident, self-assured, and willing to share the pride in their Indigenous culture.

Andrea's book is a testament to the good outcomes of hard work and scholarly effort, which allow us to look at ourselves in a way we had not considered because the whole picture was too big to grasp until someone could clarify it for us.

I hope our efforts to emphasize commemoration and healing and Andrea's capturing of this fascinating story will encourage Prime Minister Trudeau's words to ring true: "All Canadians possess the ability to learn from the past and shape the future."

James Igloliorte
Ministerial Special Representative, Newfoundland and Labrador
Residential Schools Healing and Commemoration Project, 2016–19

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To all the children who attended these boarding schools, and to the adults they became, I hope you can see yourselves reflected in these pages. Your voices and your silences have been my constant companions as I wrote this book. I hope I have done you justice.

To all the former students who shared stories, thank you for your courage and your strength. I hope your grandchildren will hear those stories and better understand how your experiences continue to shape their lives. I also hope that other Indigenous and Labrador voices will add to this conversation about our shared history and our shared responsibilities.

In doing this work, I am building on the efforts of many before me. Evelyn Winters developed the Nunatsiavut government's program for residential school healing, and Darlene Wall worked tirelessly with the NunatuKavut Community Council to help former students. Thank you, Evelyn and Darlene, for all your work on this issue, and for your patience in helping me understand the impacts of the boarding schools.

I am grateful to the many former students and other experts who helped to direct me on the right path. Thank you to Shirley Flowers, Michelle Kinney, Reta Crane Saunders, Fran Williams, Helen Andrews, Amy Hudson, Carolyn Michelin, Michele Wood, Fiona Andersen, Peggy Andersen, Navarana Igloliorte, Tim Borlase, Ron Sparkes, Bob Hopcroft, Keating Hagmann, Ossie Michelin, Jodie Lane, Charlotte Wolfrey, Hilda Dyson, Rutie Dicker, Rutie Lampe, Edna Winters, Sophie Pamak, Marjorie Flowers, and Toby Obed for talking with me about your experiences and for guiding my thinking throughout this process.

Other former students and their family members read through multiple versions of these chapters and provided me with critical and thoughtful advice. Thank you, Eva Luther, Joan Andersen, Sharon Edmunds, Jim Igloliorte, and Tracey Doherty for sharing so much of your time and your wisdom in reviewing drafts and suggesting changes. Thank you to Bertha Holeiter, Beatrice Hope, Joan Andersen, and the members of the Moravian Church of Newfoundland and Labrador board for offering your thoughts on the work. Thank you also to Labrador historians Greg Mitchell, Martha MacDonald, Carolina Tytleman, and Hans Rollmann for your detailed edits and comments, and for providing kind encouragement.

I am especially indebted to historian and former boarding school student Patty Way, who must have used up a good few of her red markers in noting mistakes and corrections in my work. Patty's knowledge of Labrador and her leadership in researching its history are inspiring, and we are lucky to have her. Thank you, Patty, for everything you do.

Jim Igloliorte led the Newfoundland and Labrador Residential Schools Healing and Commemoration team through a year of community visits and intense conversations. He has my utmost respect and appreciation for his leadership, patience, and ability to bring humour to even the most challenging of situations.

Nancy Drozd, Lauren Peirce, Krista Robertson, and all the other staff at the federal department of Crown–Indigenous Relations were staunch supporters of the Healing and Commemoration project, and did everything they could to ensure that the legacy of the boarding schools in Labrador is one of reconciliation and hope. Thank you for your energy and for your belief in the importance of this work. Thank you to Crown–Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada for its financial support of this publication.

To all the archivists who helped me — Aimee Chaulk at Them Days, Melanie Tucker and Beverly Bennett at The Rooms, Lorraine Parsons at Moravian Church House in London, Linda White and Colleen Quigley at Memorial University, Tricia Logan at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, and Joan Andersen at the White Elephant Museum in

Makkovik — thank you for pointing me in the right direction, and for being so generous with your advice. Thank you also to the wonderful Linda Mugford and Libby Dean, who helped search for archival materials in the collections at Them Days in Happy Valley–Goose Bay, Labrador, and at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Cynthia Rurak, my wonderfully thoughtful and thorough editor, helped me to craft a clearly written manuscript. Thank you, Cynthia, for all your guidance! Thank you also to the staff at ISER Books, especially Fiona Polack, Alison Carr, Diane Tye, Randy Drover, and Richard Tallman, for all your help in the publishing process and in recognizing the need to share the Labrador story. Sincere gratitude to Peter Ramsden as well for his precision and artistry in designing the maps.

Finally, thank you to my husband Jamie Skidmore for all your love and for making my world a brighter place. And to our daughter Leila, thank you for teaching me about being a mother. You helped me feel all the heartbreak of these boarding schools, but you also helped me understand the urgent need to create a better future. This book is dedicated to you and to all children, past and future.

INTRODUCTION

The Journey of Reconciliation

"By telling the story of Newfoundland and Labrador residential schools, we ensure that this history will never be forgotten."
— Prime Minister Justin Trudeau

"Do not let the mistakes of the past continue today."
— Wanda Lucy, Hopedale

A light snow was falling the day Prime Minister Justin Trudeau flew in to Happy Valley–Goose Bay. It was a Friday morning, 24 November 2017, and Trudeau had come to Labrador to apologize to the former boarding school students of the region.[1] Hundreds of people gathered to hear the prime minister deliver a heartfelt apology on behalf of the Canadian government. His words paid tribute to those students who had suffered harm while at one of the five boarding schools in Labrador and St. Anthony, Newfoundland, after 1949:

> To the survivors who experienced the indignity of abuse, neglect, hardship and discrimination by the individuals, institutions and system entrusted with your care, we are truly sorry for what you have endured.
>
> We are sorry for the lack of understanding of Indigenous societies and cultures that led to Indigenous children being sent

> away from their homes, families and communities and placed into residential schools.
>
> We are sorry for the misguided belief that Indigenous children could only be properly provided for, cared for, or educated if they were separated from the influence of their families, traditions, and cultures.[2]

For the surviving students, the apology was long overdue. Thousands of children had attended the boarding schools run by the Moravian Church and the International Grenfell Association in North West River, Cartwright, Makkovik, Nain, and St. Anthony. But they had been left out of the national apology and reconciliation process begun in 2008 by then Prime Minister Stephen Harper. The government of Canada at the time had argued that it was not accountable for the boarding schools because they had opened before Newfoundland and Labrador had become a part of Canada. In response, hundreds of the former students had launched a

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau delivers the federal government's apology in Happy Valley–Goose Bay, Labrador, on 24 November 2017 (courtesy of the Department of Crown–Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada).

class-action suit against the federal government. As Charlotte Wolfrey, an Inuit leader from Rigolet, Labrador, explained:

> The truth for us in Labrador has certainly been told over and over and over again, but it has fallen on deaf ears. It pains us, it hurts us, as Labrador people, as Inuit, and as Innu to not be believed. Our truth was not included in the apology or the settlement, and our only recourse is the courts of Canada.[3]

The former students wanted the federal government to acknowledge that it had failed in its responsibilities towards Indigenous peoples after Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949. They wanted their stories to be heard, and to be recognized as part of the family of Indigenous residential school survivors across Canada. "The policies of the federal government and the decisions that they make continue to fragment and divide our people," argued Nunatsiavut Finance Minister Danny Pottle in 2011. "We need to be brought into this circle. Labrador Inuit have told the truth. Labrador Inuit want to be believed. Labrador Inuit want to begin the journey of reconciliation. But how can there be truly reconciliation when there are people left out of this process?"[4]

The class-action lawsuit went to court in 2015, and former students had to testify about their experiences — something that no other residential school survivor was forced to do in the other Canadian class-action lawsuits.[5] Fortunately, the case was relatively short-lived. In 2016, soon after Trudeau's Liberal Party came into power, the federal government assumed responsibility for the Newfoundland and Labrador schools. They moved to settle the case out of court. The settlement awarded $50 million to the legal team and the plaintiffs.[6] One-third of this went to lawyers' fees.[7] The remaining two-thirds were divided among the former students, based on how long they had attended the schools and how much physical and sexual abuse they had suffered. A committee of former students also asked for further actions from the federal government, including healing and commemoration activities and an official apology from the prime minister.[8]

While delivering his apology, Trudeau acknowledged the government's earlier failure to recognize the experiences of Inuit and Innu children in the boarding schools. He assured the former students:

> [W]hat happened in those five schools . . . is not a burden you have to carry alone anymore. It is my hope that today you can begin to heal — that you can finally put your inner child to rest. We share this burden with you by fully accepting our responsibilities — and our failings — as a government and as a country.[9]

The apology brings the former students in Labrador and northern Newfoundland into the circle of residential school survivors across Canada.[10] It acknowledges the similarities in their experiences and in the governance structure that created the schools. Although the Labrador and St. Anthony institutions were not part of the federally operated residential school system, they had much in common. As this book will show, the Moravian Church and International Grenfell Association staff modified their approach to running the boarding schools over time, but, like residential schools elsewhere, one goal remained constant: to dramatically change and transform the children.[11] In the beginning, the Moravian schools set out to convert children to Christianity. Later, both the Moravian Church and the International Grenfell Association aimed to "civilize" them. Finally, the schools planned to integrate the students into Canadian society and make them into wage-earning citizens. In all cases, the boarding schools tried to somehow "improve" the children by separating them from the influence of their families and communities. This separation often caused children to lose close connections with their culture, their language, and their family. It also made the children vulnerable to bullying and abuse.

The Nunatsiavut Inuit, NunatuKavut Inuit, and Innu students who experienced this "improvement" project are now demanding that we all, as Canadians, re-examine the motives behind the schools. As Shirley Flowers, a former student originally from Rigolet, argues, "The residential

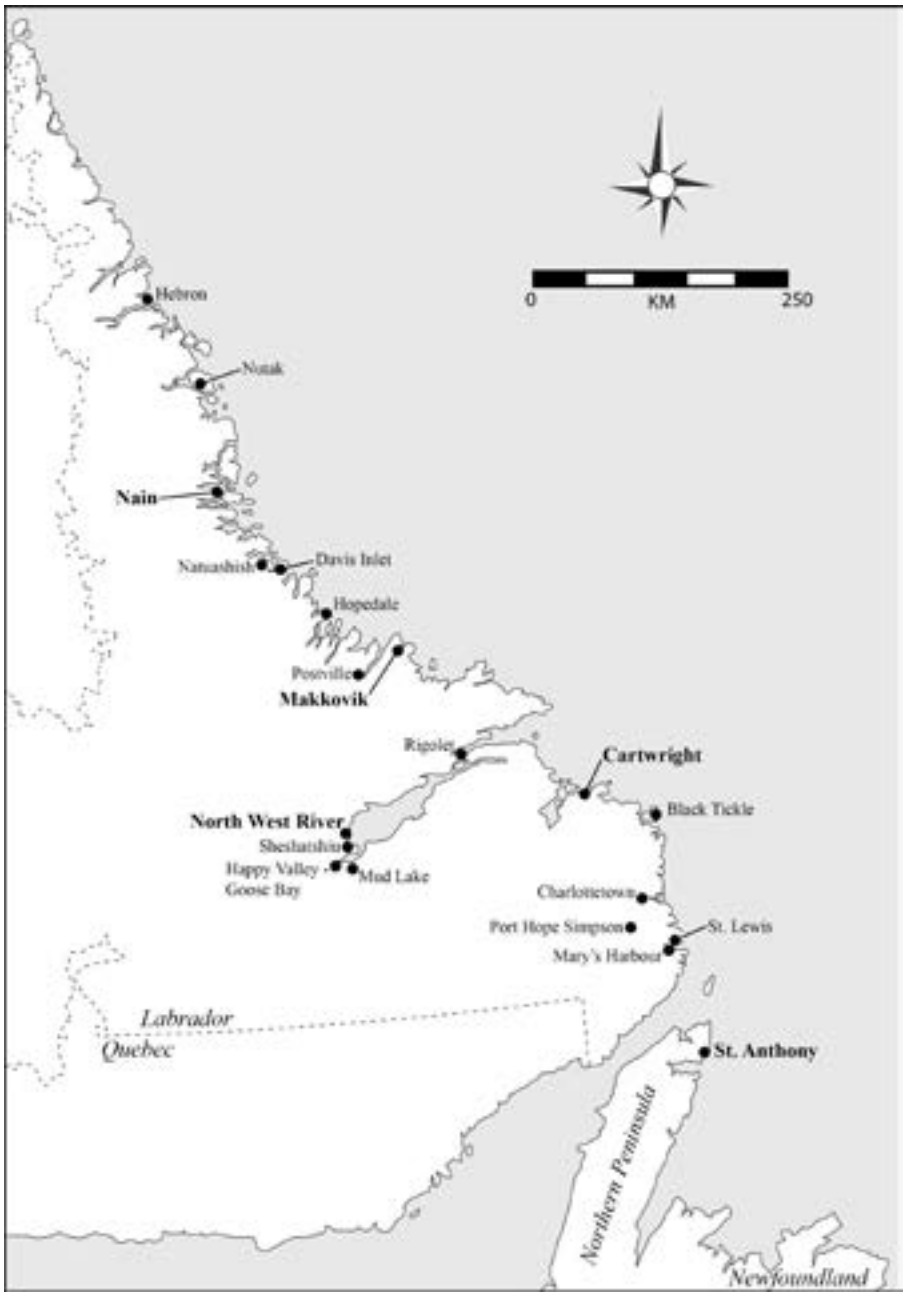
school was part of a bigger scheme of colonization. There was intent; the schools were there with the intent to change people, to make them like others and to make them not fit. And today, you know, we have to learn to decolonize."[12]

In his apology, Trudeau emphasized the need to heal and to move towards reconciliation. To do that, he said, the story of the Newfoundland and Labrador residential schools needs to be told: "All Canadians have much to learn from this story and we hope to hear you tell your stories — in your own way and in your own words — as this healing and commemoration process unfolds."[13] This book is an attempt to do just that: to examine the history of the Labrador and St. Anthony boarding schools and to listen to the stories of the students who attended them. Although the apology included only those who had attended the schools after 1949, many children went to the boarding schools long before this date. *A Long Journey* will therefore explore the entire history of these institutions, from their beginnings until they closed their doors for good.

A Snapshot of the Boarding Schools

The five boarding schools in Labrador and St. Anthony have a unique history. Two of the schools were founded by missionaries of the Moravian Church, one of the oldest Protestant denominations in the world. The International Grenfell Association (IGA), a charitable organization that provided medical and educational services in northern Newfoundland and Labrador, established the other three institutions. All five opened in the early 1900s.

In one significant way, the boarding schools differed from the residential schools in the rest of Canada: they were not operated or funded under the federal Indian Act.[14] The Moravian Church and the IGA ran the boarding schools themselves, with limited involvement of the Newfoundland government and, after 1949, the Canadian government. The IGA boarding schools and orphanage were not established exclusively for Indigenous children, although many of their residents were Inuit.



Map 1: Labrador and the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland (map by Peter Ramsden).

However, as this book will illustrate, the history of the boarding schools in Labrador and St. Anthony reflects many of the same motives, practices, and student experiences of residential schools elsewhere.

The Moravian Church operated boarding schools at Makkovik (1914 to 1955) and Nain (1929 to 1972) for the Inuit and "Settler"/*Kablunângajuit* children of Labrador's north coast. The IGA established boarding schools in Labrador at Cartwright (1920 to 1964) and North West River (1926 to 1980) for the children of central, southern, and, later, northern Labrador, who were mainly Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut Inuit. It also operated a small boarding school at St. Mary's River (now known as Mary's Harbour) from 1931 to 1938 that was not part of the court settlement because it closed before 1949. The IGA also founded an orphanage at St. Anthony (1906 to 1969) for children from the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland and southern Labrador. As Chapter Eight outlines, the children in this orphanage from Newfoundland were mainly of European ancestry, and the children from Labrador were mainly of NunatuKavut Inuit ancestry. Over 2,000 children lived at these six institutions, and most ranged in age from five to sixteen.

The Moravian Church and the International Grenfell Association were non-governmental organizations. They had come to Labrador intending to change the region by introducing Christianity, medical services, and social development. Moravian missionaries arrived in the late eighteenth century from Europe to Christianize the Inuit.[15] Grenfell staff arrived in Labrador and northern Newfoundland in the late nineteenth century from Britain to provide medical services. Not long afterwards, the IGA expanded its scope to include social reform in the region.[16] At the time, Newfoundland and Labrador was a colony in the British Empire, and colonial officials in the capital of St. John's largely ignored Labrador. They saw it as a source of fish, but offered no funding for schools, justice, roads, health care, or political representation.[17] When first the Moravian Church and then the IGA volunteered to assume some of these responsibilities, the Newfoundland government gladly accepted the offer.

Both organizations saw education as an important part of their work

in reshaping the lives of local residents. Educating children was a powerful way to effect change. Moravians felt that literacy was important in converting Inuit to the Christian faith.[18] Education could also convince children that their families' spiritual beliefs and cultural practices were immoral. Grenfell workers likewise aimed to transform local society. The IGA staff members were largely well-educated and wealthy Americans and Britons who wanted to improve local conditions by promoting new lifestyles and livelihoods.[19] Like missionaries everywhere, members of both organizations felt confident that they knew best.

As this book describes, the Moravian Church and the IGA established many of the first day schools in Labrador. At the time, very few children in rural areas of Newfoundland and Labrador had the opportunity to attend school. Where schools did exist, parents had to pay school fees, and children usually completed only a few years of school before they had to work for a living. Churches ran the schools under a denominational education system, in which the Newfoundland government gave grants to the churches and left them to organize the schooling.[20] Neither the Moravian Church nor the IGA fit under this system. Instead, the Moravians were allowed to develop their own schools and curriculum in northern Labrador, as long as they paid for their own expenses. Farther south, the IGA established non-denominational schools and summer programs, and it initially paid for many of the costs.

After establishing day schools or summer schools, the two organizations opened boarding schools, as we will see in Chapters Four to Eleven. In most cases, the boarding schools consisted of dormitories where children lived while they attended the day schools. Other children who lived with their families in the community also attended these day schools. Members of both organizations used the boarding schools to instill their values in the children under their care. Dormitory supervisors and teachers emphasized the need to obey authority and to live according to a strict schedule. They promoted European societal ideas of proper behaviour, teaching the children conformity, appropriate manners, housekeeping standards, and moral principles.

In every boarding school except for Nain, teachers taught in English. They did not encourage Indigenous children to speak their native language, Inuktitut or Innu-aimun. Children usually lived at the schools from September to June, and rarely saw their families. This time away from home prevented parents from teaching their children their language and cultural traditions. By separating children from their families for extended periods of time, the boarding schools also disrupted close family relationships and community connections. Yet despite its drawbacks, some families welcomed the education that the boarding schools provided. It was often the only schooling available, and parents hoped that the literacy skills and other training would benefit their children's future.

The boarding schools operated largely without government funding or oversight until the 1930s and 1940s. In the early years, the people who worked in the institutions were either underpaid staff or volunteers from Europe or the United States. Most of them dedicated years of their lives to the work. The organizations raised funds constantly to pay for the schools, to feed, clothe, and teach the children, and to maintain the buildings. Parents contributed through school fees and donations of country food and wood. Most of the money, books, clothing, and volunteer labour came from donors in the United States, Canada, and Britain.[21]

School attendance was voluntary until 1942 when the Newfoundland government passed the School Attendance Act.[22] All children from seven to fourteen then had to attend school if they lived within two miles of one.[23] But the law had no real impact in Labrador. Few schools existed, and there were almost no police officers around to enforce it. After 1949, however, mandatory school attendance was enforced when Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada. Family allowance payments from the federal government were now available to families, but only if their children attended school.[24] With increased government involvement in their lives, parents had little choice but to send their children to school.

As the following chapters illustrate, children lived in the boarding schools and orphanage for a number of reasons. Some students came to attend school if they lived in lived in small villages without access to

schools or higher grades. Other children lived in the institutions because IGA or government staff decided that they should be removed from home conditions of poverty or neglect. Yet other children lived in the boarding schools because they or their family were receiving medical treatment at an IGA hospital.

Some of the institutions received federal support after Confederation. Newfoundland's decision to join Canada in 1949 resulted in a signed agreement with the federal government. These Terms of Union did not mention the Indigenous peoples in the province. Because Canada occupies lands and waters belonging to Indigenous peoples, the federal government promised in its Constitution to respect inherent Indigenous rights and to protect the well-being of Indigenous peoples. But the Terms of Union did not specify whether this duty applied to the Indigenous peoples of the new province. As a result, the federal government was slow to acknowledge its constitutional responsibilities towards Labrador Inuit and Innu.[25]

By the mid-1950s, the provincial government had taken over responsibility for all schools, although the Moravian Church and the IGA maintained control of the dormitories. Under the provincial education system, local school boards hired teachers with provincial monies and schools taught the prescribed Newfoundland curriculum.[26] In 1954, the provincial government pressured the federal government to accept its financial responsibilities for the Inuit and Innu in Labrador. Under a Canada–Newfoundland funding agreement, the federal government eventually agreed to pay some expenses for Indigenous health care, housing, and schools.[27]

Ten years later, Canada agreed to cover more expenses in communities it designated as "Native." These included only the Innu communities of Sheshatshiu and Davis Inlet, and the northern Inuit communities of Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, and Postville. Rigolet was added to the list of Inuit communities in 1967, Black Tickle in 1972, and Mud Lake in 1975.[28] The 1964 Federal–Provincial Agreement stated that the federal government would pay for two-thirds of health, housing, and education expenses in Inuit communities and all of the expenses in Innu communities.[29]

According to the federal government, these percentages reflected the proportion of non-Indigenous people in the communities. Representatives from both governments decided how to spend the federal funds. Indigenous representatives were not involved in the decision-making until the early 1970s, when the two levels of government finally invited Indigenous members to join the committee.[30] Much of the direct federal funding for the boarding school system in Labrador came through this agreement. This federal funding also paid for the construction, expansion, and operation of day schools in central and northern Labrador.[31]

In the meantime, the Moravian Church and the IGA had begun closing their boarding schools, the first in 1955. The schools closed for a variety of reasons. In some cases, local people campaigned to shut them down. Students did not want to move away to attend boarding school, so they and their families pushed for day schools in their home communities instead. Some of these campaigns united with the Indigenous rights movement of the 1970s, which saw Indigenous leaders fight to regain control over their children's education.[32] In other cases, the provincial government pressured families to resettle in larger communities where children could attend day schools.[33] In still other cases, provincial child welfare policy shifted from placing children in institutions towards placing them with foster families.[34] The shift in policy meant that boarding schools no longer served as homes for children apprehended by social services. Taken together, these pressures closed all boarding schools by 1980.

How This Account Was Written

In 2017, the federal government appointed James Igloliorte to lead the healing and commemoration activities stemming from the class-action settlement.[35] A retired provincial court judge from Hopedale, James Igloliorte is a respected and well-known Inuit leader in Labrador. He is also a former student of the Moravian day school in Hopedale and the Yale School and dormitory in North West River. I was asked to research the history of the schools as an anthropologist with years of experience

working in Labrador and on the recommendation of the NunatuKavut Community Council and the Nunatsiavut government.

Over the winter and spring of 2018, I joined James Igloliorte and a small team of Healing and Commemoration Project staff in visiting communities in Labrador, St. John's, and Ottawa. We spoke with former students at community healing events about their memories. For those who wished, we recorded their stories about the boarding schools. The Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador at The Rooms in St. John's (PANL) will preserve these stories until they can be transferred to Them Days Archive in Labrador for future generations.

Former students' stories about their experiences are at the heart of this historical account. For years, the story of the boarding schools has been told by the authorities who ran them. The Moravian Church and the IGA have published numerous books and periodicals about their efforts, and their voices have dominated the discussion. *A Long Journey* attempts to address this imbalance by listening to former students as well. Survivors shared their stories in interviews held during the healing and commemoration events, at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission sharing panels in 2011, in the 2010 Nunatsiavut government film, *Courage to Remember*, and for *Them Days* magazine and archive, which collects stories of Labrador. This book combines these interviews with historical material from archives at The Rooms in St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland, *Them Days* in Happy Valley–Goose Bay, and the White Elephant Museum in Makkovik. The Moravian Church also opened its archives for this research in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and London, England. Both the Moravian Church and the IGA kept extensive records of their activities in Labrador and issued many fundraising publications to support their work on the coast. Together, these archival records and interviews with former students tell the story of the boarding schools from a range of perspectives.

An advisory group of former students and other experts reviewed drafts of this book. They provided guidance on presenting the history in a way that respects the students' experiences and they contributed

additional context and factual details as needed. With assistance from the federal government, we worked with Memorial University's ISER Books to publish this historical account in order to ensure that the stories of these boarding schools are shared and remembered.

A Long Journey

A Long Journey: Residential Schools in Labrador and Newfoundland is divided into four parts. Part One sets the stage for understanding the impact of the boarding schools on the students and their communities. It outlines a brief history of the encounter between Europeans and the Indigenous peoples of Labrador, and describes broad cultural differences between them. It also highlights Inuit and Innu approaches to raising and educating children, which were very different from how Moravian missionaries and International Grenfell Association staff taught and disciplined children in the boarding schools. Appreciating the history of the Indigenous–European relationship helps us to better understand how the Moravian Church and the IGA justified their involvement in Indigenous education. It also makes it easier to imagine how strange, uncomfortable, and isolating attending the boarding schools might have felt for the children.

Part Two introduces the Moravian Church and the boarding schools in Makkovik and Nain. It describes the Moravian missionaries' early efforts to teach children and adults how to read and write in Inuktitut. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Church started to offer English-language schooling as well, centred at its boarding school in Makkovik. The Nain boarding school opened in 1929 for students in both Inuktitut and English classes, and operated until the early 1970s. Part Two concludes with the story of a proposed boarding school in Okak Bay, north of Nain, which was planned but never built. The story is directly linked to the authorities' subsequent decision to forcibly relocate Inuit in Okak Bay and Hebron to communities farther south, where their children could attend day schools.

Part Three begins with a look at Wilfred Grenfell and his International Grenfell Association. It examines the orphanage at St. Anthony, the Cartwright area boarding schools of Muddy Bay and Lockwood, the St. Mary's River boarding school, and the Yale School and dormitories at North West River. The final chapter describes the increasing activism of students in Nain in the 1960s and 1970s. Frustrated that they were forced to move away to finish their education, the students refused to go to "the dorm" in North West River for high school. Their resistance eventually convinced the local school board to provide high school classes in north coast schools. The students' successful campaign helped to close the North West River dormitory, the last of the surviving boarding schools.

Part Four briefly explores the Innu experience with schools. While Roman Catholic priests started day schools for Innu children at Davis Inlet and Sheshatshiu in the 1950s, they did not build any boarding schools. Some Innu students attended the IGA boarding schools at North West River and St. Anthony while they received medical care. Other students moved to St. John's to attend Catholic schools there. After many traumatic experiences with schooling, the Innu have fought to regain control of their children's education.

A concluding chapter circles back to the healing and commemoration initiatives. It explores the reaction in Labrador to the prime minister's apology, and it outlines the other ways in which the story of the boarding schools is being commemorated. The chapter also reflects on the overall impact of the boarding schools and examines the state of Indigenous education in Labrador today. Finally, it looks forward to a future in which reconciliation between all Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians becomes a reality.