

Toponymic and Cartographic Research Conducted for the Labrador Métis Nation

Under the Direction of
Dr. Lisa Rankin, Memorial University.

Contributors (in alphabetical order):

Gordon Handcock Ph.D.
Peter Ramsden Ph.D.
Lisa Rankin Ph.D.
Hans Rollmann Ph.D.
Douglas Wharram Ph.D.

September 2008

FRONTISPIECE

THE CURTIS 1773 MAP

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
A Review of Inuit Toponymy on some 18th-century charts and maps of southern Labrador (G. Handcock)	7
A Review of the 1773 Curtis Map (G. Handcock)	21
Commentary on Curtis article in Royal Society Proceedings (G. Handcock)	33
Review of Scholarly Articles Containing Inuit Place Names (G. Handcock)	43
Review of Hawkes 1916	45
Review of Martijn 1980a and 1980b.....	47
Review of Stopp 2002	54
Review of Martijn and Dorais 2001	58
Review of the Term ‘Karalit’ (H. Rollmann)	61
Review of ‘Tribal’ Names <i>Netcetemiut</i> and <i>Putlavamiut</i> (P. Ramsden)	71
A Review of the List of ‘Tribes’ in Curtis 1774 (G. Handcock)	75
Comments on the Translations of ‘Tribal’ Names (G. Handcock)	79
Comment on the Usage of the Word ‘Tribe’ (P. Ramsden, G. Handcock, L. Rankin)	83
Comments on the use and Decline of Inuit Toponyms (H. Rollmann)	89
Translations of Some Inuit ‘Tribal’ Names and Toponyms (G. Wharram)	95
Discussion and Conclusion	101
References Cited	107
Appendix A	117

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Contributions from G. Handcock, P. Ramsden & L. Rankin

The research contained in this report was carried out in accordance with a contract between the Labrador Métis Nation and Dr. Lisa Rankin of Memorial University's Department of Anthropology and Archaeology. Following the awarding of the contract on March 31, 2008, a team of four researchers with different areas of relevant expertise was recruited and began work. The team consisted of Dr. Lisa Rankin (Labrador and Northeastern archaeology and ethnohistory; Memorial University), Dr. Gordon Handcock (Labrador history and historical geography; Memorial University), Dr. Hans Rollmann (Labrador history and Moravian history; Memorial University), and Dr. Peter Ramsden (Arctic and Northeastern archaeology and ethnohistory; Retired [McMaster University]). Although working independently on different aspects of the research, the team members were in continual contact, and the team as a whole met in June 2008 to report progress, share information, and discuss the work remaining to be done.

Dr. Rankin was keenly aware of the desirability of enlisting the services of a linguist with the requisite expertise both in Inuktitut and in Labrador history to provide contextualized translations of some of the Inuktitut place and 'tribal' names that the research was concerned with. Initially, in spite of several enquiries, no such scholar was available. However, in mid-August 2008, Dr. Douglas Wharram of Memorial University returned from field work in Labrador, and agreed to undertake some of this work.

The research requested by the LMN, and the responsibility for sections of the research, was initially allocated as follows:

1. A complete review of the 1773 Curtis map and the placement of Inuk toponyms, south of Cape Harrison, on a modern day map. (G. Handcock)
2. A review and analysis of comments made by Curtis published in the Royal Society Philosophical Transactions, 1774. (G. Handcock)
3. A review of all known published articles containing Inuk place names in South/Central Labrador (C. Martijn 1980, M. Stopp 2002, etc). (G. Handcock)
4. A review of the following source information for terms to describe Inuit in South/Central Labrador:
 - a. Caralit (sometimes spelled 'Karalit' [Haven 1765 in Lysaght 1971]). (H. Rollmann)
 - b. Netcetemiut and Putlavamiut (Hawkes 1916). (P. Ramsden)
 - c. List of "tribes" as described by Curtis 1774, (only those south of Cape Harrison).
Comment on linguistic translations of the terms and any relations to the land or sea base.
Comment on European concepts of North American 'tribes' when the terms were assigned.
(G. Handcock, P. Ramsden)
5. Modern geographic placements for the above 'tribe' descriptors. (P. Ramsden, L. Rankin)

6. Comments on the reason why the coast was described with Inuk toponyms (Haven 1765) and why the use of Inuk toponyms declined and ceased in the published materials. (H. Rollmann)

7. Analysis of the placement of toponyms to answer questions related to the movement of Thule people, occupation of the Inuit, and subsequent mixing of cultures and cultural indicators. (L. Rankin, P. Ramsden, G. Handcock)

As things finally worked out, some of these responsibilities were shifted around as the work of individual researchers progressed. Also, with the addition of Dr. Wharram to the research team, some of the responsibilities were adjusted to make allowance for the fact that Dr. Wharram would be able to undertake some of the work relating to translation of Inuktitut toponyms and group names. In this report, Dr. Wharram has authored a separate section on the translation of some of the terms dealt with in the research.

Furthermore, in the course of doing the research and writing the various sections of the report, the boundaries between some of these items became quite blurred, as the interconnections between the different questions became more evident. As a result, this report is not packaged precisely as indicated in the list of requests set out in the contract, and reproduced above, and in fact the research of some of the team members overlapped considerably. To the extent that it is possible, however, at the beginning of each section of the report we have indicated the items in the list that the section addresses.

In undertaking a review of the Curtis map and commentary, Dr. Gordon Handcock has also provided a review of Inuit toponyms on some of the charts and maps of Labrador *prior to* Curtis, as he felt that this was a necessary context for the Curtis map, and relevant to the assessment of the Curtis map itself.

The overall direction and co-ordination of the research was under the direction of Dr. Lisa Rankin; the production of the final report was the responsibility of Dr. Peter Ramsden.

TOPONYMY

To a large extent this research was concerned with toponymy, the analysis of place names. Inasmuch as they embody the language and perceptions of the time, surviving toponyms provide important and often otherwise inaccessible information about a region's history. Most parts of the world have experienced successive waves of occupation by populations of different ethnic and linguistic origins, and the linguistic variety of surviving place names generally reflects this dynamic history (e.g. McDavid 1958; Kaups 1966).

An analysis of the different names that a location may have had at various times throughout history can provide valuable insight into the historical geography of a particular region (cf. Powicke 1954). Over the course of centuries, for example, ponds evolve into wetlands and then into meadows, and such locations are often re-named to reflect their changing nature. In a different way, a ford across a river may be replaced by a bridge, and in time a town may grow up around it. Changes in the name of the location, preserved on old maps, may reflect these changes in the human landscape.

In a similar way, as new people enter a landscape, they often apply very different kinds of names to the same landscape features, and these differences, in turn, may reflect very different attitudes towards the land, and very different reasons and motives for naming it. For example, one large bay

on the coast of central Labrador was called ‘Ivuktoke’, or ‘walrus place’, by the Inuit of the 18th century, reflecting their use of the place for subsistence activities. French visitors called it “le Baie des Esquimaux” to reflect their interest in its (to them) exotic inhabitants, and perhaps possibilities for trade. Finally, English administrators called the place “Hamilton Inlet”, after Sir Charles Hamilton, governor of the colony of Newfoundland, thereby asserting English ownership of the region by identifying it with the ruling class of Britain. Subsistence activities, exploration and international economics, and imperial colonization can all be read from the history of place names recorded on maps.

INUIT TOPONYMY

Broadly speaking historic Inuit toponymy falls into three main categories according to origin and usage. One category which can be called ‘associate Inuit toponyms’ includes place-names in documents and on maps, developed and used by other languages, (non-Inuktitut speakers), to refer to features, sites, spaces, and locations which had an historic Inuit presence through migration, settlement, exploitation of natural resources, conflicts, confrontations with other groups, plunder and pillage, trade, gathering or other association. A second category, a special sub-group of the first, involves the use of exonyms, place-names used by other language speakers to refer to Inuit as a people which they did not use themselves. The most common term used in Labrador was the specific “Eskimaux” or variation, but additionally the term “Indian” especially was used for places on the outer coast such as in Indian Harbour or Indian Tickle. The most important group are Inuit endonyms, or autonoms. These are toponyms originating among the Inuit in oral usage but recorded in standard Roman orthography by Europeans in documents and on maps from Inuit informants. Almost all the systematic recording of Inuit toponymy in Labrador was carried out by Moravian missionaries who had a working knowledge of Inuktitut but occasionally by others (Curtis, Fornel) from the phonetic renderings of Inuit informants.

This research was directed to focus primarily on Inuit toponymy to the south of Cape Harrison. In conducting the research instances were found in which to ignore toponymic developments along the whole Labrador coast would have meant the lost of crucially important historical contexts. This could then have resulted in flawed interpretations and erroneous conclusions. For example, Inuktitut toponymy on the Curtis chart has survived almost intact in northern Labrador (largely because of the Moravian influence) but has been almost completely lost south of Cape Harrison. This is a critical finding which strongly suggests, though does not positively prove, that Inuit toponymy in southern Labrador did not persist mainly because it lacked the patronage of European nomenclature formulators and mapmakers, not necessarily because of Inuit migrations or settlement patterns. Meanwhile the Inuit place-names on maps of southern Labrador considered in this study were found to be very exceptional toponymic surveys. These several European recordings were evidently independent and unrelated events but this could only be determined from a comparative critical examination of the historical circumstances in which the maps were made and the methods by which the toponyms were gathered. Additionally each recording constituted probably only a remnant of comprehensive oral Inuit toponymies in use at the time. These realities do not negate the study value of Inuit toponyms (as scarce as they might be) as bearers of important ethnohistorical information in relation to the reconstruction of Inuit cultural history in central and southern Labrador, but certainly need to be considered in interpreting their historical significance.

**A REVIEW OF INUIT TOPONYMY ON SOME 18TH-CENTURY
CHARTS AND MAPS OF SOUTHERN LABRADOR**

(Contract items 1 & 2)

Gordon Handcock Ph. D.

A REVIEW OF INUIT TOPONYMY ON SOME 18TH-CENTURY CHARTS AND MAPS OF SOUTHERN LABRADOR

Gordon Handcock Ph. D.

I. A REVIEW OF TOPONYMY IN ‘*NARRATIVE [AND CHART] OF A VOYAGE BY SIEUR LOUIS FORNEL TO LA BAYE DES ESKIMAUX, 16 MAY TO 27 AUG. 1743*’

This review is based on an English translation of the original French narrative from Documents of the Enquiry into the Labrador Boundary by the British Privy Council, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1929).

The Fornel Narrative and chart represent two of the more important primary documents in studying Inuit presence in southern Labrador during the mid -18th century. The cartographic and toponymic details in these (together with eyewitness accounts of encounters with Inuit) help to define for that period an Inuit culture area. In Remarks attached to the Narrative (the daily journal of the voyage) Fornel also narrates oral traditions on earlier distributions which other observers have cited as evidence of their historic range and habitation. For example, the tradition of Inuit formerly ranging along the Quebec North Shore as far as Mingan is one supported by Fornel. He also stated that the establishment of French posts on the St. Lawrence was the main cause of their withdrawal to the Strait of Belle Isle.

With respect to their 1743 distribution Fornel claims that the Inuit then ranged along the coast from the Strait of Belle Isle to Hudson Strait. He testifies also that they still came in large numbers together with women and children to the Strait of Belle Isle to trade and plunder but also to hunt and fish. He represents their relationships with the French as both friendly and hostile. For the most part though he represented them as notorious plunderers, greatly to be feared - potentially a threat to any sealing and trading posts which they [the French] might occupy on the outer coast.

Fornel’s journal and map use the term *Esquimaux* to identify what was then effectively an Inuit culture area. He labels it *Les Coste des Eskimaux*. This was a coastal zone from Alexis Bay northward to Hamilton Inlet, *La Baye des Eskimaux*. As Stopp notes, this coast was now “distinguished from the coastline south of Cape Charles ...populated by French and Jerseyian fishing stations” (2002:88). *Les Coste des Eskimaux* was well populated, exploited for its marine resources, and effectively controlled by Inuit. Within the area Fornel encountered at least four groupings of Inuit settlement (encampments or gathering areas): the *Isles de Eskimaux* or Mille Isles (around the Spotted Island –Table Bay area); **Baye d’Hape** (probably Norman Bay), **Baye d’Amargo** (probably Hawke Baye); and **Baye des Meniques** (St. Michael’s Bay).

FORNEL'S FRENCH TOPONYMY

In 1743 Cape Charles formed the northernmost station of the French in southern Labrador. Fornel, who was in charge of a Chateau Bay sealing post for de Brouage, undertook an exploratory voyage northward to discover more suitable sealing sites and especially to establish a trading post in Hamilton Inlet. He states his intention was to provide the Governor General and Intendant with knowledge of the “Eskimaux coast where no one previously, had ventured to sail near the shore, for fear of these barbarians”.

Departing Cape Charles on July 4th he sailed cautiously northward naming important coastal landmarks and places as he went. From Cape Charles he sailed “five or six leagues” to the entrance of a bay already known as Baye Ste. Alexis. From there he composed new toponyms until he reached Hamilton Inlet, *La Baye des Eskimaux*, already known to his Innu guides as Kessess Kiou (au Kessessa Kiou). He renamed it Bay St. Louis. In the process of his exploration Fornel effectively created a French nomenclature on the coast of southern Labrador. New names included *Baye a’Hape* (probably Ladys Arm) named for an Eskimaux captain or chief who resided there and acted as a pilot around that area, and *Baye d’Amargo* similarly after another Eskimaux captain.

FORNEL'S ASSOCIATIVE INUIT TOPONYMS AND ETHNOHISTORICAL DATA

The following entries from Fornel’s Narrative illustrate his method of naming features. In each case he provides ethnohistorical information on Inuit presence and indicates their relationships with him.

Baye des Meniques 4 July, 1743 “...We called that bay the baye of Meniques on account of the number of big fish [whales].... Which the fishermen call meniques. ... To the north and south of this bay are islands and islets along the land, and we anchored between these islands and the land in twenty fathoms ... We then put a boat to sea, and many of our crew landed on a steep island at the summit of which they kindled a fire with peat. Having seen Eskimaux approaching in six canoes and three boats, our men jumped into the boat and came on board crying to us to weigh anchor and to moor further from the shore so as to be out of reach of the arrows of the Eskimaux. Having shifted our anchorage, we then put our artillery in readiness and prepared our arms in order to always on the defensive ... Not venturing to board us, the said Eskimaux landed on a neighbouring island where they uttered cries and saying in their jargon, “Tout Camara Troquo balena, non Characo”, which means “No war, I am your comrade, let us trade whale”. As we had a speaking-trumpet on board we took it to answer in the same terms. Three Esquimaux then jumped into their canoes and came on board where they showed us great affection ... I had some gifts distributed to them ... and in return they gave me whale fins, together with some seal clothing ...”.

Baye d’Hape 5 July, 1743 Having left baye des Meniques, we sailed about seven leagues along the Coste des Eskimaux. Then contrary winds having set in, we were compelled to seek shelter in another bay about one league wide at its entrance by several leagues long, in which large vessels can obtain shelter from all winds; To the north and south of it are islands and islets. Before anchoring, the wind having veered to the east, we tried to tack about to leave this bay. And, at the same time, as the wind decreased, we saw nine canoes of Eskimaux and a boat which appeared to us to be paddled by only women and children. Fearing an attack, we had our arms in readiness, nine canoes of Eskimaux having reached the vessel. One of them gave us to understand that his name was Captain Hape, and, seeing that we could not leave the bay on account of a contrary wind, he offered to show us an anchorage. Having embarked in his canoe and proceeded ahead to indicate the course, he led us to the bottom

of the bay to show us the anchorage. There we remained until the day after. Captain Hape having then gone on board to join his companions, as an acknowledgment of the good service he had rendered us, I gave him a few gifts, and some to the other Indians of his troop, who expressed great friendship for us and gave us whale fins. We named this bay after the name of this Eskimaux captain.

Baye d'Amargo 6 July, 1743 The wind blowing from the south-west, we sailed at about four o'clock in the morning. As we were under sail, we saw three Eskimaux boats and a few canoes of these barbarians, only one canoe of which could reach our vessel. The others having been unable to do so and having indicated our course to that Eskimaux, he offered to pilot us. Having taken the helm, he piloted us very well for more than two hours after leaving la baye d'Hape, and he piloted us for a distance of four leagues past steep bluffs to the entrance of another bay of one league width at its entrance by many leagues in depth, in which bay he gave us to understand that Captain Araby was anchored and that there lived Captain Amargo, another Eskimaux chief, which caused us to name this bay after him. Our Esquimaux pilot, returned to shore and left us, seeing that we would not proceed to the bottom of the bay where he had intended to lead us ... [note: here Fornel met with a Captain Araby who had been attempting to trade with the Inuit] ... we recognized the vessel of the said Araby, which was sailing to leave the bay ... he told us ... he had been boarded by nine Esquimaux canoes and had seen twenty-two boats, but that the great number of these had prevented him from trading ... in contradiction with the statement of our Esquimaux pilot ... The said Araby added that the land of Amargo, the Esquimaux captain, was in this bay; that these barbarians were great numbers ...

Isle de Eskimaux 7 July, 1743 About four o'clock in the afternoon, the wind having veered from south, and south-south-west, we set sail out of baye des Sauvages, Having travelled about two leagues along La coste des Eskimaux, which runs north and south from La baye St. Alexis, we entered a chain of very high and steep islands and islets to be seen at a distance of eight or ten leagues off. Having travelled through these islands until ten o'clock in the evening, we anchored among the Eskimaux Islands or Mille Isles (Thousand Islands). The game is abundant there. We noticed in these islands big heaps of stone having the form of a human being, the work of the Eskimaux, who are always roving in these islands or making their residence there.

Baye des Meniques 16 July, 1743 [entry on the return journey] ... we passed three bays along the capes. The south and south-eastern winds compelled us to sail along the coast seeking a harbour ... we entered the baye des Meniques ... we anchored in twenty fathoms near the islands. One hour later eight canoes of Eskimaux appeared at the point ... As we saw them approaching, we armed ourselves. They boarded us and brought aboard eight whale fins which I bartered with them. One hour after their departure, six other canoes came of Esquimaux boarded us, and they traded four whale fins. One of these Eskimaux gave us to understand that he was Captain Amargo ... Before leaving us, he also gave us to understand that ... in the morning he would bring other Indians of his nation to trade with us ... as long as they remained on board, we were on our guard.

Baye des Meniques 17 July, 1743 ... About seven o'clock in the morning, twenty-four canoes of Esquimaux boarded us, followed by eighteen boats loaded only with women, children and luggage. ... they traded with us about one quintal of whalebone, three canoes, seal clothing and some of their weapons.

Later Fornel remarked that "The great number of Eskimaux we found in la baye of Meniques induce me to believe that they were there as a meeting place, from whence they intended to go plundering along the coast of Labrador. They waited for the departure of the fishermen. ..."

COMMENTS

It does not appear that any of Fornel's toponyms coined for Les Coste des Eskimaux persisted beyond 1743. The French did not occupy any settlements on the outer coast beyond Cape Charles, but did establish a fur trading post deep within Hamilton Inlet. By the late 1760s the Inuit were being displaced from this coast by English migratory fishermen and geographical features were renamed by English adventurers and surveyors. Baye des Meniques became St. Michael's Bay, and Baye d'Hape probably became Martin Bay & Ladys Arm.

II. A REVIEW OF TOPONYMY IN GEORGE CARTWRIGHT'S '*A JOURNAL OF TRANSACTIONS AND EVENTS DURING A RESIDENCE OF NEARLY SIXTEEN YEARS ON THE COAST OF LABRADOR*' 1792

Cartwright's Journal written between 1770 and 1786 contains over 300 separate place-names for the southeastern coast of Labrador. These names are spread over the coastal zone between Chateau Bay and Sandwich Bay but concentrated principally in the two regions of his exploration, adventures, and trading transactions, namely the Charles River-St. Lewis Bay region on the south (1770-74) and the Sandwich Bay-Table Bay region on the north (1775-1786). A small number of these were prominent place-names implanted by the French or earlier Europeans, but accepted into general English usage, as in Chateau Bay, Cape Charles, St. Louis Bay (Lewis) and Alexis Bay. Mostly though the toponyms are new English impositions which were clearly those of English adventurers and officials between 1763 and 1770, before Cartwright first arrived. Most place-names in the Journal, however, were of his own spontaneous on-the-spot composition. Many of these got copied onto early charts and maps and thus became official and permanent. Some names, however, like Fornel's, are recorded only in a journal.

Cartwright's *Journal* and Fornel's *Narrative* both demonstrate the dynamic process by which European pioneers and explorers created functional toponymies according their own cultural priorities, needs and biases as part of land recognition, occupation and use. As one of the earliest and most prominent English explorers in Labrador, and partly because he commanded respect with authorities (especially hydrographic surveyors), Cartwright was able to play a major role in reshaping the toponymic landscape of southern Labrador. More importantly for this project the *Journal* represents an important document in associating Inuit presence in southern Labrador in the late 18th century with identifiable locations.

Cartwright, an English entrepreneur, came to Labrador 1770 with the firm intention to develop a fur industry and a salmon fishery. He also wanted to cultivate friendly relations and promote trade with the Labrador Inuit who, in his words, "have always been accounted the most savage race of people upon the whole continent of North America" (March 30, 1770).

INUIT ENDONYMS: *AUCHBUCKTOKE* AND *IVUCKTOKE*

Although his *Journal* shows he had numerous friendly contacts with Inuit in southern Labrador, engaged them as household servants, acquired some knowledge of their language, and recorded some of their personal names, Cartwright refers to only two ‘indigenous’ Inuit place-names (or endonyms): *Auchbucktoke* and *Ivucktoke*.

Auchbucktoke (almost certainly Curtis’s *Ogbucktoke* also in other sources *Arbatoke* and *Arvertok*) is mentioned by Cartwright in 1770 as “one of the Eskimaux settlements” where his partner Lucas had purchased some whalebone and “had prevailed upon the chief of the tribe, together with his family ...to winter near me” [near Ranger Lodge, Charles River]. *Auchbucktoke* almost certainly refers to the modern day Hopedale area in northern Labrador.

Ivucktoke Bay (Hamilton Inlet) is mentioned several times by Cartwright as the wintering place of Inuit who were encountered further south during summer months. On March 28, 1779 Cartwright narrates that one of his men had discovered the “many dead Esquimaux” on an island in *Ivucktoke* Bay. Evidence from the site convinced him these were a group of Inuit he had met at Charles River in 1773 and “that small-pox broke out amongst them in the winter, and swept them all away”. He further believed the epidemic was transmitted by *Caubvick*, an Inuit woman, and the only survivor of ten persons he had taken to England in an attempt to impress them with English culture and power. On September 8, 1783 Cartwright also records the arrival at Cartwright Harbour of “thirty-six Esquimaux of all ages and of both sexes ... in one of their whaling boats and several kyacks ...”. Three days later they “sailed for *Ivucktoke*, to winter there ...”.

CARTWRIGHT’S ASSOCIATE INUIT TOPONYMS

Despite its paucity of Inuit endonyms, Cartwright’s *Journal* has more than a dozen place-name references associated in his personal contacts with Inuit, or his sightings and knowledge of their presence in southern Labrador. These include localities of their gatherings, camps and settlements, travel and resource exploitation localities (cod and salmon fishing, sealing, deer and bear hunting, birding, and egg gathering places). Among these were: *Cape Island* (off Cape Charles now Walls Island where in July 1771 he visited, traded and socialized with an Inuit gathering numbering some 300 persons), *Chateau Bay*, *Camp Islands*, *Seal Island* (off Cape Charles), *Seal Islands* (outer coast north of Hawke Island), *Great Caribou* (island), *Denbigh Island*, *Cartwright Island*, *Belle Harbour*, *Isle of Ponds*, *Spotted Islands*, *Black Island* near Grady, *Cartwright*, *Paradise*, *Round Island*, *Swallow Island*, *Earl Island* and *Huntingdon Island* (all in Sandwich Bay), *Table Bay*, and *Stage Cove* on the Charles River. Cartwright’s identification of Indian Cove near Charles River (probably the same named settlement site in Caribou Run), as well as Indian Island at the mouth of Rocky Bay (still known by that name) bespeaks an Inuit association during the late 18th century for he, like Curtis, frequently used the term ‘Indian’ in reference to the ‘Esquimaux’ as well as other native people. The occurrence of the specific ‘Indian’ on outer coastal features most likely refers to Inuit historic associations rather than Innu who used the inner coast. The first of these, ‘Indian Island’, shows up on Lane’s Chart of 1770-1; Cartwright records a nearby ‘Indian Tickle’ July 11, 1775.

On June 10, 1775 when trying to find a suitable passage and a safe anchorage among the Seal Islands (on the outer coast) Cartwright discovered “*an excellent Esquimaux harbour*” (probably the

modern Seal Islands Harbour). In this context, he seems to be referring to a generic type of geographical feature rather than an established place-name. This was a harbour the Inuit traditionally used, and certainly one with the right site and location attributes needed for navigating the coast by small crafts. The Seal Islands included numerous islands for birds and eggs and many passages convenient for use by Inuit ‘kyacks’ and ‘umiaks’ as well the wooden shallops acquired from Europeans. On July 2, 1779, in reference to an egg collecting expedition to Round Island in Sandwich Bay, Cartwright wrote “that it makes a snug, small harbour for shallops”, and further that it “has been used by the Esquimaux for that purpose...”. This was clearly another contemporary “*Esquimau harbour*”.

Cartwright also found a safe harbour for boats on the south side of the “Isle of Ponds” on September 27, 1779. He calls this place “*Iglo Harbour*” (most likely the current Batteau Harbour) and there found “ruins of two Esquimau winter houses where we saw the skulls (sic) of some deer and bears which they had killed”. He reflected that this site “would be a very good place for a couple of hands to winter in, to kill deer, white-bears, wolves, foxes, and ducks”, but laments that it had no firewood. It is not clear if Cartwright followed up on his idea to post a hunting crew there but this reference has important significance in that it documents both an Inuit wintering location in southern Labrador and indicates the types of subsistence activities possible there during the winter season. It also indicates the process of Inuit being displaced from certain places by European competition.

Although Cartwright does not mention “*Iglo Harbour*” again (nor does it occur on early charts), this harbour may have been frequented by Inuit during the winter for some years after 1779. At least, some place on the “Isle of Ponds” (Island of Ponds on Lane’s 1771 chart) was occupied thus. In August 2, 1785 Cartwright encountered “two families of Esquimaux” at Chateau Bay and noted that they were “part of some [families] who lived last winter at the Isle of Ponds”. He further implied that these families made regular summer visits to the Cape Charles area by noting that “the rest [i.e. families who wintered in the Isle of Ponds but not at Chateau Bay in 1785] did not come as usual”.

An earlier reference to a location of Inuit winter houses occurs on September 6, 1771 in the context of an exploration of islands at the mouth of Gilbert’s River and Alexis Bay. Cartwright describes going to Denbigh Island and Cartwright Island (both in Alexis Bay) and then wrote “on our return hauled up the wherry in Belle Harbour there being only a narrow isthmus between that and Harbour Haines”. He continued “On this isthmus my tent was pitched, in a pleasant grove of young larch trees, where we found two old winterhouses of the Eskimo”. Topographic maps show this to be a very complex area. This site description matches seven or eight ‘narrow isthmus’ places around the mouth of Alexis Bay. Since the names ‘Belle Harbour’ and ‘Harbour Haines’ do not recur in other sources consulted, Cartwright’s campsite (and the winter houses) cannot be readily identified. Some possibilities include isthmus sites near Sandy Hook on Denbigh Island, Francis Harbour, Ship Harbour, Charlottetown (Port Charlotte), Sophia Harbour, Seal Bight, Spear Harbour and Salmon Bight. All these localities could have been occupied and used by maritime-oriented cultures such as the historic Inuit, but further determination depends upon supporting archival and archaeological evidence.

COMMENTS

Cartwright’s *Journal* provides evidence to support the contention that Inuit families occupied Hamilton Inlet and the island group embracing the Seal Islands and the Island of Ponds area (known to Fornel as Mille Isles, or *Isle des Esquimaux*, and to the Inuit themselves as *Kikertet*) during his time in Labrador. It is possible too that the island group by itself (but possibly with Sandwich Bay) constituted a year-round settlement-occupation area during the 1770s, possibly for one of the so-called

“southern tribes”. According to Moravian documents dated 1765, *Kikertet* (the many or thousand islands) was one of the localities under consideration for a mission post. Indicated by the letter M on the Haven map, a related commentary of this area outlined its advantages from the Moravian perspective. It stated firstly that it was settled by “8 or 10 houses” of Inuit which, according to Taylor’s (1972:18) estimates (allowing 20 persons per house) could mean a winter population of 160-200 persons. Secondly, there were “enough codfish and also whales and seals and many eider birds and Alcken (Auks)” to support the settlement. And thirdly, “It is also the southernmost place where some of this nation lives”.

Given the considerable information on the Inuit in his *Journal*, it seems rather unusual that he did not pay more attention to or record more of their ‘indigenous’ place-names. In 1765 Moravian missionaries mapped and recorded 36 Inuit toponyms around Hamilton Inlet, Sandwich Bay and the outer island group north of Comfort Bight (Rollmann 2008). None of these appears in Cartwright’s *Journal*. It could be suggested though that the Moravians had more practical reasons than English traders to make use of Inuit toponymy. The absence of Inuit endonyms (autonyms) in Cartwright’s *Journal* cannot be taken to mean that they didn’t persist in oral usage.

III. A REVIEW OF INUIT TOPONYMY ON 18TH-CENTURY ENGLISH CHARTS AND MAPS OF SOUTHERN LABRADOR

After the Treaty of Paris in 1763 Newfoundland governors (and the British Admiralty) began to affirm control over the coast of Labrador, and to encourage the development of an English migratory fishery. This included the commissioning of coastal surveys to gain knowledge of good harbours and locales from which to exploit marine resources. The principal and more accurate surveys were those carried out by Captain James Cook (1763, 1764 and 1766) and two of his associates Joseph Gilbert (1767) and Michael Lane (1769-1771). Gilbert and Lane were apprenticed and trained under Cook in the most up-to-date methods of hydrographic surveying. In addition in 1765 Governor Palliser commissioned the Moravian missionaries to study the distribution of the Inuit, make a chart of the Labrador coast, and record, in their native language (Inuktitut), names of their locations. He also provided a vessel and crew to assist. Then in 1773 Governor Shuldham asked naval officer Roger Curtis to explore the north coast of Labrador and report on the Moravian mission station in Nain. Curtis produced an outline chart of the coast and recorded 30 Inuit place-names.

Other 18th century cartographic surveys were made by Moravian missionaries in the course of setting up and operating mission stations in northern Labrador. Unlike other Europeans who created toponymic (geographical names) systems in their own languages, largely ignoring the locally used place-names of native peoples, the Moravians recorded many Inuit place-names.

These cartographic surveys together with contemporary journals and written reports provide the substantive sources on Labrador toponymy for the late 18th century. The main relevance to this project is that these charts were made at a time when historical records show the Inuit occupying southern Labrador in population numbers ranging 300 to 500 during summer months, but lesser numbers during the winter. These Inuit, as shown by a Moravian map made in 1765, also had well-developed oral toponymic systems of which the British surveyors took little or no account in composing a nomenclature for their charts. In this respect this review illustrates how maps and toponymy as historical

documents do not always reflect ethnocultural realities but often mainly record imprints of politically dominant cultures.

Cook, Gilbert, and Lane aided by early adventurers and traders (such as Nicholas Darby and George Cartwright) were very instrumental in imposing and establishing an English toponymy in coastal Labrador. The admiralty surveyors had authority (or at least assumed it) to compose and/or impose toponyms of their own design and choice. Thus names that appear on admiralty charts had *de facto* official status. Toponyms already printed on older maps or in local oral usage (recorded from residents or migrant fishermen) offered one source of names. Prominent and well-established European names on older maps seemed difficult to dislodge but some got transformed in translation. Frequently, however, descriptive names were invented spontaneously to label specific features according to their shapes, colours, or other physical attributes. Other names associate places (sites or localities) with events, incidents, flora, fauna, and natural resources. Still others bespeak human activities or commemorate specific people. Only occasionally did names get recorded from Inuit speakers or associate an Inuit presence. Rare as these occurrences are such toponyms (whether endonyms or exonyms) become an important part of Inuit ethnohistorical data.

JAMES COOK'S SURVEYS

1763 A Plan of the Harbours of Quirpon and Noddy In Newfoundland. Surveyed by order of His Excellency Thomas Graves Esqr Governor. By James Cook. (Copy in National Archives of Canada, see Auger 1991:4).

A note on this chart states: "...these Harbours ... are not frequented by the English from an apprehension they are under of being visited by the Indians from the Coast of Labrador...". 'Indians' here refers to Inuit. This map also contains the exonym *Usquimeaux Head* to the west of Quirpon Harbour. Its significance is that it provides a supplemental source documentation of Inuit presence in this area to other archival and archaeological evidence. Evidently the Inuit came to plunder the French fishing stations in northern Newfoundland fairly regularly and particularly to get wooden boats from harbours such as Degrat as early as the 16th century. Moravian missionary Jens Haven encountered Inuit camped on Quirpon Island in late August 1764 and promised to return and meet with them the next year (Auger 1991: 11, see also Jens Haven's Diary, 1764 in Lysaght 1971: 187-192). In 1763 Cook also surveyed Chateau Bay in Labrador.

1764 A Chart of the Coasts, Bays and Harbours in Newfoundland between Griquet and Pt. Ferolle. Survey'd by order of Hugh Pallisser Esqr. Commodore &c. by James Cook. Chart in the British Admiralty, Hydrographic Dept. (C 54/7). Includes a list of the "Names of the Places in this Chart as known to the English and French". This is a significant statement by suggesting that in naming Cook first gathered local names already established (in French and English) and the added newly composed ones. In his Journal Cartwright follows the same routine.

(with Lane) *1766 and 1769 A Chart of the Straits of Belle Isle with Part of the Coast of Newfoundland.* From actual surveys taken by order of Commodore Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland, Labrador, & c.. Surveyed by Cook in 1766 (Newfoundland side of Strait of Belle Isle) and Michael Lane in 1769 (Coast of Labrador from Mistanoque Bay near Shecatiga I. to Cape C. Charles). Published in 1770 and 1775. (see Lane's surveys for comments).

This chart results from two separate surveys. Cook 1766 places *Esquemeaux Head* (variant spelling from 1763) west of Quirpon Harbour.

JOSEPH GILBERT'S SURVEY 1767 (Figure 1)

A Chart of part of the coast of Labradore from the Straights of Belle Isle to Cape Bluff. Surveyed by Joseph Gilbert in 1767 and engraved by Thomas Jeffreys. Printed 1770.

In the summer of 1767 Joseph Gilbert, then master of the *Guernsey* carried out survey work beginning in the Straits of Belle Isle going north to Cape Bluff. In 1770 he joined Cook as master of the *Resolution* on the second voyage to the Pacific, 1772-3 (Seary 1971:15).

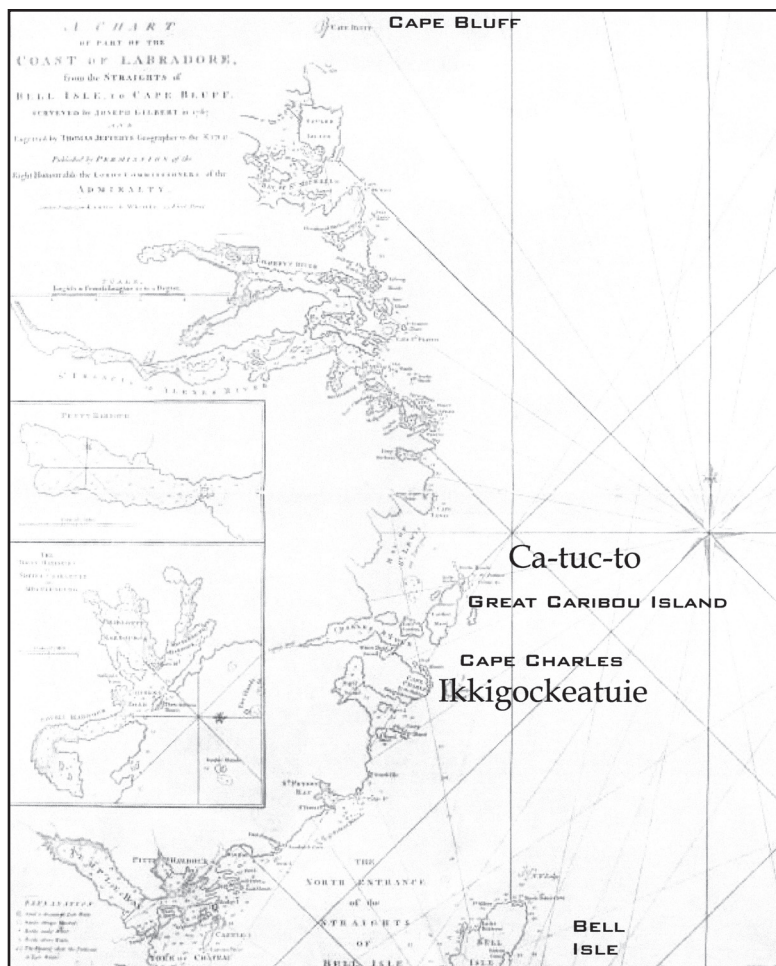


Figure 1. Coast charted by Joseph Gilbert 1767.

places (*Bad Bay, Petty Harbour and Fishing Islands*). These specific name types reflect standard English naming strategies for his time (Seary 1971:13-15).

Gilbert includes only three toponyms with an Inuit association. He repeats the exonym *Esquimeaux Island*, initially implanted by Cook in 1763 at Chateau Bay but also indicates two new Inuit endonyms. Printed near the *Battle Islands* are the words “by the Indians *Ca-t uc-to*” and by Cape Charles “by the Indians *Ikkigockeatuie*”.

Gilbert’s chart is a crucial document in the historical record of southern Labrador cartography and toponymy. It is the first accurate hydrographic chart of the coast north of the Strait of Belle Isle after 1763. It is also a record of the beginning of the Anglicization of the toponymic system in this region.

Gilbert’s chart boasts 70 toponyms, almost all English but a few originating in French (e.g. Cape Charles, Cape St. Francis, Chateau Bay and St. Michaels). He gives his own name, *Gilbert’s River*, to a large estuary he surveyed in detail. Otherwise he uses simple descriptive names as in *Barren Bay, Deep Water Creek, Square Island, Double Island* and *Round Island*. He commemorates contemporary admiralty ships’ names (*Niger, Grenville, Sandwich*), prominent persons (*Port Charlotte* and *Sophia Harbour* both in honour of Queen Charlotte (nee Duchess Sophia Charlotte, consort of George III of England), events (*Battle Harbour* and *Occasional Harbour*), fauna (*Seal Islands, White Bear Sound* and *Duck Island*) and the nature of

These names are either alternate Inuit toponyms or translations. We are not informed how Gilbert acquired them. Dr. Peter Ramsden has indicated that the word *Ca-tuc-to* means ‘caribou’ (personal communication August 19, 2008). Since the ‘Caribou’ islands (*Little Caribou I* and *Great Caribou Island*) are also found nearby it is tempting to suggest one version is a translation. But which? On January 9, 1771 Cartwright wrote in his Journal that two Inuit men ‘Attuiock’ and ‘Tooklavina’ who were wintering near him at Charles River “informed me that they met with a herd of deer [Caribou] upon Great Caribou (island)”. This event and its association with ‘caribou’ or *Ca-tuc-to* is apparently merely coincidence since Gilbert’s chart and the toponym “Caribou’ predates Cartwright’s reference. Nevertheless the presence of caribou on this island evokes the origin of the name in Inuktitut or English. Meanwhile Cape Charles was repeatedly identified in different 18th century sources as a prominent locale of Inuit visitation in southern Labrador. A translation of the word *Ikkigockeatuie* is needed to indicate its cultural significance.

MICHAEL LANE’S CHARTS (see also James Cook)

Much of the coastal surveying frequently ascribed to Captain James Cook in Labrador was actually done by Michael Lane. Lane, formerly schoolmaster in the *Guernsey* was appointed assistant to Cook in the winter of 1766-7 (Lysaght 1971:69). Lane then did all the early English hydrographic surveying along the Quebec North Shore and on the coast of Labrador. Cook’s contribution was limited to his 1763 charting of Chateau Bay. In 1769 Gilbert was transferred and Lane became the principal surveyor. His most important assignment was to chart the coast between Cape Charles and Sandwich Bay in 1770 and 1771. This was the coast where the English were then in the process of establishing fishing, sealing, salmon and furring posts, and the coast where attempts were being made by Newfoundland governors to reduce the risks of conflict with the Inuit by restricting them, with the aid of the Moravian missionaries, to the northward of Hamilton Inlet. Cartwright mentions meeting with Lane at Charles River September 27, 1771. He wrote “I went on board, and found his Majesty’s brig Grenville, commanded by Mr. Michael Lane, who had been employed all the summer in surveying part of the coast northward of this place”. Lane was returning from Sandwich Bay. Later on June 17, 1777 Cartwright mentions having in his possession an original Lane chart, one which he probably had when he (Cartwright) first moved northward to settle in Sandwich Bay two years earlier. In 1792 Cartwright also published Lane’s 1770-1 chart as part of his *Labrador Journal*.

Lane’s Labrador Charts include:

a. *A Chart of Part of the Coast of Labrador from Grand Point to Shecatica*. Surveyed by Michael Lane in 1768 and engraved by Thomas Jeffreys 1771. This chart covers a middle part of the Quebec North Shore. It has no toponyms with an Inuit association.

b. *A Chart of the Coast of Labrador from Mistanoque Bay near Shecatica I. to Cape C. Charles*. Surveyed by Michael Lane in 1769. Published in 1770 and 1775 (see Cook above). This chart includes the exonyms *Esquemeaux Bay*, *River Esquemeaux* and *Esquemeaux Islands*. These features were located at the mouth of what is now officially *Riviere Saint-Paul*. Lane also locates *Esquimeaux Island* between Henley Island and Castle Island within ‘York or Chateaux Bay’. This was most likely the island used as a gathering and camping site by the Inuit as referenced in official government documents, Moravian missionary papers 1765, and Cartwright’s *Journal*.

Lane clearly used established French toponyms on the lower Quebec North Shore but indicates that some places here and in the Straits of Belle Isle had alternative names. Thus *Esquemeaux Bay* was also *Old Fort Bay* (probably from Courtemanche’s fort built in 1700 to defend against the

Inuit), *Labradore Harbour* (later Bradore) was also *Bay Philippeaux*, and ‘York or Chateau Bay’ puts the English ‘York’ (name of the new English fort begun in 1767) in competition with the French ‘Chateau’ of 16th century provenance. A 1790 version of Lane’s “Coast of Labrador” from Great Mecatina Island to Cape Charles (included in “The Island of Newfoundland” map) contains the names *Esquemeaux Bay* and *Esquemeaux Is.*

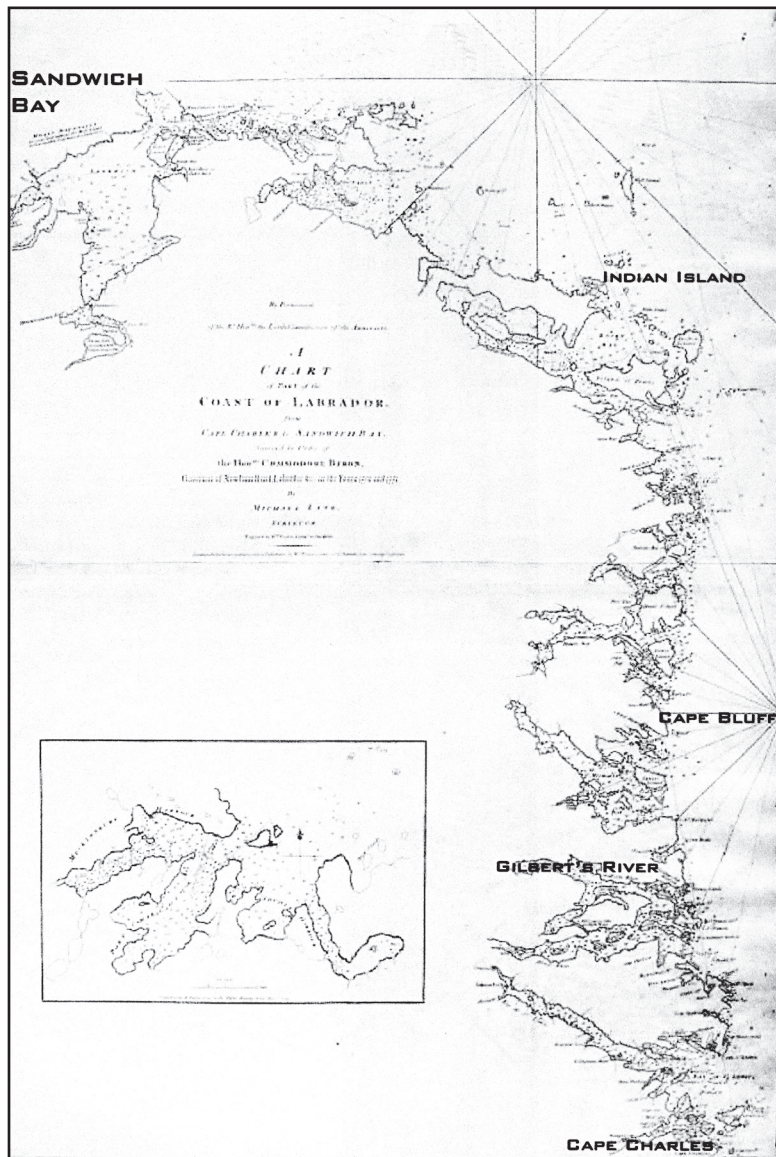


Figure 2. Lane’s chart 1770-1 with additional English toponyms, many composed by George Cartwright.

functional toponymy in their own language would assist adventurers and traders in safe navigation, and identifying good harbours and locales suitable for the exploitation of marine resources. The Gilbert and Lane charts represent the first accurate charts of southern Labrador after the scientific principles of surveying developed by their mentor Captain Cook. Gilbert and Lane also implanted a system of English place-names, mostly still intact.

It is very probable that Gilbert and Lane had numerous encounters with Inuit during the course of their surveying activities. In those years (1767 and 1770-1) the coastal areas being charted were

c. *A Chart of Part of the Coast of Labrador from Cape Charles to Sandwich Bay.* Surveyed by order of the Honble. Commodore Byron, Governor of Newfoundland, Labrador & c: in the years 1770 and 1771, by Michael Lane, surveyor; engraved by Wm Faden, Published in 1792. Copy in Cartwright’s Journal (Figure 2). Lane completed the survey over two summers. In 1770 he surveyed between Cape Charles and Spotted Island; the following year from Spotted Island to Sandwich Bay (Seary 1971:14).

This chart contains over 160 toponyms almost all of English provenance. It repeats almost all of Gilbert’s 1767 nomenclature but adds some of Cartwright’s toponyms for the Charles River-St. Lewis Bay area. Lane also imposes new names others from other sources, many of his own choice. *Indian Island* is his only toponymic acknowledgment of native people [Inuit].

COMMENTARY

The Cook, Gilbert, and Lane hydrographic surveys of southern Labrador were intended to help establish an English migratory fishery in the period after 1763. Accurate charts and func-

teeming with Inuit in their kayaks, umiaks, and shallops traveling up and down the coast. Gilbert and Lane would have seen Inuit encampments and gatherings and been approached by them with expectations of trade. The methods of surveying required the anchorage of the survey vessels for extended periods of time at various sites while small sail or rowboats set up shore markers to determine positions and distances, and take depth soundings. As with other surveys in Labrador Inuit guides with local knowledge were probably used initially to advise on safe anchorage and other details. Almost certainly there were numerous sightings of Inuit and contacts with them in the channels, bays, inlets and runs, and among the islands where they foraged, fished, gathered, and hunted during the summer months. Unfortunately, none of the field-notes, or personal daily diaries of Gilbert and Lane, where such items would likely be recorded, have survived. Regrettably too, they did not embrace such historical encounters and events more fully in the nomenclature on their charts.

Lane's chart of 1770-1 overlaps the Jens Haven Map 1765 in the coastal area between Sandwich Bay to about Comfort Bight but does not repeat any of the Inuit toponyms of the latter. It is possible Lane was unaware of the Haven map. It is likely too that Inuktitut toponyms were either considered meaningless and too difficult to pronounce by English mariners and fishermen. Thus they chose not to use them even when they heard them used (as seems the case with George Cartwright). Practically all Inuit toponyms mapped in Labrador were those recorded by Inuktitut-speaking Moravian missionaries who were intent on converting the Inuit to Christianity and had practical reasons to use Inuit names. The recording of Inuktitut names in 1765 in central and southern Labrador was done at the request of Governor Hugh Palliser and seems to have been a unique event except that Lieutenant Roger Curtis also recorded some Inuit toponyms on his 1773 chart. After 1765 the Moravians concentrated their Inuit toponymic naming efforts to northern Labrador around their mission settlements such as Nain, Okak, and Hopedale. It is likely that Inuktitut toponyms continued to be used orally among Inuit who continued to live in or migrate to Hamilton Inlet, Sandwich Bay and southern Labrador. However only a few of these are preserved in maps and manuscripts.

The Curtis chart of 1773 is another important document in the cartographic and toponymic record of the 18th century Labrador. Its significance is discussed in another part of this report.

REVIEW OF THE CURTIS 1773 MAP

(Contract Item 1)

Gordon Hancock Ph.D.

A REVIEW OF THE 1773 CURTIS MAP

Gordon Handcock Ph.D.

The 1773 Curtis Map (Figure 1) is titled *A Chart of the Country of Labrador Taken by order of Commodore Shuldham in a Tour up the Coast in the Year 1773 By Lieutenant Roger Curtis*. The title cartouche also contains the subscription “N.B. the pocked line denotes Mr. Curtis’s tract up the Coast but the same passage should not be attempted by a Ship of Burthen”. It is a manuscript map referred to as “a *Plane-Chart*” published in a paper by the Royal Society Philosophical Transactions, 1774 called “*Particulars of the Country of Labrador, extracted from the Papers of Lieutenant Roger Curtis, of His Majesty’s Sloop the Otter, with a Plane-Chart of the Coast. Communicated by the Honourable Daines Barrington*”.

With reference to his chart Curtis wrote: “the draught, which I have been able to form, is by much the best that has hitherto been made” (Curtis 1774: 372). This statement raises several questions about its origin. Did he make or ‘form’ this chart by copying or referring to earlier drafts of the coast? In claiming his ‘draught’ was the “best ... hitherto ... made” he implies awareness of earlier maps. What were these? Among criticisms of Curtis is one by George Cartwright acidly stating “he [Curtis] pirated his chart of the coast ...” (in Lysaght 1971: 444). Curtis certainly acknowledges antecedents by writing “Others have gone before me, blest with abilities superior to mine, and to whom I hope to be thought equal only in assiduity” (Curtis 1774: 372-3). But he adds that he had two advantages over these by saying: “with a small vessel, and having an Indian [Inuit] with me, who knew every rock and shoal upon the coast, I was enabled to be accurate in my observations; and these are the reasons, why I deem my own sketch preferable to all others” (Curtis 1774: 373).

A reasonable interpretation of these comments is that Curtis had access to earlier maps of Labrador but also made his own observations as he coasted northward in a vessel small enough to navigate safely among the rocks, shoals, and outer islands with the help of an experienced Inuit pilot who had travelled the same route. This Inuit guide evidently was also knowledgeable on Inuktitut names at least of important navigation landmarks. With these resources at hand, one may conclude, Curtis produced his improved chart of Labrador. It should be understood though that Curtis was not a trained hydrographic surveyor like James Cook or Michael Lane nor his “draught” a proper navigation chart with depth soundings, accurate drawings of features, or precise bearings. It was rather a general sketch of the coast indicating the direction a small sailing vessel might take when guided by a person with local knowledge. It was also fairly typical of 18th century coastal charts of the pre-Cook era (before the 1760s) which the British admiralty often required to be made by naval officers, along with the keeping of logs and journals. Thus it was not an unusual request for Commodore Molyneux Shuldham to order Curtis to visit northern Labrador and to sketch the coast. It is most unfortunate though that we do not possess more detailed information about the ‘tour’ and the collection of Inuit toponyms such as might have been recorded by Curtis in a daily diary or field-notes.

Curtis left Chateau Bay on 14 July in the armed shallop *Sandwich*. He seems to have kept offshore until he reached Cape Bluff (indicated by the chart). From there he entered among the outer coastal island and progressed northward. He visited the new mission station at Nain founded by Moravians in 1771. He then joined the missionaries in a reconnaissance of the coast as far north as Okak Island which, as shown by “the pocked line”, he circumnavigated. He returned to Chateau Bay 26 August (Whiteley 1983:221).

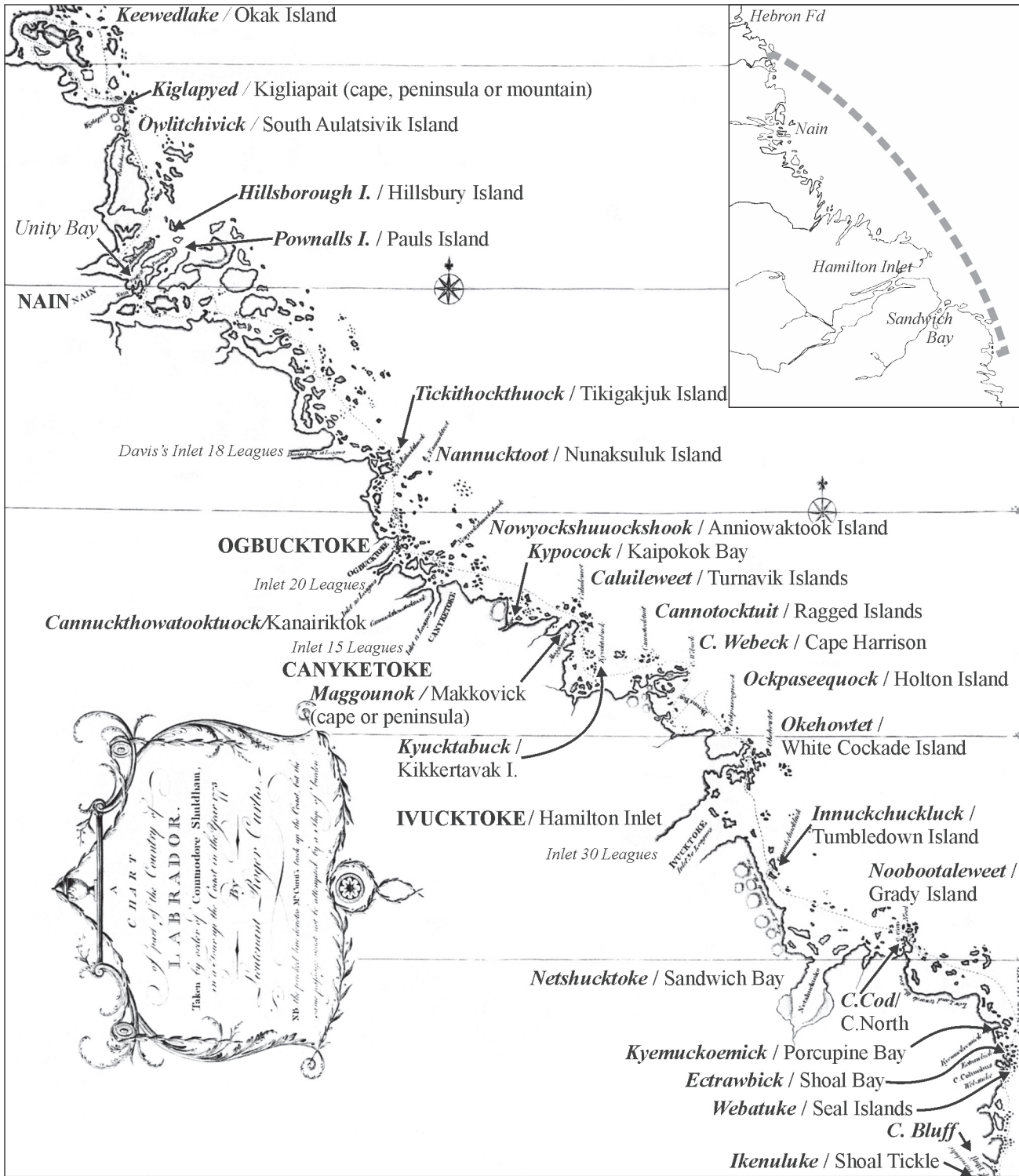


Figure 1. Curtis 1773 map rotated to North up, showing extent of the chart (inset), annotations, and toponymy with original/modern names.

THE CURTIS CHART

In modern terms the chart covers a distance of about 650 km (ca 400 miles) from around Cape Bluff near St. Michael's Bay in the south to near present day Cape Mugford just beyond Okak bay in the north (Figure 1). The Chart sketches the 'outer coast' of Labrador with its fringes of offshore islands, archipelagoes; entrances to the major bays, fjords, estuaries of rivers, and inlets; and the mainland shoreline to which are added, here and there, hachured drawings of hills and elevated areas, and topographic descriptions. For example, the phrase "Low land towards the Sea" indicates coastal lowlands around Temple Bay and north of Sandwich Bay (Netshucktoke). Two expanses of sand are shown by stippled outlines in Sandwich Bay. Curtis also estimated the lengths of major inlets in leagues (units of c 4.8 kms or 3 miles). Under the toponym 'Ivucktoke' now Hamilton Inlet (formerly Eskimeaux Bay) Curtis adds 'Inlet 30 Leagues' and further north is written 'Davis Inlet 18 Leagues'. In between two unnamed prominent indentations are shown respectively as 'Inlet 20 Leagues' and 'Inlet 15 Leagues'.

When the Curtis map is oriented conventionally by rotating it 90 degrees counterclockwise so that north is at the top, as in Figure 1, one can easily recognize the part of the Labrador coast it represents and many individual features including small harbours, islands, capes, and runs or passages. Among the more obvious features are: the entrance to Hamilton Inlet (called Ivucktoke); Sandwich Bay (Netshucktoke) and deep coastal indentations around Nain. Although it cannot compare with the scientifically advanced cartography of southern Labrador by Gilbert (1767) and Lane (1770-1), the Curtis map represents fairly accurately the complex island groups along the Labrador coast, but less so the actual forms and relative sizes of individual features. Though they are unnamed on the Curtis chart specific geographical features known today as Martin Bay (just north of Cape Bluff), Stony Island, Hawk Island and Squasho Run (a narrow passage which separates Hawk Island from the mainland), Comfort Bight (likely Curtis's Webatuke), Seal Island, Black Bear Bay, Porcupine Bay, Island of Ponds, and Spotted Island are identifiable by their respective relative locations and spatial contexts.

THE CURTIS TOPONYMY

The map contains 36 place names (Figure 1). Of these eight (8), including Unity B(ay), Nain, Davis Inlet, Byrons Bay, C(ape) Cod, East Island, C(ape) Columbus and C(ape) Bluff are English. The other 28 toponyms, from the spellings and phonetics, appear to be Inuktitut names, presumably compiled by Curtis from his Inuit guide but, possibly in the north, with the aid of Moravian missionaries at Nain. The Inuit guide had previously travelled the coast of Labrador between the Straits of Belle Isle as far north as *Nuckcauk* (*Naghvakh*) (Curtis 1774: 388).

A thorough analysis of these Inuit names requires that each toponym be translated and its linguistic meaning determined. This is absolutely necessary when using these names in ethnohistorical interpretation and determining their significance. Translation is also helpful also in locating and delimiting the geographical features, or the character of the spaces, to which the names refer.

Two Inuit names, *Ogbucktoke* (placed near modern Hopedale) and *Keewedloke* (near Okak), indicate the settlement areas of Inuit groups, or tribes. According to Curtis, the name *Ogbucktoke* refers to whaling people and thus the placement of the name probably locates the general area where whaling was conducted. In his written comments attached to a census he conducted in 1773, Curtis claimed that the *Ogbucktokes* were "the first tribe, or settlement, you come..." after leaving the "straights of

Belleisle, and proceeding northwards” (1774: 387). The other 26 names form part of an Inuit toponymic system known to the guide who Curtis claimed ‘knew of every rock and shoal upon the coast’ (1774: 373).

The placement of toponyms and the map scale does not in all cases allow precise identification of the features, or the spaces to which some names apply. Nevertheless the Chart is accurate enough to identify some of the more prominent navigational landmarks and geographical features from modern topographical maps, coastal charts, and sailing directions. In some cases, however, the toponym in Inuit tradition may indicate the locale of an historic event, a resource procurement area, a natural environmental condition, spatial organization (region), a land use, or a place with a spiritual association. This is why the translation of Inuktitut toponyms is critical to a proper interpretation of their significance (Müller-Wille 2007:1).

Figure 1 shows that to the northward of Cape Harrison (*C. Webeck*) most of the toponyms used by Curtis are still readily recognizable by their phonetics in official modern day geographical names. Their preservation can be mostly attributed to the continued use of Inuktitut place-names on maps north of Cape Harrison, the “Moravian Coast”. It could be surmised that some or all of these names were provided to Curtis by Moravians when he visited Nain in 1773. Interestingly though a chart made in 1770 by the Moravians in exploring the coast north of Byron’s Bay (the Inuit *Supok*) to Nain in the Jersey Packet, has only four of its 48 toponyms in common with those on the Curtis chart, none in Inuktitut. For example, Curtis’s Cape Harrison (*C. Webeck*) becomes Cape Nautilus (*Esq^x. Eystak*) on the 1770 Moravian chart. The latter also indicates that Byron’s Bay had the alternate Inuktitut name *Supok*. Curtis just records Byrons Bay.

Between Cape Bluff and Cape Harrison, Curtis locates 16 toponyms - five in English (Byrons Bay, C. Cod, East Islands, C. Columbus, and Cape Bluff) and 11 in Inuktitut (Table 1 and Figure 2). A translation of Inuktitut toponyms south of Cape Harrison by Wharram (this report) indicates some of the Inuit naming strategies and helps identify some of the important elements in their linguistic structure. For example, locations and descriptions of notable geographic features are highlighted in the meanings of *Noobootaleweet* (prominent headlands), *Innuckchuckluck* (‘big inuksuk’ probably a conspicuous landmark in navigating), *Webatuke* (many capes), *Ikenuluke* (‘bad shoal’) and possibly *Ockpassequock* (if it means an area of extremely low tides). Places of environmental hazards in navigation are evident in *Ikenulike* and *Webatuke*. *Ivucktote* and *Netshucktoke* evoke sites of significant natural resources. *Ectrawbick* (suitable landing and lading place for boats) marks a location of important utility for a migrating people and *Okehowtet* seemingly records a storage area for harpoon

Table 1. Inuktitut toponyms from the Curtis 1773 map

Inuktitut Toponym Curtis Map 1773	Modern Name or (approximate location)
C. Webeck	Cape Harrison
Ockposeequock	(Holton Island)
Okehowtet	(White Cockade Island)
Ivucktoke	Hamilton Inlet
Innuckchuckluck	(N. Stag Is. or Tumbledown Dick Is.)
Netshucktoke	Sandwich Bay
Noobootaleweet	(Cape North - Grady Island - Black Island area)
Kyemuckoemick	(Porcupine Bay)
Ectrawbick	(Black Bear Bay - Shoal Bay area)
Webatuke	(Comfort Bight to Seal Islands)
Ikenuluke	(Shoal Tickle around Dead Islands Bay)

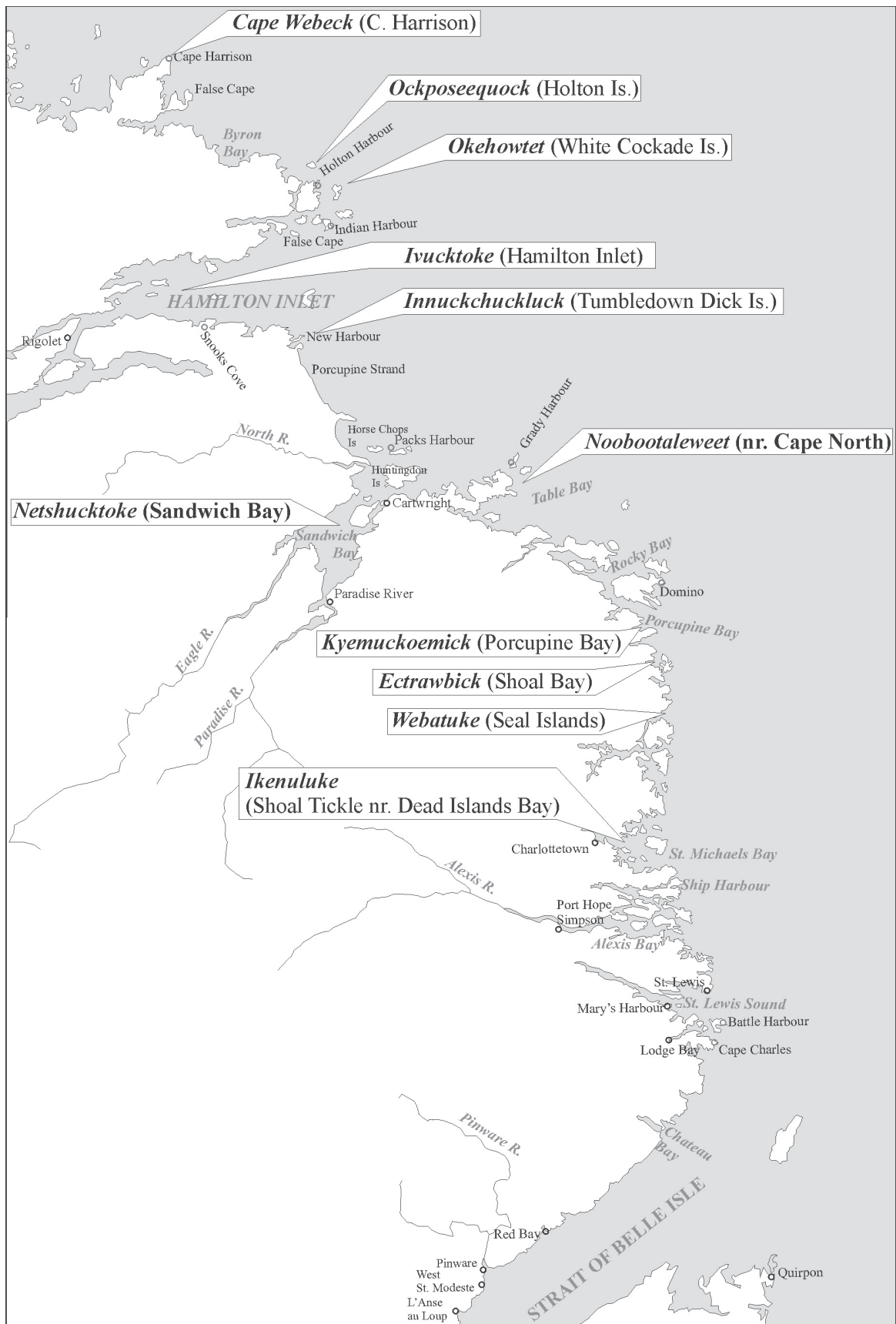


Figure 2. Inuit toponyms from Curtis chart 1773 with modern equivalents.

points possibly in the past. These toponyms reflect varied aspects of Inuit adaptation to the natural environment of central and southern Labrador and indicate features and spaces of that environment which were, in the perceptions of Curtis's pilot, very important in navigation.

The Curtis corpus of toponyms south of Cape Harrison focuses primarily on naming the natural environment and particularly crucial navigational features rather than on Inuit occupancy and land use, elements more evident in the Haven toponymy. This is not surprising since Curtis was making a chart to which it important to identify locations of shoals, capes and visible landmarks. By contrast a main objective of the Haven toponymy was to document locations of Inuit occupancy although it also records the names of significant coastal features related to Inuit migration and resource existence or availability (Müller -Wille 2008: 1-3)

COMMENTARY

Even if Curtis made use of Haven's map or other Moravian charts, as suggested by Lysaght, it is somewhat confusing why he did not repeat any Inuktitut toponymy. The Haven map 1765 (and its several versions) and the Curtis map overlap roughly from Davis Inlet in the north to Comfort Bight in the south. Along the common coastal zone south of Cape Harrison, the Haven map contains 36 Inuktitut toponyms all of which were recorded by the Moravians in interviews with transient Inuit informants at Chateau Bay in August 1765; the Curtis map, as shown in Table 1, contains 11 Inuit names. There is no accord between these two toponymic systems even when seemingly the same features are named. For example, Hamilton Inlet is denoted as *Kangertlorsoak* ('big bay') by Haven whereas Curtis has *Ivucktoke*. Sandwich Bay, on the former is *Aviktome* ('parting-place'), the latter has *Netshucktoke*. Except for *Ivucktoke*, a name known to Cartwright and repeated in numerous other sources, none of Curtis's Inuktitut toponyms south of Cape Harrison appear to be ever used on subsequent maps or in other documents. Haven's toponymy suffers a similar fate. Although two names *Arbatok* and *Nuneingoat*, Inuit regional names located around *Kangertlorsoak* in 1765, recur on a Moravian chart of the north coast in 1770, the others seem to become, as far as published sources indicate, part of an archival record until published by Lysaght in 1971 though they probably persisted in Inuit oral tradition.

Garth Taylor contends that toponyms on the 1765 Haven map are incorrectly placed around Hamilton Inlet and that these properly belong further north. Even if he is correct, there shouldn't be any doubt about the proper application of the Inuit regional name *Kikertet* ('the islands') to the island group or archipelago between Comfort Bight and the Spotted Island-Island of Ponds area. This archipelago, formerly known to the French as Mille Isles or Isles des Eskimaux (Fornel 1743), was sketched in profile by the Moravians in 1765 and labeled 'Prospect M' on the Haven map indicating one of the possible regions where they might build a mission post. The Haven map also includes four Inuit toponyms for specific features in *Kikertet* as follows: *Ekerasuit* (a passage between islands) probably Porcupine Bay or Frenchmans Run; *Kikertarsoak* (a large island) probably Seal Island; *Puktaksoak* (island 'very high land') probably Spotted Island (with its SE corner rising in a conical shape), or the rugged Indian Island; and *Tanannut* ('island in the shadows, the dark one') probably Porcupine Island (lying sheltered behind Island of Ponds).

The Moravians considered *Kikertet* for a mission post because it was recommended by the Inuit. Citing from a 1765 Moravian journal, Rollmann (2007b: 14) wrote "On 26 August, Drachardt asked Inuit at Charles Bay where Moravians should build their settlement and was told that they should build it at Kikertat (Kikertet)". Rollmann also provides a translation of a 1765 commentary by Haven

related to Kikertet or ‘Prospect M’. It reads: “M. is perhaps also a place where there are 8 or 10 houses and might well be considered. There are here enough codfish and also whales and seals and many eider birds and Alcken (Auks). It is also the southernmost place where some of this nation lives”. The proposal to settle at *Kikertet* was rejected by Governor Palliser who wanted the Inuit to relocate and stay north of Hamilton Inlet to prevent them coming among English fishermen who had recently begun to use harbours in southern Labrador. Consequently the Moravians focused their attention on prospective settlement sites on the north coast. Their focus on recording Inuit toponyms also moved northward.

The 1765 Haven (& Schloezer) map (Appendix A) is one which Curtis might have had in his possession and one he could have copied, in ‘forming’ his chart in 1773. Concerning Curtis’s chart, however, Lysaght wrote that “although it is not a copy of any of the Moravian maps which I have seen, it is not as good as some of the charts of that coast from the hand of Schloezer” (Lysaght 1974:443). This observation raises the issue of how well the Curtis map ranks compared to the various Moravian charts, the several versions of Haven 1765, and the two part 1770 Moravian Map the latter showing the north coast from about the north entrance to Hamilton Inlet to the Nain area.

Superficially and as published, the 1770 Moravian maps (Appendix A) have the appearance of being more accurate but when examined and analyzed more systematically especially for cartography, there are grounds to differ from Lysaght’s judgment and especially Gosling’s condemnation that Curtis’s chart was “very crude and incorrect” (Whitely 1983: 222). As shown in Figure 3, when oriented properly, and superimposed on the modern map, the Curtis map shoreline conforms very closely in shape and direction. The Haven 1765 map may appear to be more accurate because it includes a complete outline of Hamilton Inlet, arguably the most visually defining features on the coastal landscape of Labrador, but a feature omitted by Curtis. Then again one needs to be reminded that the Haven map is itself largely a contrived outline, assembled by combining earlier Moravian maps (Goff 1752), and French charts (Fornel 1743, Pilote 1743) with a detailed survey of Davis Inlet and sketches

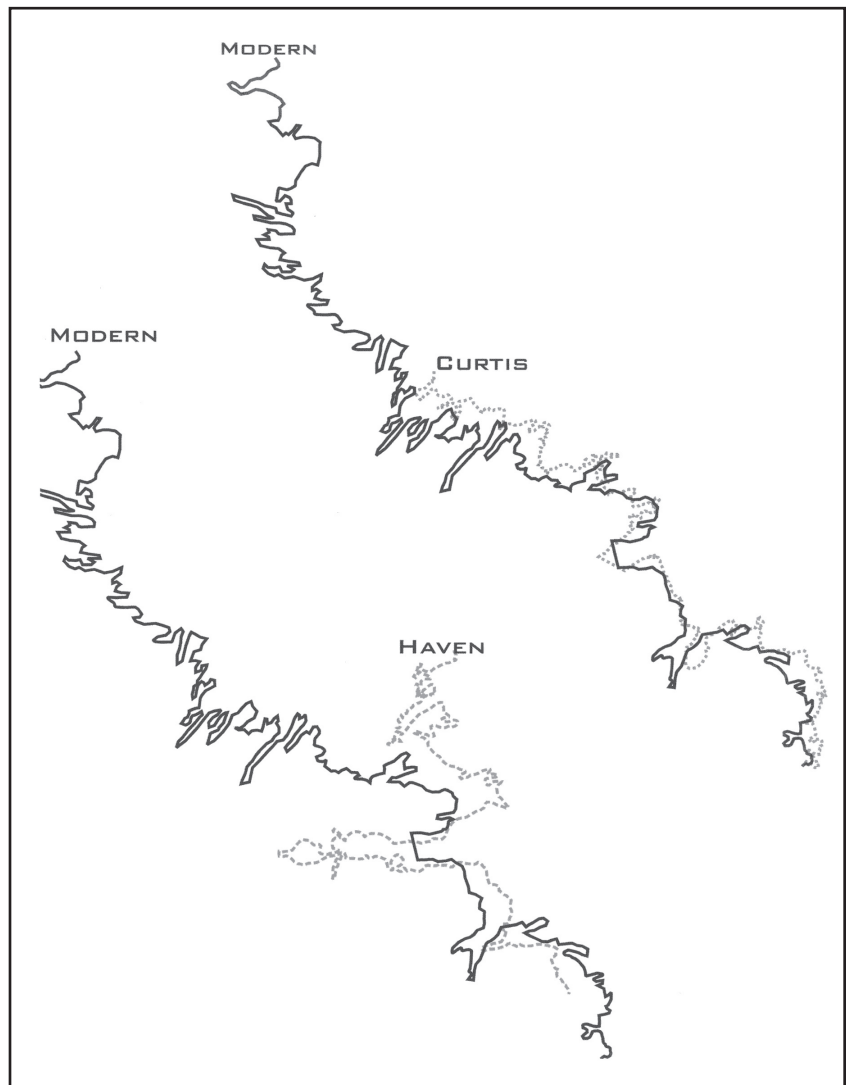


Figure 3. Curtis 1773 & Haven 1765 chart outlines superimposed on modern map at comparative scales and latitudes.

of selected coastal profiles by Haven and Schloezer in 1765 (Handcock 2007: 5-9). Whatever its general appearance, the Haven map lacks the consistency of scale, proportion, and direction found on the Curtis chart. Thus there is nothing in their respective cartographic details or toponymic regimes to suggest Curtis made any use of it.

The Curtis chart, however, bears a close resemblance to the 1770 Moravian chart especially by the style in which the coast, islands, and islets are presented. Both maps have a dotted or 'pocked' line indicating the route followed by their respective survey vessels; the shallow Sandwich of Curtis in 1773, the Moravian's Jersey Packet in 1770. These similarities suggest Curtis may have cribbed from the Moravian chart and indeed, in terms of basic map design, he likely did. There are, however, fundamental differences in cartography and, as seen, in Inuit nomenclature. Figure 3 shows that the Curtis map extends considerably further north and south than the Moravian chart yet these extensions have consistent quality with the rest. Mapped at a larger scale, the Moravian map shows islands and other coastal features in more detail and this tends to make it more accurate. When both maps are closely examined against the modern map, the superiority of one over the other is less obvious. When compared with each other at a local or regional level, Byron's Bay on Curtis is obviously not the same on the 1770 Moravians, nor is the Nain Bay of one the Nain Bay of the other. On balance then, there is very little to indicate that Curtis copied either the 1765 Haven or the 1770 Moravian chart. Going even further, Curtis clearly did not copy Lane's Chart 1770-1 in their commonly mapped coast between Cape Bluff and Sandwich Bay.

The matching of Inuktitut toponyms south of Cape Harrison on the Curtis map with locations and place-names on the modern map is relatively a straightforward process of map interpretation, limited in accuracy mainly by such factors as map scale and name placement on the original map. Interpreting the historical significance of these toponyms in understanding Inuit culture, migration and settlement is much more difficult. In the instance of toponyms on the Curtis chart, for example, in considering not just those south of Cape Harrison, but Inuit toponyms between Cape Bluff and Cape Mugford, it is found, as shown in Figure 1, that most of those north of Cape Harrison, in modified orthography, have become official in modern nomenclature. Meanwhile the Inuk toponyms on the Curtis map south of Cape Harrison, like those on the 1765 Haven map, occur only once in the cartographic record. These differences, in addition to these two maps each having a completely different toponymy for the same areas, make it necessary to probe map-making and name-collecting processes to better understand and interpret their significance as historical records. The survival of Inuit toponymy in the north, for example, clearly reflects the influence of the Moravian policy of relating to the Inuit in their native language including the recording of their toponymy. Clearly southward of Cape Harrison, Inuktitut toponymy had no such patronage and thus existed almost exclusively in oral tradition except in the case of the three coastal charts under discussion here. Curtis's map is exceptional in that it appears to be the only concerted effort by a British naval officer or any other authority to record any significant numbers of Labrador Inuit toponyms.

Assuming that the toponyms on the Curtis chart and the several Moravian maps constitute authentic recordings, which translations indicate they generally are, it can be reasonably proposed that these separate documents are providing partial reconstructions of concurrent but different Inuit toponymic systems. This would explain the complete absence of accord between the toponyms of one map and another. Alternatively it could be reasoned that the Labrador coast is so very complex in topography that names were easily have been collected for entirely different features on these separate charts. That is possible, but it seems illogical that prominent features such as Hamilton Inlet, Sandwich Bay, and Cape Harrison would not have some common or shared appellations among the Inuit informants.

As indicated Curtis seems to have recorded toponyms from one person, an Inuit pilot who was also presumably his interpreter. The Inuktitut names on the Moravians chart 1770 were evidently provided by an Inuit woman, Mikak, and her husband, Tuglavina, also experienced migrants of the Labrador coast. Mikak and Tuglavina accompanied and piloted the Moravian missionaries in the Jersey Packet between Byron's Bay and Nain Bay, a distance of some 300 kilometers (180 miles) lasting two weeks from July 16. Meanwhile, the toponyms of the Haven map were recorded by two Inuktitut speaking missionaries - Jens Haven and Larsen Drachard - in interviews with sundry Inuit groups at Chateau Bay in August 1765. Haven and Drachard were also both on the 1770 voyage to Nain.

It is not unreasonable to hypothesize that different Labrador Inuit groups or "tribes" of the 18th Century possessed different oral toponymic systems especially if it is true, as Curtis and others have maintained, that there was little intercommunication among them. It is also reasonable to suggest that among migrating groups such systems, as well as being dependent upon oral tradition for dissemination and persistence, would normally be extremely dynamic and volatile, and occasionally subjected to catastrophic changes from the decease of band leaders and elders who personally possessed much of the toponymic knowledge shared within a small group. Such major losses must have occurred in 1773 when some 300 Inuit perished in southern Labrador and when persons, such as Curtis's pilot, and Mikak and Tuglavina, died.

Thus the toponyms we receive from the 1773 Curtis map south of Cape Harrison as well as those on the Moravian maps of 1765 and 1770 apparently represent components of place-name regimes as known to their informants at these given times. It does not seem that they are related one to the other, at least not to the south of Cape Harrison. Rather they appear to be components, but only vestigial remains, of what once were comprehensive, but independent, oral Inuit toponymies covering central and southern Labrador.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Dr. Hans Rollmann for bringing the 1770 Moravian charts to my attention, and for providing copies.

**A REVIEW OF
COMMENTS MADE BY CURTIS PUBLISHED IN THE
ROYAL SOCIETY PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS**

(Contract Item 2)

Gordon Handcock Ph.D.

COMMENT ON CURTIS ARTICLE IN THE ROYAL SOCIETY PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS

Gordon Handcock Ph. D.

The paper published in the Royal Society Philosophical Transactions, 1774 was titled “Particulars of the Country of Labrador, extracted from the Papers of Lieutenant Roger Curtis, of His Majesty’s Sloop the Otter, with a Plane-Chart of the Coast. Communicated by the Honourable Daines Barrington”.

Lieutenant Roger Curtis (later Admiral Sir Roger Curtis) was a career officer in the British Royal Navy. He spent three years as a midshipman on the sloop HMS Gibraltar in Newfoundland during the governorship of Hugh Palliser 1764-7. In 1769 he joined HMS Venus under Captain Samuel Barrington (brother to the Honourable Daines Barrington, a solicitor and member of the Royal Society) and then moved to HMS Venus in which he was promoted to lieutenant on 28 January 1771. Shortly after Curtis was posted to the sloop Otter in Newfoundland and there became friends with governor Shuldham who also became his patron. During the next three summers 1771-3 he visited the coast of Labrador and gained some familiarity with its physical environment, fisheries and marine resources, and with its native inhabitants (Whiteley 1983:220-2).

At the end of the second summer in 1772 Curtis compiled a lengthy report of the Labrador coast, dedicated to Lord Dartmouth (William Legge) secretary of state for the American Colonies, who had a special interest in the welfare of native peoples (Whitely 1983: 220). The report “An extended account about Labrador, its people... “ is a document combining both generalizations and particular observations about the natural environment, native peoples, natural resources, and prospects for development (CO 194/30: ff 158-191). He describes Labrador [the Land] as “nothing more than a prodigious heap of barren rocks” but was very enthusiastic about the prospects for developing a prosperous cod and seal fishery and trade with the Inuit. He took considerable pains to describe the cultural characteristics and style of life of the “Esquimeaux” [Inuit] and offer specific suggestions how they might be pacified and controlled to serve British national interests.

The 1772 Account stimulated British government interest in Labrador particularly the little known north coast. In 1773 Curtis was directed by Governor Shuldham to visit and report on the activities of the recently developed Moravian post at Nain and prospects for developing resources “capable of being rendered national advantages” (Whitely 1983: 220). Curtis produced two separate reports. These were “An account of the Moravian Mission upon the Coast of Labrador in 1773” (CO 194/31: ff 58-65), and “Remarks upon the Northern parts of the Coast of Labrador” (CO 194/31: 38-53). Curtis reported very favourably on the work of the Moravians especially their influence in bringing the Inuit under control and reducing the risks of their attacking and robbing Europeans. His Remarks included sections subtitled “Of the Esquimeaux”, and “Of their Numbers”, including a list of “tribes” and their estimated population sizes. He included also a chart of the coast supposedly made as part of his 1773 excursion northward.

An analysis of Curtis’s impressions communicated to the Royal Society in the 1774 Particulars does indeed show that these were extracted from his papers. The introductory sections came verbatim from his “Remarks upon the Northern parts...” 1773 as does the concluding two sections on the “Esquimaux”. The middle sections, dealing with “Climate, Soil, and Natural Productions [flora and faunal] “, were drawn from his 1772 “An extended account...”.

THE INHABITANTS

Curtis observed that Labrador was thinly populated mainly because it was a barren land and experienced a rigorous and severe winter for more than half the year. Of the native inhabitants he wrote “The people of this country form various nations or tribes, and are at perpetual war with each other”, and of the Inuit particularly he said

Formerly the Esquimaux, who we may call a maritime nation, were settled at different places upon the coast, quite down to the River St. John’s. But for many years past whether it was owing to their quarrels with the mountaineers, or the incroachments (sic) of the Europeans they have taken up their residence far to the North. (1774: 379).

Regarding the Indians [Innu] he said

A good way in the Country live a people distinguished by the appellation of Mountaineers between whom and the Esquimaux there subsists an unconquerable aversion. Next ... and still further westward you come to a nation called the Escopics. We know not much of this people, and beyond the them are the Hudson Bay Indians, with whom the writer is little better acquainted ... (379-80).

According to Curtis, “The Mountaineers are esteemed an industrious tribe; and, for many years, had been known to the French traders” with whom they mainly traded furs. He perceived they were “generally good-natured” and “less ferocious than any other indians”. These traits he attributes to their long association with Europeans. He explained that the Mountaineers came from inland every year to trade with “Canadian merchants” who had sealing posts on the southern part of the coast and “have the character of just dealers” and from whom they acquired “spirits”, blankets, fire-arms, and ammunition” (380). He saw the “Esquimaux” as less civilized than the Mountaineers but beginning to “imitate us” specifically noting that “it is no more than a year or two, that the business of cookery has been known to them” whereas previously they ate “ever thing raw” (381).

These remarks seem to be the common perceptions about Labrador native peoples among British military and political officials, and traders of this period from whom he probably he heard them. Indeed Curtis’s descriptions do not differ markedly from those of another contemporary observer, the remarkable Labrador pioneer and adventurer, Captain George Cartwright.

THE INUIT

In addition to portraying Inuit as a maritime people, Curtis explains that they had “no fixed residence” but were obliged from the difficulty of acquiring the necessities of life to be “continually traversing the country” (382). He represents their necessity to migrate frequently as related to various customs including a strong propensity to pilfer European trading and fishing posts and steal wooden boats. In his 1772 report he describes recent incidents of these activities and noted that “Above every thing these Indians [Inuit] are desirous of Shallops” and that it was “deemed meritorious to steal one whenever possible”. He offers a rationalization for this practice by saying: “they have been long accustomed to ramble in the Summer, & they cannot well transport themselves without Boats”, and “they know not how to build them”.

Curtis also stated that the Inuit inhabited the sea shores because of their fear of the Mountainers and that they were very skilled in navigating the coasts even without a compass and in the thickest fogs.

According to Curtis, the Inuit in 1772, despite official efforts to prevent them from having contact with English fishing ships, were still frequenting the southern regions of Labrador around Chateau Bay and Cape Charles and also northern Newfoundland, places where they committed various depredations about fishing posts after the ships had gone. But he also stated that they went every fall to the north (1772:177). Among measures to help regulate and control these migrations he suggested leaving a patrol vessel based at Fort York in Chateau Bay. He also recommended that the commanding officer of the Fort should also learn their language. The latter would help in “conciliating the Affections of these people” for “two very substantial reasons”: ... “the Strongest is the peace of our Fishery; the other is the Trade that may hereafter be promoted with them” (178).

Inuit Population Numbers

In *Remarks 1773* (repeated in *Particulars 1774*) Curtis formed an estimation of the numbers of “Esquimaux” in coastal Labrador (i.e. he took a rough census). He observed “I have been at some pains to obtain information upon this head and by the means I shall pursue of their populousness one may be able to make a tolerable estimation”. His method of calculation was to divide the population into “tribes” and then to estimate a number of persons per boat and multiply that figure by the number of boats possessed by each “tribe”. In all he names 16 “tribes” with a total population of 1623 inhabitants broken down individually as follows:.

Table 1. *Inuit Tribes from Curtis (1774) “Particulars of the Country of Labrador ...”*

Name	Population	Name	Population
Ogbucktok	270	Nuckvauk	60
Nonynoke	100	Cummucktobick	30
Keewedloke	360	Kidlenock	30
Nepawktoot	70	Toogeat	30
Cannuklookthunck	345	Congerbaw	30
Chuckluck	140	Ungabaw	30
Chuckbelweet	40	Ivevucktoke	30
Noolatucktoke	30	Igloo-ockshook	30

The Ogbucktoke and Nonynoke Tribes

According to Curtis, the Ogbucktoke tribe was the only Inuit group involved in southern migrations and having significant contacts with European fishermen. In *Remarks 1773* he wrote:

Leaving the Straights of Belle isle and proceeding northwards, the first tribe, or settlement you come to, is that of Ogbucktoke. Here they have the most Boats, by reason of their being nearest to the Europeans, and allowing fifteen persons to each boat including Men, Women and Children, which an under rating, and they having eighteen boats, is270

Another “tribe” having an important association with 18th century Europeans was called the Nonynoke. This was the group among whom the Moravians founded at Nain their mission in 1771 which Curtis visited and reported on in 1773. In his census calculations he wrote:

The next tribe is at Nonynoke, where the Moravians are settled. These have only five boats; but then they are more crowded, so admitting twenty to a boat their numbers is,.....100

Reference to Curtis’s 1772 “An extended account...” shows that he had already gathered information and formed perceptions on the Ogbucktokes and Nonynokes before going on his 1773 tour northward. Thus he wrote (perhaps for the benefit of Lord Dartmouth):

There are several Hoards (sic) of Esquimaux: That which is the nearest to us, and which comes every Year to the Southward stile (sic) themselves the Ogbuctuck (sic) Tribe. A good way beyond these, reside the Noninucks (sic), amongst whom the Moravians are settled. Between these two tribes there seems to be little Intercourse. We are not so well acquainted with the Noninucks, for they never make such distant peregrinations as the Ogbucktucks. There are other Hoards of these people still further to the Northward, but as yet we know nothing of them (178-9).

In further elaboration Curtis stated that the Noninucks did not kill whales but that the taking of seals was their chief employment and, for that reason, “the Ogbucktucks are more worth our attention”. He added “they are our Neighbours, this renders their Enmity more alarming & their Friendships more valuable” (179).

Curtis understood that “In the Esquimaux Language, the “Word” Ogbuck signified Whale” and that “the constant Winters Residence of this Tribe is Ogbucktuck: The place of Whales where a few of them, with the decrepit, continually remain, and from thence they derive the Appellation of Ogbucktucks, the Whales”. He also said that “Probably the number of this Tribe, Men, Women & Children, may be about three hundred”, a figure not inconsistent with his 1773 estimate (179).

THE MORAVIANS AND THE INUIT IN 1773

When he visited them in 1773, Curtis reported that the Moravians had chosen for themselves a place called by the Inuit Nonynoke but by the missionaries Unity Bay. He noted the site was situated behind a group of islands “about the Latitude 57° 50” North and that. “Their House is called Nain”. He remarked with enthusiasm that the mission had already made great progress in “civilizing” the Inuit and had brought them from a state of “ferocity and distrust” to one of “gentleness and civility”. In particular he explains how the Moravians had already begun to affect Inuit seasonal mobility patterns by offering them a ready market for whalebone and seal oil and provisioning them with items such as blankets, knives and beads (66). He stated though that the “Ogbucktuke Tribe still continues to visit our settlements every summer” but “their numbers begin to decrease every year” (64). He believed they were no longer a threat to interrupt or disturb the English fishery (63). He was also of the opinion that these southern visits were of little benefit to the Inuit, that they only received from Europeans trifles and that “idling away the summer among the Europeans, and in rambling up and down the coast, they are frequently overtaken by winter before they are prepared for it, and almost without anything to support them through it” (64). From what he saw in Nonynoke (Nain) he was

convinced that the Inuit there were “much better provided with conveniences, than their Brethren of Ogbucktoke”.

COMMENTARY

An examination of Curtis’s reports to Governor Shuldham in 1772 and 1773 is necessary to more fully understand his comments and viewpoints as published by the Royal Society in 1774 since the latter was abstract. This review and commentary follows that approach.

The main issue is the reliability of the Curtis papers as historical documents particularly with respect to the question of Inuit presence in southern Labrador after the Treaty of Paris 1763 up to the early 1770s. Were the Inuit found around the Strait of Belle Isle and in southern coastal Labrador, as he clearly suggests, merely summer marauders who came southward each year mainly to acquire wooden boats and to plunder? Did these southern migrations involve only the Ogbucktuck “tribe” whose winter residence was around Ogbuckuck/Arbatok, seemingly the modern Hopedale area? In order to answer these questions one must consider the methods Curtis used to acquire his information, his credibility as an observer, and contemporary ethnohistorical data in other sources, and the degree to which these refute or support what Curtis says.

Curtis seems to have formed most of his general impressions about the Inuit from summer visits to the Straits of Belle Isle and Chateau Bay in 1771 and 1772. He had some direct contacts with Inuit there. Particularly important was an Inuit pilot who went with him on his northern voyage in 1773 and from whom he presumably collected place names and tribal names in Inuktitut as well as estimates of their population and other information. His 1772 Account indicates some detailed knowledge of the prior French occupation including land concessions given by the crown, and familiarity with their main cod, salmon and sealing places: “Isle Bois”, Blanc Sablon”, “Forteau”, “L’ance au Loup ...esteemed an exceeding good place, 8 or 10,000 Quintals have been manufactured there in a season...”, “St. Modeste... charmingly situated for drying fish... a good post for seal...” and “Red Bay...no place better for a codfishery ...a seal post and a good river [for salmon] near it”. Curtis admits having no first hand knowledge on any harbour north of Chateau Bay and wrote “still further to the North [beyond Cape Charles] nobody has yet settled”, but was “able to learn from the Esquimaux there are places where particular employments may be followed to good account” [168].

Although Curtis spent his first two summers around Chateau Bay, his exploration up the coast in 1773 offered him opportunity to gain better understanding of Labrador. Whiteley (1983: 221) gives him credit for being the first British naval officer to survey the northern coast and also asserted that no other followed him for almost 50 years. His Chart (discussed elsewhere) indicates he sailed northward among the outer islands from Cape Bluff to about Cape Mugford and identified, by their Inuit names, 30 locations and/or geographical features. He visited the Moravian station of Nain and his Account mentions that while there he visited “more northern Tribes of Indians” with two missionaries. He wrote “I accompanied them as far as Keewedloke in about the latitude 58° 10 “ (66). The dotted (or pocked) line on his the Chart indicates a route north from Nain circling Okak Island.

Contemporaries, historians and biographers have divided opinions on Curtis’s career and his reports on Labrador (Whiteley 1983:221). Governor Shuldham described him as a “very sensible Officer” and found his 1773 accounts on the coast of Labrador and the Moravian Mission quite favourable. Whiteley suggests that Curtis’s reports on the mission helped the Moravians to secure land grants for other posts. When Shuldham was appointed commander-in-chief on the North American station at the outbreak of the American Revolution, he took Curtis with him. Curtis then went on then to an

illustrious military and diplomatic career. His promotions in the Royal Navy included those of captain 1777, commodore 1782, rear-admiral 1794, full admiral 1802, and commander in chief Portsmouth naval base 1809. He was knighted in 1782 and received a baronetcy 1794. These achievements speak somewhat of his general intellectual abilities.

While some contemporaries held Curtis in high esteem others held him in contempt. Some authorities and writers on Labrador have accepted his reports as reasonably authentic or, at least, as reflecting contemporary perceptions on various subjects, but others regard his reports and especially his chart as very inaccurate even fraudulent (Whiteley 1983:221). Captain George Cartwright who lived on the coast for nearly 18 years, including the years of Curtis's visits, dismissed him as a knowledgeable authority. In an annotation of Pennant's Arctic Zoology in which Pennant praises the 'honoured' Sir Roger Curtis for his admirable descriptions of Labrador, Cartwright draws attention to Curtis's limited experience on the coast by writing "Sr. R. Curtis was Lieut. of the Otter sloop of war when in Labrador, was chiefly in Chateau Bay and in very few other harbours." He went on to say "He once went to Nain, or Nuninock, the principal settlement of the Moravians, pirated his chart of that coast and invented most of his acct. of that country" (see Appendix 1 in Lysaght. 1971: 444)

Gosling, "the historian of Labrador" (1910) condemned Curtis's chart as "very crude and incorrect", and Lysaght (1972) claimed that some Moravian charts were better (Whiteley 1983: 221-2). Hawkes (1916: 16-18), however, found Curtis's "tribal" divisions acceptable as well as his "census of the Eskimo" in 1773. Ethnologist J. Garth Taylor also treated Curtis's "tribal names" and named locations as consistent with those in contemporary Moravian documents (1974: 13-5). Except for "a considerable discrepancy between the Nunaingoakh [Curtis's Nonynoke] population figures of the diaries and those of Curtis", Taylor found reasonable correspondence between the Curtis census 1774 (1773) and figures from Moravian diaries 1772-4. Both sources were used to arrive at a summary of "Eskimo population distribution on the coast of Labrador, 1772-3" (Taylor 1974: Table 2:15).

William H. Whiteley, a scholar in Labrador history, defends Curtis against his critics on the grounds that he when he came to Labrador he was young, inexperienced, and anxious to make his mark with authorities. These factors would account for some of the "superficial and naïve" comments in his reports. Whiteley also says these reports reflected biases which were natural to an 18th-century naval officer but that they also contained a humanity and sense of fairness (1983: 222). Cartwright's accusation that Curtis "invented most of his acct. of that country" seems to relate mainly to the latter's general portrayal of the natural environment repeated in Pennant whose work Cartwright generally detested and condemned with scathing criticisms (Lysaght, 1971: Appendix 1:443-49).

Cartwright who lived on the coast in the 1770s and 80s had a much longer and greater familiarity with Labrador than Curtis, especially the inner coast and more fertile areas such as Sandwich Bay. As noted most of Curtis's general comments on the physical characteristics, customs, and cultural attributes of the Labrador Inuit differ little from Cartwright's own despite the latter's long-standing personal contacts with them.

Most of Curtis's (1774) comments did not come from observations from his northern tour in 1773, but were taken from his *Report* to Governor Shuldham two years earlier. These were formulated from what he could learn during two summer visits. Cartwright notes, apart from his trip to Nain, he had only been in Chateau Bay and a few other harbours, evidently none beyond Cape Charles. His 1773 chart of the coast is not accompanied by any field-notes, daily diary, or journal or additional observations en route. In other words there are grounds for suggesting that parts of his reports could have been contrived, or "invented" as Cartwright would have it. If, as his chart indicates, Curtis entered upon the coast at Point Bluff and then sailed northward using runs among the fringe of outer islands

known to Fornel in 1743 as *Mille Isles* or *Esquimaux Isles*, and to the Inuit as *Kikertet* (Haven map 1765), he ought to have encountered Inuit. He adds Inuktitut toponyms to his chart in this region, as well as around Sandwich Bay (*Netshucktoke*) and Byrons Bay just to the north of Hamilton Inlet (*Ivucktoke*), but offers no written details in any of his reports on their meaning or significance.

Curtis's statements on population sizes, migratory habits and settlement of Inuit, especially the so-called "Ogbucktokes" and "Nonyokes" differ considerably from those found in Cartwright's *Journal* and Moravian documents (Nain Diaries). On August 31, 1773 while at Charles River Cartwright wrote: "About noon almost the whole of the three southernmost tribes of Esquimaux, amounting to five hundred souls or thereabouts, arrived from Chateau in twenty-two old English and French boats...". According to Curtis, only the "Ogbuck" tribe, who by his chart lived around the modern Hopedale area, migrated into southern Labrador (and their total population in 1773 was 270). The "Noninucks", estimated by Curtis to number 100, were said by him to "never make such distant peregrinations as the Ogbucktucks"(1772:198). Using Moravian diaries as evidence, Taylor (1971:14) shows Curtis to be extremely inaccurate in his "Nonyoke" population and assertions on their migration. Taylor estimated the 1773 population of the Nain area (Nunaingoakh) to be 250, but much smaller thereafter because about 100 persons perished in a storm that summer during a migration to the Cape Charles area (Taylor 1971: 8). The total number who drowned or died from hunger after reaching shore was put at 200. From the Moravian diaries Taylor infers that the group going south in 1773 included "100 Eskimos from Nunaingoakh and 100 from Arvertok [Curtis's Ogbucktuke]" (Taylor 1971: 8). It is likely that those who died by drowning and starvation, as referenced in the sources quoted by Taylor, were among the gathering of 500 mentioned by Cartwright. It is also known that a large number of Inuit who met Cartwright also died subsequently that fall or winter from an epidemic believed to be smallpox at Ivucktoke Bay (not at Curtis's Ogbucktoke) (Cartwright 1792: March 28, 1779).

Contemporary evidence shows that Curtis's comments on Inuit settlement and migration as related to the named "tribes" are simplified and largely inaccurate. It is clear though that both the "Ogbucktokes" and "Nonyokes", Inuit from the Hopedale and Nain areas, were prominently represented in the summer migrations into southern Labrador in the period after 1763. If these two groups are among Cartwright's "three southernmost tribes", then the third would be, by Curtis's tribal scheme, the Keewedloke, or Okak Inuit the most populous "tribe". But were Cartwright's "southern tribes" to whom he refers on several occasions in his *Journal* the same as Curtis's north coast Inuit? While meeting with a group of some 300 Inuit near Cape Charles July 10, 1771 he wrote: "These people live at the three southernmost settlements, where no whales are killed". Curtis acknowledges that the "Nonyokes" did not kill whales, but identifies "Ogbuck" as meaning whale and "Ogbucktuke" (Arbatok, "place abounding in whales").

Curtis's reports are not without merit in studying the Inuit of Labrador during the late 18th century. They must, however, be used very cautiously because parts are not easily reconciled with other sources that are generally regarded by scholars as more reliable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge Dr. Marianne Stopp for drawing to my attention to Cartwright's annotation regarding Lt. Curtis.

**A REVIEW OF PUBLISHED SCHOLARLY ARTICLES
CONTAINING INUIT PLACE NAMES**

(Contract Item 3)

Gordon Handcock Ph. D.

Hawkes, E. W.

1916 *The Labrador Eskimo*. Anthropological Series 14, Geological Survey of Canada 91. Ottawa.

Martijn, Charles A.

1980a The “Esquimaux” in 17th and 18th century cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence: A preliminary discussion. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 77-104.

1980b La présence Inuit sur la Côte Nord du Golfe Saint-Laurent à l’époque historique. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 105-125.

Stopp, Marianne

2002 Reconsidering Inuit Presence in Southern Labrador. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 26(2): 71-106

Martijn, Charles A. and Louis-Jacques Dorais

2001 Eighteenth-Century Innu (Montagnais) and Inuit Toponyms in the Northern Peninsula. *Newfoundland Studies* 17(2): 319-330.

A REVIEW OF PUBLISHED SCHOLARLY ARTICLES CONTAINING INUIT PLACE NAMES

Gordon Handcock Ph.D.

I. A REVIEW OF INUIT NAMES IN HAWKES 1916

Hawkes provides a detailed account of the Labrador Inuit from his experience on the coast of Labrador in the summer of 1914 with the Geological Survey of Canada (1916: ix). He also claims to draw much upon his previous three-year residence among the Eskimo of Alaska for a general understanding of the culture. For historical background information on Labrador Inuit he relied upon Turner 1894, Curtis 1773, Cartwright's Journal 1792, and 18th century papers of the Moravian missionaries.

Hawkes spent the early part of the summer in Sandwich Bay and Hamilton Inlet in order "to ascertain the southern limit of the Labrador Eskimo". The rest of the summer was spent visiting the coast north to Cape Chidley and Hudson Strait and Bay in the company of the Carnegie Magnetic Expedition. His general view was that "ethnological divisions of the Eskimo are geographical rather than cultural". Regarding the historic and contemporary (1914) distributions of the Inuit in Labrador Hawkes made the following observations:

1. "The Eskimo formerly inhabited the entire Atlantic seaboard of Labrador, but at present are found only north of Hamilton Inlet at the Moravian stations..." An exception was that he found "two survivors of the old southern bands of Labrador Eskimo living in Sandwich Bay"... "both women married to white men, but still spoke good Eskimo and remembered native stories and customs." (Hawkes 1916: 16-17).
2. "When first discovered by the French, the Eskimo inhabited the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence as far west as Mingan" but "were driven from this locality at the beginning of the 17th century by the Montagnais Indians ... They re-treated northeastward to the Strait of Belle Isle" (Hawkes 1916: 17).
3. The Inuit maintained themselves northward of the Strait of Belle Isle until about 1760 when they were attacked and routed by French and Indians. They then removed further northwards to Hamilton Inlet, then called Ivuktoke or Eskimo Bay except that a few stragglers remained in Sandwich Bay (Hawkes 1916: 17).

These conclusions outline historical sequences and Inuit distributions still broadly accepted by some modern scholars (Martijn, Auger and especially Stopp) but rejected by others (notably Taylor).

Hawkes states that some 'authorities' (unnamed but almost certainly including Gosling 1910) held the view that "the Labrador Eskimo never settled farther south than Hamilton Inlet, and that the large bands encountered by early French and English explorers were summer voyagers from the north". This is essentially the argument supported by anthropologist Garth Taylor but assailed by Martijn and Stopp.

INUIT DISTRIBUTION AND TRIBAL NAMES

In considering population distributions Hawkes repeats the list of 1773 “Tribal Names” and numbers of persons provided by “Lieutenant Curtis, who made a careful census on the Atlantic coast of Labrador “ (1916: 18). Hawkes says one of these names [Ogbuctike (sic)] “was recognized by one of my informants as that applied to Belle Isle”. But Hawkes also states that after the establishment of the Moravian mission stations at Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, Okkak, Hebron and Killinek, the Inuit gathered around these and the old tribal divisions were broken up (Hawkes 1916:18). He allows though that some Inuit settled in Hamilton Inlet and that “a few stragglers” stayed around Sandwich Bay. To a large degree these generalizations are supported with reference to Cartwright’s journal but not in all details.

Hawkes states that it was unlikely that the “Eskimo” [Inuit] ever had tribal names as used by Indians but that they had a tradition of place-names by which they designated “a territory or locality from which a stranger comes”. According to Hawkes the suffix *-miut* meant “people of ...”. When added to the place-name of the “settled territory”, this was the means one Inuit group distinguished another. Such names would appear to be essentially exonyms, designations not used by the named groups for themselves. Another possibility is that different names prevailed for the same group according to the users. Thus the so-called “Tribal” names recorded by Europeans would depend on their informants and there might have been as many versions of “Tribal” names in use as there were place-name groups. This would be very probable if, as some observers state, there was very little contact among the different “Tribes”.

Table 1. *Inuit Names from Cape Chidley south collected by Hawkes from Inuit Informants.*

Name	Translation	Location
Kill’nunmiut	land’s end people	Cape Chidley
Konilcu’amiutiut		Okak
Nune~numiut		Nain
A~vitu~miut		Hopedale
Aivitu~miut	whaling place people	Rigolet
Netce~tumiut	sealing-place people	Cartwright, Sandwich Bay
Putla~vamiut		Battle Harbour

In the above the Inuit at Cape Chidley are denoted by their relative location on the coast but the “sealing” group residing around Cartwright and the “whaling” group near Rigolet (and possibly Hopedale) are distinguished by their association with marine-resources.

Hawkes does not give details on the background of his informants or the circumstances and context in which he recorded the names. We do not know for example if these names were contemporary to the early 20th century for people settled in the respective areas or, in the case of southern locations, (Cartwright and Battle Harbour) seasonal visitors. Were these historic names recalled by the women survivors of the southern bands found in Cartwright? It is possible that field research on the oral history traditions and archival and genealogical research in Cartwright and Battle Harbour areas would reveal more details which would give a better sense and understanding of the significance of these named groups.

II. A REVIEW OF MARTIJN 1980a AND 1980b

This report examines and evaluates Martijn's research on the significance of the toponyms (exonyms) *Esquimaux* (and variants) and *Petits Esquimaux* and *Grands Esquimaux* in early cartographic sources (maps and other documents) as a means of identifying places frequented by the historic Inuit.

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE TERM ESQUIMAUX

The term *Esquimaux* or Eskimo has been a subject of both debate and revision. For several centuries a common understanding among Europeans was that it meant "eaters of raw flesh" (Auger 1991: 5); and came from an Indian (Cree) name for descendants of the Thule culture, inhabiting northern regions such as Labrador. This etymological interpretation was articulated by the 19th century Moravian missionary L. T. Reichel who wrote "They are said to have received their name, Esquimaux, or eaters of raw flesh, from the Indians, their neighbours in the west...", but added "They call themselves 'Inuit' 'men' ...". (cited in Hind 1863: 262). Hind states that the roots were found in "the Cree words 'ashki' raw; and 'mow,' to eat" (162 fn.).

Martijn, however, claims that *Esquimaux* did not necessarily refer exclusively to Inuit in the 17th century when, beginning in 1632, it began to appear in written form. He defers to Mailhot an ethnolinguist who concluded in a seminal article in 1978 that 'esquimau' was a word meaning "neighbours of foreign language" and was used by Algonquian-speaking tribes of the western St. Lawrence Gulf to refer both to Inuit and to other Indian groups in the context of being 'strangers', or speaking the language of a foreign land (Mailhot 1978:66). The appellation *Esquimaux* thus could historically refer to any speaking group, and not necessarily to the descendants of the ancient Thule culture who refer to themselves as Inuit (Auger 1991:5).

According to Martijn, Champlain first introduced the name *Esquimaux* in 1632. He placed it on a map at the eastern extremity of the lower Cote-Nord in clear reference to Inuit bands whom Martijn surmises had likely recently spread into this area recently following the abandonment of the north shore of the Strait of Belle Isle by Spanish Basques whalers and French fishermen in the 1620s (1980a: 79). But Champlain also used the same appellation in 1632 in a text describing an indigenous group in the upper part of the North Shore between the island of Anticosti and Tadoussac. Thus he wrote: "lá est un nation de sauuages qui habitent ces pays, qui s'appellent Exquimaux, ceux de Taddoussac leur font la querre" (cited from Biggar 1922:177). Given their geographical location and his prior sketch of the other 'sauuages' "unmistakably Inuit" frequenting the Strait of Belle Isle, Martijn is confident that Champlain's Anticosti to Tadoussac 'Exquimaux' is referring to an Algonquian-speaking people (1980:79). Martijn states that other writers also provide linguistic proof and other details of Indian bands on the North Shore opposite Anticosti Island who engage in internecine conflicts and refer to each other in that part of the Gulf variously as 'aissimeu', 'ayassimew', or 'hayastime8ek'. Collectively these groups were denoted on maps as 'Les Esquimaux', as on the Du Val map of 1653.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAME "ESQUIMAUX"

Martijn (1980a) examines the occurrence and distribution of the name "Esquimaux", (and variants such as *Esquemae*, *Exquima*, etc.) principally on 17th and 18th century maps of southern Quebec-

Labrador as a possible indicator of the historic presence of Inuit groups in that region. From an investigation of some 77 maps dated between 1546 and 1784, and a consideration of related ethnohistorical data (see also Martijn 1980b), he draws the following conclusions:

- a. There were two clusters of “esquimaux” toponyms. One was found on the lower North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence approaching the Strait of Belle Isle. This was interpreted as documenting an Inuit presence dating back to the 17th century. The other cluster, located further westward in the Mingan region on the mainland opposite Anticosti Island, was more probably associated with a Montagnais band but also to Micmac Indians of the Gaspé Peninsula who frequented this region.
- b. Cartographers and writers of this era did not reserve the name “Esquimaux” exclusively for the Inuit as became prevalent much later in the 20th century. Thus interpretation in terms of the specific ethnic identification of “esquimaux” (whether it refers to Inuit or not) depends much upon relating its occurrence on maps to other ethnohistorical information.
- c. The word “Esquimaux” occurs for the first time in the cartographic record of the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the Champlain map of 1632. It is then shown slightly inland from about the St. Paul’s River area near the Strait of Belle Isle (1980a, 29). It is suggested the name likely refers to the presence of Inuit “Esquimaux”.
- d. The toponym “Eskimaux” (or variant) at two separate locations begins to appear frequently on maps from about 1669. The De Fer map 1669 locates “Esquimaux P.” inland near the headwaters of the Ste. Marguerite River, while “Esquimaux.” is placed on the Quebec North Shore near the western entrance of the Strait of Belle Isle.
- e. According to Martijn (p. 81), this appears to be an attempt at showing two separate native groups, Montagnais “Esquimaux” and Inuit “Esquimaux”.
- f. The term “Esquimaux” by itself on the earlier maps referred to a regional presence of the group so named. From ca. 1685-1691 (anonymous map), however, toponyms such as ‘R. au Esquimaux’ and ‘R. des Esquimaux’ begin to identify specific geographical features associated with respective groups such as the Montagnais, Micmac or Inuit. Martijn draws particular attention to the Visscher map ca. 1690 on which the name ‘Esquimaux’ together with six semi-circular symbols resembling Inuit igloos occurs at a location about the present village of St. Paul’s River formerly known as Rivière des Esquimaux or Eskimo River. The symbols represent other ethnohistorical information and supports the ethnic identity as Inuit.
- g. The separate names “Petits Eskimaux’ for Montagnais and ‘Grands Eskimaux” for Inuit were coined by the Recollect missionary Le Clercq and first used on the Delisle-Le Clercq map of 1691. Martijn claims that thereafter this distinction was misinterpreted by European mapmakers as referring to two separate groups of Inuit.

Martijn’s analysis shows that the placement of the term ‘Esquimaux’ or a variant on early maps involved considerable variation and confusion, even chaos, especially among European cartographers who were often poorly versed in accurate details of New World ethnohistory and in particular on the proper identity of different native groups. These mapmakers often copied inaccurate details from

older maps, or reinterpreted features that compounded earlier confusions. This problem emphasizes the need for researchers to examine maps very critically, with the same rigour, as other documents in conducting ethnohistorical studies. Important components of this would include discovering the dating and authorship of specific maps, the sources consulted by the cartographers, and the delimitation of constituent parts (e.g. geographical features, place-names) for accuracy particularly of composite maps (maps using different sources in their compilation).

Martijn maintains that a study of the name *Esquimaux* on maps must include a careful consideration of such factors as: the etymology of the word in each separate context, other cartographic and ethnohistorical information, and the placement (location) of the name itself.

With regard to other ethnohistorical facts attention is drawn to five maps on which symbolic drawings and descriptions in southern Labrador and Quebec might indicate the presence of Inuit. These are:

- a. Pierre Desceliers 1546 Map showing a canoe with five persons hunting a sea mammal near Strait of Belle Isle
- b. Legend on 1546-7 map by Hehan Mellart stating “the people inhabiting Labrador are dressed in furs. Their houses are in the ground. The land is cold and covered with ice ...”
- c. Pierre Desceliers 1550 world map with illustrations of eastern Canada showing cluster of dome-shaped “houses of savages” with snow blocks (snow houses), and people of small stature hunting birds near these structures.
- d. Demons depicted on Gastaldi -Ramusio map 1556 and Island of Demons shown on many maps off the coast of Labrador
- e. Six semi-circular symbols (possibly representing igloos) on Visscher map ca. 1690 near St. Paul’s River, a village formerly known as Rivière des Esquimaux or Eskimo River.

3. THE CARTOGRAPHIC RECORD OF THE TOPONYM (EXONYM) ESQUIMAUX (AND VARIANTS) ON EARLY MAPS OF THE NORTH SHORE OF THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE AND SOUTHERN LABRADOR UP TO THE LATE 18TH CENTURY.

The following section summarizes both the general and specific use of *Esquimaux* (after Martijn 1980a).

A. *Esquimaux* indicating general presence in a region (often qualified by terms such as ‘terre des’, ‘pays des’ or ‘coste des’)

‘*Esquimaux*’ (Champlain 1632) St. Paul’s River region, near western entrance Strait of Belle Isle, also on (Boissseau map 1640, and Bleau map 1662)

‘*Les Esquimaux*’ (Du Val 1653) on mainland opposite Anticosti Island.

“*Esquimaux* peuples très barbares à l’entrée du grande golfe-S-Laurens du coté du nord”, text written along the lower half of the North Shore (Delisle-Vimont sketch map (1652).

'Esquimaux' (Sanson map 1656) well inland to north opposite Anticosti Island and east of Ste-Marguerite River, also on Bressani 1657, Ducreux 1660, Bernou and Peronel 1682, Coronelli 1689 and Jaillot 1692, possibly *'Esquemae County'* on Harwar 1691 and *'Exquima'* on Le Courdier 1696 said to be based on "new and exact information" from "the most experienced pilots and shipmasters" and possibly also *'Pais des Esquimaux'* on Franquelin map 1681.

'Esquimaux P.' (De Fer map 1669) two locations - inland around headwaters of Ste-Marguerite River, and on lower North Shore near western entrance to Strait of Belle Isle

'R. au Esquimaux' and *'R. des Esquimaux'* on anonymous map ca. 1685-1691 on North Shore for two different geographical features.

'Petits Eskimaux' (Montagnais) and *'Grands Eskimaux'* (Inuit) on Delisle-Le Clercq sketch map 1691; on Delisle map 1696 *'Petits Eskimaux'* is placed along the North Shore between Anticosti Island and the Atlantic Ocean and *'Grands Eskimaux'* is written on the interior of northern Newfoundland not at Bradore Bay (Baye des Espagnois) on the lower Côte-Nord, which according to Martijn, LeClercq placed them. (Scholars speculate on meaning of qualifiers 'petits' and 'grands' see below).

'Terre des Petits Esquimaux' Ludoviciana map 1698 written across southern Labrador.

'Pays des Eskimaux' on Codex Canadiensis map ca. 1699 written across southern Labrador.

'Canton des Esquimaux' Franquelin map of 1700 on southern Labrador.

'Pet. Pays des Esquimaux' Seutter map 1750 on southern Labrador.

The name *Esquimaux* split into two parts; *'esqui'* placed in Southern Labrador, and *'maux'* over northern Newfoundland occurs on Sanson map 1700, and two Delisle maps both 1700. This was viewed as indicating an Inuit presence on both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle (1980a, 81).

'Terre des Grands Esquimaux' (Ludoviciana map 1698) on northeastern Labrador shown as an island, and *'Grand Baye des Esquimaux'* shown as a river or "fjord-like watercourse extending right across the Quebec-Labrador peninsula from the Atlantic Ocean to Hudson Bay!". This was seen as a major misinterpretation.

'Petits Esquimaux', on (Delisle 1703, Senex 1710 and Delisle) maps, shown on interior of southern Labrador; but on same maps *'Grands Eskimaux'* (Inuit) transplanted to the southwest part of Newfoundland, where, according to Martijn, "there is no evidence that the historic Inuit ever roamed..." .

B. the specific or qualifier *Esquimaux* on maps, applied to identifiable geographical features (bays, islands, capes and rivers)

Martijn states that from ca 1680 Louis Jolliet began coastal surveys in the middle and lower Côte-Nord and soon became recognized as an authority on the cartography of the St. Lawrence River and Gulf. From that time cartographers began to apply 'Esquimaux' to particular features.

Eskimaux toponyms found adjacent to St. Paul's River *'Rivière Saint-Paul'* (historic and contemporary).

'R. des Esquimaux' on an anonymous map ca. 1685, later in English *'Eskimo River'*, then 'St. Paul's River', now officially known as *'Rivière Saint-Paul'* (51°27' 57°42').

'l'isle des Esquimaux' mentioned in notes and sketchmaps of Jolliet's 1694 voyage to Labrador. It is suggested this is probably now the feature known officially as *'île des Esquimaux'* (50°16' 57°42') and the *'grande isle du large des Esquimaux'* in the same source known locally as Eskimo Island has been officially designated *'Ile des Esquimaux'* (51°25' 57°43').

'Ile des Esquimaux' on Deshaies map 1704 (south of above island), Martijn suggests in error.

'baye et isles des Esquimeaux' on the Cook map 1784 includes the now official **'Baie des Esquimeaux'** (51°27' 57°43') and outer islands. The so-called Cook map mentioned here is really a composite map. This section of coast was surveyed in 1769 by Cook's assistant Michael Lane who also introduced the nomenclature copied onto the 1784 map.

The contemporary **'Eskimo Channel'** (51°24' 57°42') not recorded until the 19th century.

C. ESKIMAUX TOPONYMS FOUND ON THE NORTH SHORE OPPOSITE ANTICOSTI ISLAND (HISTORIC AND CONTEMPORARY), STRAITS OF BELLE ISLE, AND SOUTHERN LABRADOR.

'Eskimo Harbour' on 19th and early 20th century maps, now officially 'Havre Saint-Pierre' (50°14' 63°36').

'Pte. Des Esquimaux' on Boishébert map 1715, and Bellin map 1754, now 'Pointe aux Esquimaux' (50°14' 63°37').

'Eskimo Island' in Mingan archipelago, found on D'Anville map 1746, now 'Ile du Havre' (50°13' 63°37').

'iles des Esquimeaux' on Cook map 1784 for eastern half of Mingan Islands (see earlier comments).

'Les Coste des Eskimaux' Fornel 1743. The Coast from Cape Charles to Hamilton Inlet.

'La Baye des Eskimaux' Fornel 1743. Hamilton Inlet.

'Isle de Eskimaux' Fornel 1743. Around Island of Ponds, 'Mille Isles'.

From a review of 17th and 18th century maps, and a critical evaluation of their accuracy, Martijn concludes that the term 'esquimaux' and its variants, when located in Southern Labrador, at the western entrance to the Strait of Belle Isle and on specific features around St. Paul's River, clearly refer to the presence of Inuit people, but, when located on the North Shore opposite Anticosti Islands and specifically on features around Mingan (islands) and Havre-St-Pierre, the name most likely refers to Montagnais Indians or other Algonkin speakers.

PETITS ESQUIMAUX AND GRANDS ESQUIMAUX

Martijn states that the Recollect missionary Chrestien Le Clercq was the first to employ the qualifier 'Petits' to refer to Montagnais 'Eskimaux' and 'Grands' for Inuit 'Eskimaux' and that this distinction shows up on the Delisle-Le Clercq map of 1691. Martijn rejects Taylor's suggestion (1978:100) that 'petits' and 'grands' might refer to relative size of respective populations rather than somatic features of individuals, citing in support of this position Jolliet's statement 1693 (in Delanglez 1944:169 that the Labradour Esquimaux existed "en grande nombre" (Martijn 1980:84, footnote 16). Martijn suggests that the practice of using the two terms 'Petits Esquimaux' and 'Grands Esquimaux' may derive from an association of the respective groups with the regions known as the Petit Nord and the Grand Nord. In support of this explanation he quotes Delanglez (1948:202 footnote 2) who wrote that "the shoreline between Pointe des Monts and Natshquan [i.e. the land of the Montagnais 'Esquimaux'] used to be called the Petit Nord, and the shoreline between Kegashka and Blanc Sablon [i.e. the land of the Inuit 'Esquimaux' in the Gulf of St. Lawrence] the Grand Nord" (1980:84, footnote 16).

Martijn shows that European cartographers sometimes lost the distinction between 'Petits Esquimaux' and 'Grands Esquimaux' and assumed that these terms referred to two separate Inuit

groups in two separate regions. Following this reasoning the Delisle map of 1696 places the ‘Petits Esquimaux’ inhabiting the North Shore between Anticosti Island and the Atlantic Ocean. This, Martijn judges, to be quite appropriate if was intended to refer to the Inuit at that time. Meanwhile, Delisle shows ‘Grands Eskimaux’ occupying the interior of northern Labrador and, and this, in Martijn’s view, ignores Le Clercq’s precise observation that they lived at Brador Bay (Baye des Espagnois) on the lower North Shore. At the same time, Martijn notes it was not altogether inaccurate to represent Inuit ‘Esquimaux’ on opposite sides of the Strait of Belle Isle because other sources show that groups of them were present in both areas at this time. Three maps dated in 1700 place the name ‘Esquimaux’ across the Strait with ‘esqui’ in southern Labrador and ‘maux’ in northern Newfoundland.

Overall Martijn found considerable inconsistency in the placement of ‘Petits Esquimaux’ and ‘Grands Esquimaux’ on maps of the 18th century including, for example, the transplanting of ‘Grands Esquimaux’ to the southwest quarter of Newfoundland where he claims “there is no evidence that the historic Inuit ever roamed...”. At this point it could be suggested that Martijn should perhaps have allowed more scope for the possibility that cartographers of this period did indeed begin to use these terms in a more literal sense with ‘Petits’ referring to Inuit and ‘Grands’ for Indian groups.

COMMENTARY ON THE MARTIJN ARTICLES

Martijn represents his article ‘*The “Esquimaux” in 17th and 18th century cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence*’ with the subtitle ‘A Preliminary discussion’ and calls for ‘a more exhaustive examination of cartographic records pertaining to the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries’ to discover additional ‘Esquimaux’ toponyms’ When considered within the time frame and taken together with his article ‘*La Présence Inuit sur la Côte Nord du Golfe Saint-Laurent à l’Époque Historique*’, this study actually provides a very thorough and rigorous analysis of the cartographic record for the study area chosen.

From an examination of early maps of the Labrador peninsula-Quebec region held by the Center for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University including the ‘Atlas of Maps’ compiled for the Canadian Counter-case on the Labrador Boundary dispute in 1927, and maps in major cartographic lists and published sources (Harrisse, Ganong, Prowse, Seary), this reviewer found only four additional maps using the term “Esquimaux” for the period up to 1763. These included: Franquelin map 1799 - *Labrador/ ou Terre des Esquimaux*; Le Dauphin map 1731 – *Carte Du Domaine Ea Canada*; and Roy map 1743 – *Labrador/Novelle Bretagne*. On these three Eskimaux was written along the North Shore from opposite Anticosti Island to the Strait of Belle Isle, The fourth map Van de Valde n.d. – *Novelle geographie de Canada* contains the inscription ‘Esquimaux du Labrador’ across southern Labrador.

None of these could be regarded as significant omissions in the 17th and 18th cartography which Martijn considered since they provide only other examples of maps using the exonym Esquimaux from the same primary sources. Most importantly, these examples do not alter any of the main conclusion reached by Martijn. Certainly his suggestion to extend the study of maps into the 18th and 19th centuries is well worth following. To this and one might add that the study of *Esquimaux* and other related Inuit toponyms documents and maps covering the coastal area from the Straits of Belle Isle to Hamilton Inlet would also be most useful.

The early cartographic record of ‘Esquimaux’ is examined thoroughly by Martijn and his analysis is complemented by a discussion of other related documents, linguistic studies and oral traditions. Nonetheless, the conclusions on the distribution of Inuit along the Quebec North Shore, based on this

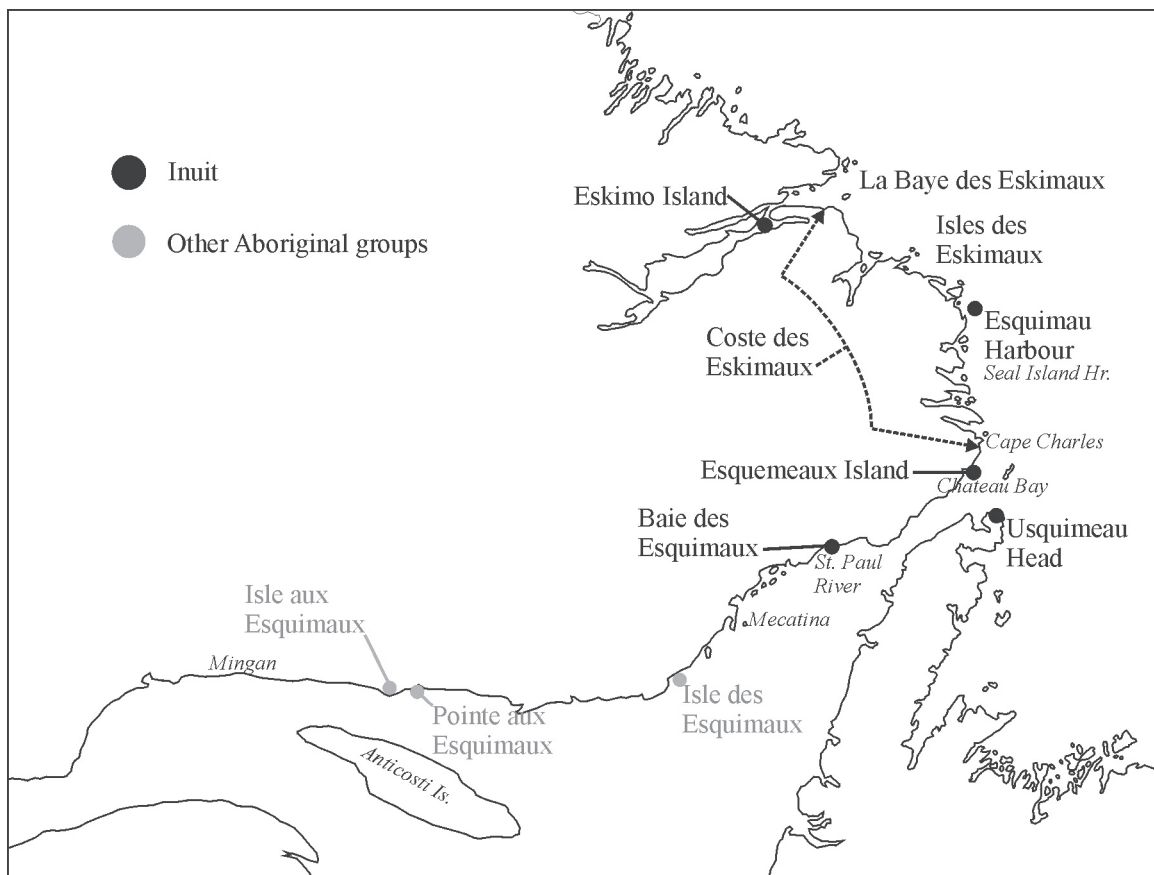


Figure 1. The specific “Esquimaux” in 17th & 18th century toponyms of eastern Canada: a cartographic summary (after Martijn, Fornel, Cartwright, Cook, Lane & others).

evidence alone, still rests on the confidence one can have in the ethnic identify of the people referred to on maps and in documents by the appellatives ‘esquimaux’, ‘esquimow’, ‘excomminquois’, and other variants. Taylor (1980) argues, but rather speculatively, that these terms were applied to sundry Indian groups such as Montagnais, Micmac, ‘Shaunamunc’, Beothuk and Point Revenge, and not the Inuit. He questions the linguistic interpretation of the term ‘ayesimeu’ to mean Inuit as asserted by Mailhot et al. (cited by Martijn) and states that such a conclusion rested on the false assumption that since ‘aysimeau’ means Inuit at the present time it must have also meant Inuit up to 300 years ago. In conclusion Taylor calls for more research to provide more definitive answers to the basic issues of an Inuit occupancy in southern Quebec and Labrador. Martijn (1980c) concurred with the need for more research but counters, quite correctly, that Taylor ignored main other ethnohistorical sources such as Jolliet, Courtemanche and Brouague, who clearly establish the Inuit at places such as Mecatina, Baie d’Ha Ha, and St. Paul’s River (Riviere aux Esquimaux) as well as at locations in the Strait of Belle Isle in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

In brief then Martijn’s analysis shows that the exonym ‘Esquimaux’ on early maps can be used as a supplemental source of information to document Inuit bands along the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a high degree of certainty. Thus one may confidently assert that Inuit occupancy reached as far as St. Paul’s River (‘Esquimaux’ on Champlain map 1632 and ‘R. des Esquimaux’ on an anonymous map ca.1685), and possibly as far as the North Coast between Mecatina. and Natashquan as indicated by ‘l’isle des Esquimaux’ (Jolliet 1694), features now known officially respectively as ‘ile des Esquimaux’ (50°16’ 57°42’) and the ‘grande isle du large des Esquimaux’ (Jolliet 1694) now

‘ Ile des Esquimaux’ (51°25’ 57°43’). In accordance with other evidence this interpretation has now received fairly wide acceptance. The suggestion, however, that Inuit made hunting excursions to the vicinity of the Mingan Islands (1980c), 195), as shown by ‘*Pte. Des Esquimaux*’ on Boishébert map 1715, and Bellin map 1754, now ‘Pointe aux Esquimaux’ (50°14’ 63°37’), is still much more tentative.

Figure 1 uses the data in this article and from other sources to summarize the spatial extent of the term “esquimaux” in Eastern Canada. In the case of the Inuit it indicates a southern extension and migration range to St. Paul River and northern Newfoundland which according to other documentary sources would have historical validity until about 1700.

III. A REVIEW OF TOPONYMY IN STOPP 2002

Stopp’s article is a comprehensive summary of archival sources (formerly largely unavailable in English) and previously unreported archaeological evidence as the basis to reexamine the nature and extent of Inuit occupation in the region south of Hamilton Inlet. Inuit toponymy and place-name associations are examined as an important part of the archival evidence to reconsider what is termed “the century –old question of Inuit presence south of Hamilton Inlet” and especially “the contention that it was a short-term presence for the purpose of trading with Europeans” (86) which, she maintains, that until now (2002) neither English-language archival data nor archaeological finds were able to support convincingly. Stopp concludes that the evidence from these sources supports a strong argument for year-round, or multi-season, Inuit occupancy and land use in southern Labrador and the Quebec North Shore between the mid-1550s and the mid-1700s.

Stopp’s article draws largely on the same French-language historical sources used by Martijn (1980a, 1980b) for the period up to 1760 but adds to these sources from the early period of British rule after 1763. These sources are summarized chronologically by place-name locations, date, and essential details. From these the following significant observations were made:

1. Place-names in documents record an Inuit presence ranging coastwise from Mingan in the Gulf of St. Lawrence northward to Sandwich Bay. (88)
2. 1694 Jolliet’s journal of exploration voyage along the coast from the lower Quebec North Shore to Hamilton Inlet describes Inuit encampments at Mecatina, St. Paul River (called **Riviere des Esquimaux**) Cape St. Charles (sometimes referred to as Pointe de Tour), St. Lewis Inlet and Cape St. Francis, the Island of Ponds area and Sandwich Bay region.
3. Early 1700s Pierre Constantin and Sieur Augustin de Cortemanche (French-Canadian entrepreneurs) record Inuit settlement at Baie des Haha, St. Paul’s River, Brador, and Forteau.
4. 1700-1710 Letters of Father Camille de Rochemonteix contain references of Inuit in the Strait of Belle Isle.

5. 1717-1728 Francois Martel de Brouage (Cortemanche's successor and son-in-law) recorded numerous encounters between Inuit and French between Cape Degrat, at the northern tip of the Northern Peninsula, southwestward to Mecatina in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
6. 1743 Louis Fornel's exploration voyage along the coast north of Chateau Bay, as portrayed on his chart and recorded in his journal, identifies the coastal area between Alexis Bay and Hamilton Inlet as **La Coste des Eskimaux**. This name distinguished this coastal section from that south of Cape Charles which was then know as 'Labrador' and occupied by French and Jersey fishermen. Fornel encountered Inuit at three locations interpreted to be respectively; the modern St. Michael's Bay area, the Hawke Bay area, and the Island of Ponds area.
7. By the mid-1700s the Inuit were largely supplanted from the Gulf and Straits region by European enterprise and settlement and had settled in the Island of Ponds area, Sandwich Bay, Hamilton Inlet and northwards.
8. In 1765, when the Inuit seem to have been living in Spotted Islands and northward, Moravian missionaries compiled a map of Inuit toponyms for locations south of Hamilton Inlet as far as Hawkes Bay. These toponyms prove that the Inuit had a thorough knowledge of this coastline and also provide evidence of Inuit habitation there. The names included: **Aviktume** or Parting Place – Sandwich Bay; **Karaluliktut** or Seal Islands – island archipelago at mouth of Sandwich Bay; **Kikertauiak** or Cape Islands – Cape North and Grady Islands area; **Kikertet** or The Many or Thousand Islands; **Ekeresault** or The Narrow Passage – possibly Porcupine Bay or Squasho (see below).
9. As late as 1914 ethnographer E.W. Hawkes identified Inuit groups still living at two places south of Hamilton Inlet . These were: **Netce-tu-miut**, the Sealing Place People, for an Inuit group living at Sandwich Bay and **Pu-tla-va-miut** (no translation; but see Wharram, this report) for an Inuit group at Battle Harbour .

THE TOPONYMIC RECORD IN STOPP 2002

The following summarizes by source and chronology the toponyms associated with Inuit occupance and presence in Stopp's article.

Names referring to Inuit presence in 1694 (Jolliet's journal): Stopp draws attention to the following names referred to in Jolliet's journal in 1694 which document Inuit at locations along the coast from the lower Quebec North Shore to Hamilton Inlet. Specific reference is made to Inuit encampments at Mecatina, **Rivière des Esquimaux** (now St. Paul River), Cape St. Charles (sometimes referred to in French as Pointe de Detour), the area between St. Lewis Inlet and Cape St. Francis, the Island of Ponds area , and Sandwich Bay.

Names referring to Inuit presence in early 1700s : Inuit settlements at Baie des Haha, St. Paul's River (**Rivière des Esquimaux**), Brador, Blanc Sablon and Forteau (cited from Pierre Constantin and Sieur Augustin de Courtemanche) ; and descriptions of Inuit in Strait of Belle Isle (cited in letters of Father Camille de Rochemontaix 1700-10), and Inuit encounters between Cape Degrat in Northern Newfoundland and Mecatina in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (cited in Francois Martel de Brouage 1717-1728)

Names referring to Inuit presence in 1743 (Fornel's journal and chart) : **La Coste des Esquimaux**, the coast between Alexis River and Hamilton Inlet, mentioning 'Inuit settlement in the St. Michael's

Bay area, the Hawke Bay area, and the Island of Ponds area'. This is an extremely important source in the toponymic record of southern Labrador. Temporarily Fornel creates a French toponymic system which, together with his descriptions, bears witness to Inuit dominance along this coast during the mid-18th century.

Names referring to Inuit presence in 1765. These include names collected from Inuktitut speakers by Moravian missionaries at Château Bay in the process of compiling a map of coastal Labrador and locating Inuit settlements and localities of Inuit activity. Stopp limits the names mentioned and discussed in the main body of the article to five collected by the Moravians for locations south of Hamilton Inlet. These include:

Aviktume or Parting Place – Sandwich Bay

Karaluliktut or Seal Islands – island archipelago at mouth of Sandwich Bay

Kikertauiak or Cape Islands – Cape North and Grady Islands area

Kikertet or The Many or Thousand Islands

Ekeresault or The Narrow Passage – possibly Porcupine Bay or Squasho Run

TRIBAL NAMES

Stopp notes that two documentary sources (Curtis and Jans Haven), both dating in 1773 and naming “tribes” indicate that Labrador Inuit groups at that time were associated with particular regions. Among these were the **Ogbuctoke** (also **Aivekhtokh**, or Hamilton Inlet) and the **Nonyoke** (also **Nunaingoakh**, or Nain). Stopp states that these associations may have been correct for the 18th century but that the idea of Inuit “tribes” as discrete units carrying out subsistence rounds with definable limits is not necessarily applicable for earlier times. It is also argued that such observations could have been influenced by “European notions of settlement” which were not accurate for ancestral Thule or for Inuit of the 16th and 17th centuries (2002:95).

COMMENTARY

Stopp maintains that Inuit toponyms point to enduring links with the coastal area south of Hamilton Inlet. By this she appears to mean Inuktitut toponyms such as recorded by the Moravians and Hawkes. Inuit names (endonyms) certainly play an important part in the documentation of their presence in southern Labrador. However, if one includes other toponyms of Inuit association (exonyms and toponyms in other languages) as recorded in cartographic sources (maps, charts, journals etc.) and ethnohistorical information in other documents and from archaeology, the case for an enduring occupation can be furthered strengthened. Repeated references to identifiable localities of Inuit association over long periods of times and in different sources certainly add a strong supplemental argument to other historical evidence. For example, archival references of Inuit associations with places in and around the Strait of Belle Isle and south of Hamilton Inlet indicate persistent use and occupation of these two regions from the late 17th century up until the 1760s. Archival sources on the early exploration of the outer Labrador coast (Jolliet 1694, Fornel 1743, Haven 1765) testify to an Inuit presence around the Chateau Bay-Cape Charles areas, in the island archipelago around the Spotted Islands, and Island of Ponds (known to Fornel as the Mille Iles, or, Isles des Esquimaux and to the Inuit as

Kikertet), and to Sandwich Bay. These three regional Inuit cartographic-toponymic associations are later affirmed in the 1770s by references in the Journal of George Cartwright (see later).

As Stopp stresses in her discussion of archaeological evidence, the presence of Inuit in the south is probably best understood in regional contexts rather than connected to specific places or settlements. It is also important to view if resource-orientations and environmental perspectives (94-6). The Inuit were mainly hunters-gatherers-foragers whose activities and movements revolved around procuring seasonally available sources of food and other resources (including European goods especially wooden boats) in regional spaces. These same considerations need to be taken into account in the study of Inuit toponymy. The names of routes of migration, the places of resource occurrences and availability, the resources, the nature of places, and the physical environment occupied and exploited are as important in Inuit place name systems as specific places of encampment or settlement (Müller-Wille 2007:1). In the case of southern Labrador the spatial groupings of Inuit place-name associations, whether in Inuktitut or not, or the regional locales of Inuit presence as comprehended in such exonyms as Fornel's Isles des Esquimaux and Coste des Eskimaux seem to better reflect Inuit cultural realities than specific names of individual sites.

As noted Stopp limits the review of Inuit toponyms compiled on a map by the Moravian missionaries in 1765 to the five occurring south of Hamilton Inlet, her chosen study area. A copy of the map (her Figure 1) and a complete list of 36 names on it (her Figure 3), as published in Lysaght (1971), are included in her paper. Here it should be noted that a very detailed analysis of this map (the 1765 Map of Jens Haven), and its cartographic qualities and linguistic and toponymic contents, was carried out in 2007 for the Labrador Metis Nation under the direction of Dr. Hans Rollmann. A report of this research includes papers by Dr. Rollmann on the Moravian presence in Labrador, their exploration activities 1764-1770, the making of the 1765 map (including the gathering of Place Names) and other background information (including translations and remarks on original documents in German), and papers by Dr. Douglas Wharram "Linguistic Analysis of Inuit Toponyms on Jens Haven's Map of 1765 and Related Documents", Dr. Ludger Müller-Wille "Assessment of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven's Map of 1765" and Dr. W. Gordon Handcock "A Cartographic and Toponymic Analysis of the Jens Haven Maps of central Labrador 1765". Since these papers are being reviewed as part of the current project comments here are limited to the context of Stopp's earlier 2002 paper. Additionally the 2007 study must be viewed as a further revision of the toponymic evidence of Inuit presence in southern Labrador.

Stopp's interpretations on the significance of the five Inuit names: Aviktume or Parting Place – Sandwich Bay; Karaluliktut or Seal Islands – island archipelago at mouth of Sandwich Bay; Kikertauiak or Cape Islands – Cape North and Grady Islands area; Kikertet or The Many or Thousand Islands; and Ekeresault or The Narrow Passage – possibly Porcupine Bay or Squasho Run are generally sound and reasonable. A transcription error is repeated from Lysaght's list which gives Karaluliktut instead of Kajaruliltut an island group name meaning 'place of abundance of harp seals' (Wharram 2007:6). It should be noted that the placement of the names and the scale of the map permits only an approximation of the equivalent locations on a modern map. In any event the names Aviktuke Bay and Kiketet are clearly regional names; and Kajaruliktut and Kikertauiak are island groups. Ekerersault, according to Wharram (2007:5), is a plural word meaning 'narrow traits', or 'small bays'. The name Ekerersault thus could refer to both of Stopp's alternatives (Porcupine Bay and Squasho Run) but also Frenchmans Run. These features were sheltered navigation routes which would have all been known to the Inuit in their coastal migrations.

Stopp's suggestion that these southern Labrador toponyms attest to Inuit knowledge and settlement of this coastline seems sound especially since the Inuit informants also provided information

on their “houses” (evidently winter dwellings) in Aviktoke (Sandwich Bay) and on four separate islands in Kikkertet as well as at seven other places in Hamilton Inlet. Oddly Stopp fails to list and discuss eight other Inuit toponyms shown on the Haven Map south of Hamilton Inlet. These together with a further 23 Inuk toponyms located on the Haven map in and around Hamilton Inlet, the Inuit Kangertlorsoak, formed part of what Müller-Wille claims was a cohesive Inuit place name system which in its structure indicated a sophisticated degree of Inuit spatial organization (2007:1). Müller - Wille also judges the 1765 Haven map to be “the earliest detailed record of Inuit toponyms in northern Canada” (see Handcock 2007: 15).

The Inuit toponyms on the Haven map were recorded under a very special set of circumstances involving the Governor of Newfoundland and Moravian Missionaries in their joint efforts to discover the distribution of the Inuit on the coast of Labrador. These toponyms were also recorded only on the 1765 Haven map; and appear to have resided as little known documents until recently when published by Lysagh (1971). Indeed later in the 18th century, a more detailed Moravian coastal chart of southern Labrador , draws mostly upon European place-names added to a charts made in 1770-1 by English surveyor Michael Lane. Inuit toponyms in the 18th century would have persisted almost exclusively in oral tradition, thus their absence from written sources does not necessarily signal their decline or demise among the Inuit who frequented the southern region. It often simply means that they went unrecorded as in the case of George Cartwright’s Journal. Cartwright, for example, had very amicable relationships with many Inuit acquaintances in southern Labrador over an 18 year period, acquired some facility in their language, and took pains to translate from Inukitut many of their personal names, yet (as discussed in detail later) he failed to include hardly any Inuit place-names preferring instead to either use French and English toponyms or invent his own. Indeed only in northern Labrador, and mainly under the auspices of the Moravians around their mission stations from the 1770s onward, was there any significant recording and preservation, and eventually official adoption of Labrador Inuit toponyms of 18th and 19th century usage (Wheeler 1952).

IV. A REVIEW OF INUIT TOPONYMY IN CHARLES A. MARTIJN AND LOUIS-JACQUES DORAIS 2001

INUIT TOPONYMS: IKKARUMIKLAU AND IKKEREITSOCK.

From an examination of published 18th century documents, Martijn and Dorais were able to identify two Inuit as well as two Innu toponyms in northern Newfoundland. These toponyms are regarded as a ‘supplemental category of ethnohistorical data, that is to say “named territory” ’ which, they claim, in the case of the island of Newfoundland, can be used to demonstrate the presence of Native groups other than the Beothuk and the Mi’Kmaq’(2001, 319).

The authors note firstly that the occurrence of the general appellative “savage” (as represented in the modern place-names Savage Bay, Savage Cove, Savage Island and Savage Point) may well have originated from the 18th century English translation of the French term “sauvage” with reference to the presence of the either Inuit or Innu. They also suggest that the name Esquimaux on the Delisle map of 1700 split into two segments with “Esqui” in Labrador and “maux” in Northern Newfoundland indicates “historic Inuit traverses to the island” (319-20). Another toponymic indicator of the Inuit in

Northern Newfoundland is the name “Esquemaux Head” in 1763, written along a narrow headland separating Quirpon and Noddy Bay, on a map drawn by Captain Cook (cited from Seary 1960:93).

It can also be claimed that these two Inuit toponyms help to affirm the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland as part of an 18th century Inuit cultural area extending beyond southern Labrador (see Figure 1).

The Inuk words Ikkarumiklau and Ikkereitsock fit the category of endonyms, or autonyms, names devised by the Inuit for use among themselves. Additionally, the two names are deemed to be quite similar in linguistic structure to Inuit toponyms found throughout the Canadian Arctic. The names were recorded originally in German by the Moravian missionary, Christian Drachard, from interviewing Inuit informants at Chateau Bay in 1765. The names were responses to questions: “How do you call Newfoundland?": Answer – Ikkarumiklua, and “How do you call Quirpon?" Answer: Ikkereitsock (2001: 325 cited from Taylor 1972: 138, but see also Rollmann (2007: Remarks about the Locations ...:5). Martijn and Dorais surmise that the Inuit informants may not have been familiar with the name “Newfoundland” or other translations (Terra Nova, Terre-Neuve) and probably posed the question along the lines “What do you call the land across from us? (i.e. across from Chateau Bay) to which was offered the descriptive term Ikkarumiklau (of significance to them). This Inuit endonym roughly translates as “where there are extensive shoals” (325-6). In the case of Quirpon as Ikkereitsock, a more problematic name, it is suggested it might be the equivalent of the Inuk word ikkaritsunq meaning “that (place) which runs aground” or “that (place) which touches land” but noted that this would be an awkward toponym. They finally settle on the more likely equivalent of the term ikiratsak meaning “several entry passages”, noting it better fits Quirpon which has two entries or passages into its harbour (327).

The historical record establishes the general area of Quirpon Harbour and Sacred Bay as a regular destination for Inuit crossing the Strait of Belle Isle and Quirpon and Noddy Harbour in particular as camping places around which there are extensive shoals, ledges and reefs (which may have given rise to the general name Ikkarumiklau. One reference to the Inuit at Quirpon occurs as early as 1588 (de la Mirandiere 1962 I: cited in 2001:323). Reports thereafter also mention Inuit-European encounters at Cape Noir, the Sacred Islands and Cape Onion.

The authors lament the Moravians did not ask their informants to draw a map of the part of Newfoundland known to them.

A REVIEW OF THE TERM KARALIT

(Contract Item 4a)

Hans Rollmann Ph. D.

A REVIEW OF THE TERM KARALIT

Hans Rollmann Ph. D.

The Inuktitut term *Karalit* has been used by Moravians since the 1730s as a term referring to the Inuit of Greenland and was in 1765 also applied, together with its Germanization *Karaler* and Anglicization *Caralit* to Inuit in Central and Southern Labrador. The following paper seeks to determine how Moravians used this term when referring to the Inuit of Labrador and what was meant by it.

THE USE OF *KARALIT* (*CARALIT*) AND *KARALER* BY MORAVIANS IN THE JOURNAL OF THEIR VOYAGE TO LABRADOR IN 1765

The term *Karalit* and its anglicized version *Caralit* as well as the Germanized plural noun *Karaler* are applied by Moravians during their exploration journey of Labrador in 1765. Sources for its use are the original German diary of the Moravian Brethren and the selective English translation of the 1765 Journal furnished for Governor Hugh Palliser during the same year. The evidence for the use of these terms is as follows.

a. Christian Larsen Drachard, the former Lutheran and Moravian missionary to Greenland and Inuktitut interpreter on the 1765 exploration trip, communicated on 18 August 1765 with 50 Inuit out of a total of 300 Inuit visitors 11 leagues northeast of Pitt's Harbour, Chateau Bay. Trying to communicate to Labrador Inuit the Moravians' familiarity with fellow Inuit in Greenland, he told the Labradoreans that the "Karaler in the east are your friends." The term "Karaler" represents the Inuktitut word "Karalit" with the German plural ending "er." It appears from the diary that when Drachard first used this word, it was not understood by the Labrador Inuit. The Journal notes that the Inuit "did not understand that he meant the Greenlanders (Grönlander) and began to cry: 'The Karaler ajorput, i.e., are not worth anything, are bad people.'" Drachard, thinking that the Labradoreans misunderstood *Karalit* to refer to the northern Inuit, tried to correct them by saying that he came not from the north but from across the ocean and pointed to the east. He then repeated what he had said until they replied "We know nothing of these *Karalit* (*Karalern*)." Drachard agreed by telling the Inuit that he had been sent to tell the Labradoreans about these "Karalit" (*Karalern*), where they live and that they knew about the Labradorians many years ago (Hill *et al.* 1765).

The English translation of the relevant passages from this encounter provides an explanatory gloss of the original German entries and can be found in the CO194/16. This public version and translation of the original German journal has been transcribed in a previous report to LMN by Jeff Webb (Webb 2005) and was also printed subsequently in A. M. Lysaght's *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland Labrador, 1766: His Diary, Manuscripts, and Collections* (1971).

The English version of the entry reads as follows: "As soon as he set foot on land, the old men came about him took him by the arms & led him to their Tents accompanied by above 300 Indians, who told him we are your good friends don't be afraid in the least, we understand you; but from whence do you come & where have you learned our speech? He answerd I am from the Caralit (greenlanders) in the east, where I have lived & had a house, wife, children & servants.... The Caralit in the East among whom I have lived are your good friends; they not understanding that he meant the greenlanders, but

those Caralit who live contiguous to them; with whom they are at enmity; cried out: the Caralit in the East are bad people, we don't trust them. A young man said we don't fear them let them come! Br Drachart said hear me, I don't come from the North, I come from over the great sea which lies east from here, there are many Caralits who are your good friends; They say'd: of these people we don't know any thing, they may be good people.... we heard of Bro J. Inguaok [Jens Haven] that you are Caralit, & now we see & observe that your speech, manner, Countenance, & clothing is exactly like the Caralit in the East. I am come to tell you that these Caralit in the East are acquainted with the Creator of all things and their Saviour and Redeemer" (Webb 2005:12-13; Lysaght 1971:197-198).

It appears that the term "Karaler" (Karalit) is used as a collective term for the Greenland Inuit, with whom the Moravians thought that the Labrador Inuit had an ethnic kinship. This assumption goes back at least to the end 1740s and was expressed in a letter of Johann Christian Erhardt to the Moravian Bishop Johannes von Watteville (Rollmann *in press*). Jens Haven's successful exploration journey and contact with Inuit in northern Newfoundland in 1764 as well as artifacts observed in southern Labrador confirmed this assumption of ethnic kinship. Although Drachard assumed that the Inuit eventually understood the term Karalit, Drachard's documented initial difficulties in making himself understood and his limited knowledge of Greenlandic and Labrador Inuttut suggest the possibility that the Labrador Inuit may not have been familiar with this term, least of all used it as a self-designation (Rollmann 2007b: 19-20).

b. On 21 August, Drachard conversed with two Inuit men in his boat as follows: "He said to them: 'Many—i.e., 4-500 years—ago, the Karalit (Karaler) in the east, your ancestors, lived here on your islands, and in the distant north there is a narrow sound, which your ancestors crossed. But now Greenlanders can no longer come across the great ocean to visit you, thus they have sent me and Brother Haven.' The men said, now they understood it, that he did not mean their neighbours, but the Karalit (Karaler)—by which they pointed to the east—yet they did not wish them to come here" (Hill *et al.* 1765).

The English version only uses Caralit once and abbreviates the account as follows: "Bro Drachard to whom he related: that about 500 years ago your forefathers have lived here in these Islands, & by degrees spread farther northwards along the coast even to the Eastwards in Greenland where many of them remain to this day but cannot on account of the ice come over to you. The Indians answ'd Now we understand you, you don't mean the Caralit our neighbours but others who live farther to the Eastwards" (Webb 2005: 14; Lysaght 1971: 199).

The use of Karalit as an ethnic self-designation for Greenlanders is explained by Drachard in this conversation and supported by a historic reference to the spread of Inuit from British North America to Greenland in the 13th century. This assumption, communicated by Drachard to the Labradoreans, is also shared by Cranz in his 1765 *Historie von Grönland* (Cranz 1765: 332). According to the German version of the Journal, the Inuit understood the geographic spread of the Karalit in the east, i.e., the Greenlanders, and the British American Northlanders. The English version of the Journal strengthens the global meaning of Karalit by stating unambiguously that the Labrador Inuit "now ... understand you, you don't mean the Caralit our neighbours but others who live farther to the Eastwards." Thus the reader is left with the assumption that "Caralit" is a term extended by Labrador Inuit to the northern Inuit and now also to the eastern Inuit of whom the Moravian missionaries brought knowledge.

c. On 23 August, Drachard put the Inuit at ease, so that they would not fear any Inuit from the east. He writes that "[t]hey began about the Greenlanders (Grönländern) and asked whether the Karalit (Karaler) wanted to come here, to take away their land. Brother Drachard said: 'No, they love you,

just as I do.” In the following conversation about the desirability of Christianity, Drachard raises the question whether, like their fellow Inuit in Greenland, also the Labrador Inuit want to be saved of their “evil hearts, thoughts, works, and deeds,” to which the Labrador Inuit replied: “We are nice Karalit (Karaler).” This passage cannot be found in the English version (Hill *et al.* 1765:103).

d. On the same day, 23 August, Drachard also explained a barrier that had been erected in Pitt’s Harbour to separate the Inuit and English traders in order to prevent Inuit from entering the English boats. In this connection Drachard appealed to the Inuit to comply with the barrier and “be compliant (literally “pious” [fromme]) and quiet Karalit (Karaler).” The English version of this text is as follows: “Bro Drachart told the Indians why the barrier was set up, & shew’d them their side where they could be in perfect security without any ones coming to disturb them. Now said he go & Trade at the barrier & behave Yourselves like orderly Caralit, which they did to the surprize of everyone for 3 hours together” (Hill *et al.* 1765: 102; Webb 2005: 16; Lysaght 1971: 202).

e. On 26 August Drachard asked the Inuit with a view of establishing a mission in Labrador: “‘Where do you want us to build?’ They said: ‘Yes Kikerlak, but take no Karalit (Karaler) with you, take large iron pots, large files, knives, boats and sails’” (Hill *et al.* 1765: 106). The English version does not use the term “Caralit” but has instead the Inuit requesting not to bring with them “other Kablunets,” meaning Europeans (Webb 2005: 16; Lysaght 1971: 202). This significant change in the translated version of the Journal may have been included to strengthen toward Governor Palliser and the British colonial administration the Moravians’ exclusive presence among the Inuit.

f. Two answers by Inuit to questions requested by Governor Palliser and posed on 27 August 1765 by Drachard use the term Karalit and allege it to be a self-designation of Labrador Inuit.

The first question was: “How do they call themselves as a nation or as a special people?” The answer was: “They call themselves Karalit” (Hill *et al.* 1765: 111).

Question 13 asks: “Do they know of other nations, that border on them?” The reply was: “They know of no others except the Northlanders.” This was followed by an additional question 14: “What are they [the Northlanders or northern Inuit] called?” The answer to this follow-up was: “Like them, Karalit (Karaler)” (Hill *et al.* 1765: 112).

The English versions of these queries and answers provide once more explanatory comment on the original German and are also numbered differently and display a few other editorial modifications:

“1. What do they call themselves? They call themselves as a People or Nation Caralit, they also[,] by way of eminence in contradistinction to the Europeans[,] Inuit (the Men)[,] the Europeans they call Kaublunet.

By this name Caralit they call themselves all along the Coast as far as 72 deg. North they know nothing of the name Esquimaux” (Lysaght 1971: 218).

“17. Do they know of Indians inhabiting the interior part of the Country? They speak of Caralit who live northward of them besides these they know of no Indians inland or on the Coast.

18. Do they trade with the Hudson’s Bay Company? These who come here do not; but the Caralit north of Davis’s Inlet very likely do” (Lysaght 1971: 220; Taylor 1972).

g. In the English version of the Journal, the entry for 13 September has Segullia refer to Greenlanders as “Caralit”: “In the morning Sagullia sayd to our Brethren now you can tell the Caralit in the East that you have spent the night with us you are the very first Europeans that have ever slept in our Tents & we look upon your confidence in us as a proof of your being indeed our good friends” (Webb 2005:

23; Lysaght 1971: 210). The German text does not have Caralit but refers to “our kin folk in the east” (unser Lands-Leute im Osten).

h. Also on 20 September, there is a reference in the English version of the Journal that has Inuit tell Sir Thomas through Jens Haven that there were in the north “Caralit with whom they were not in friendship” (Webb 2005: 24; Lysaght 1971: 212). The German text describes these northern Inuit not with the term Karalit or Karaler but as “people of the same nation as they [i.e., Labrador Inuit] are” (Hill *et al.* 1765: 167).

THE USE OF KARALIT BY MORAVIANS IN A MAP, ACCOMPANYING THE MORAVIAN JOURNAL OF THEIR VOYAGE TO LABRADOR IN 1765.

The term Karalit occurs also in a descriptive title on a coastal chart made on the same trip. In the map collection of the Unity Archives in Herrnhut, Germany, a black and white chart (No. 1784), presumably drawn by Andreas Schloezer, the Moravian cartographer on the 1765 voyage, derives from a larger 1765 manuscript map but does not contain any separate list or translation of toponyms and is limited to 53 N - 56 N. The chart bears the Latin inscription: “Pars / Terrae Labrador / ex Gallico originali designata / per ipsos Na-tivos / qui Esquimaux audiunt / **se ipsos vero Karalit vocant** / correcta / & cum eorum nominibus adornata, / in hanc ordinem redacta / per quosdam / Unitatis Fratrum / Anno Domini MDCCLXV,” which translates as “Part of Labrador, from a French original, traced out by the natives themselves, corrected and adorned with their names, edited in this order by certain [members] of the Unitas Fratrum, who heard it from the Esquimaux, **who, in fact, call themselves Karalit**, in the Year of the Lord 1765” (Emphasis added. See also Rollmann 2007b: 10-12).

The identical chart of the Herrnhut collection, only with a hand-written title “Carolit or Esquimaux Bay,” is also available at the Naval Library, Ministry of Defense, in Taunton, and was printed in Lysaght 1971, facing page 185. An English translation of the list of Inuit place names from the Herrnhut map No. 1786 that may have accompanied this map is located in the Public Record Office document C.O. 194/16, folio 245.

This map was likely the map given to Governor Hugh Palliser by the Moravians in St. John’s. Its origin can be reconstructed from the German Journal from 1765. After the return of the four brethren from Labrador, they gave on 5 October in St. John’s: “[Palliser] a map of the Bay, where the Inuit live, with the Indian [Inuktitut] names of the islands and the land” (Hill *et al.* 1765: 174). On 11 October, the Moravians also supplied Palliser with the English translation of the Inuit place names (Hill *et al.* 1765: 175). One week later, on 18 October, Palliser informed the Brethren that he would have the map they handed him enlarged (Hill *et al.* 1765: 177).

The Latin map inscription confirms the Moravian assumption expressed also in their journal, that Karalit is a Labrador Inuit self-designation.

KARALIT IN MORAVIAN LEXICOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Karalit as a self-designation for the Greenland Inuit appears to have preceded Moravian lexicography since already the first Danish Lutheran missionary to Greenland and subsequent tutor of the first Moravian missionaries, Hans Egede, records a version of the term as early as 1722 in his Greenlandic vocabulary. Here he lists “Kalálæ” as “a human” (“En mennische”) or as “a Greenlander” (“En

Grönländer”) in contrast to “Kablunäch,” “a foreigner” (“En fremmed Mand”) (Bergsland & Rischel 1986: 49)

The collective manuscript Greenlandic-German dictionary of Moravians, begun in 1734, as copied by Johann Ludwig Beck and brought to Labrador in 1773, also records the word. Beck’s dictionary lists the word in its grammatical numbers as “Karalek, lik, lit” and gives as its meaning “a native Greenlander” (“Ein geböhrener Grönländer”) (Beck 1734).

The most extensive eighteenth-century Moravian discussion of the word and its derivation can be found in David Cranz’s 1765 *Historie von Grönland*, first published in German and quickly translated into English as *History of Greenland* in 1767 (Cranz 1765; see also Mason 2001:41-44). The German publication is thus contemporary with the 1765 exploration journey of Moravians in Labrador and in its continuation of 1770 discusses also the ethnographic evidence derived from the 1764 and 1765 Moravian explorations of Labrador (Cranz 1770).

Cranz states in Part 1 of his 1765 book that “The Greenlanders say that they were called by the former Christian inhabitants Karallit, which according to their pronunciation, since they divide the consonants, corresponds to Skræling” (Cranz 1765: 331). Cranz, like Drachard, assumed an Inuit population of Greenland from the west, from British North America, in the 14th century (Cranz 1765: 333). He speculates, following contemporary historiography and a source, the Tartar writer Abulgasi Chan, that the Inuit were originally related to the “Kallmucken,” the Kalmucks or Kalmyk people of Western Mongolia, who later settled near the Caspian Sea. Allegedly, some Kalmucks who could not follow their leader Ogus Chan through the deep snow during an invasion were called derisively Kallarzi and Karlik. This same Karlik or plural Karalit became according to Cranz and his sources a Greenlandic self-designation for Inuit (Cranz 1765: 333-334). The Kalmucks are said to have spread from Russia and Asia to the northernmost regions of North America. Cranz was aware of accounts of similar people as Greenlanders in the Russian Sea, and a very narrow “sound” (Meerenge) in 66 degrees between Asia and America, may have been a point of crossing. Cranz also used the same source as Erhardt did in 1750, Captain Henry Ellis, an eighteenth-century northern explorer in search of a North-West Passage, to verify “Eskimaux” in Hudson’s Bay, “who are of one stature, clothing, means of travel, hunting equipment, habitation, manners and customs with our Greenlanders” (Cranz 1765: 336). Cranz refers directly to Erhardt’s ethnic identification of Labrador Inuit with Greenlanders and finds additional and conclusive proof in Haven’s account of the Inuit encountered on his first 1764 visit, although, to my knowledge, Haven did not use in his diaries of that first trip of exploration the term “Karalit” for Inuit. In fact, in an unpublished essay, titled “Einige anmerckung über die Coste Labrador” (Some Remarks about the Coast of Labrador), written after his first exploration trip on 15 November 1764, Haven writes in the subsection “About their Language” the following: “It is the same as that of the Greenlanders[.] They call themselves Innuit and the Europeans they call Kablunet, the same as the Greenlanders”¹. There is no reference to Karalit as a Labrador Inuit self-designation. It was during the 1765 trip that the name was used repeatedly by Drachard. Regarding the self-designation of Labrador Inuit, Cranz writes: “They call themselves, like the Greenlanders, Innuit or Karalit, and the Europeans Kablunaet” (Cranz 1765: 337).

In an appendix to the “Continuation” of his *Historie von Grönland*, the 1770 *Fortsetzung der Historie von Groenland insonderheit der Missions-Geschichte der Evangelischen Brueder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Lichtenfels von 1763 bis 1768* (Continuation of the History of Greenland, especially the Missionary History of the Evangelical Brethren at New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels, from 1763 to 1768), Cranz, who has now available the missionaries’ 1765 Labrador Journal, writes regarding the Labrador

1. The reference in the essay can be found on page 4 of the manuscript R15Ka4 in the Unity Archives, Herrnhut.

Inuit: “As far as the savages are concerned, they call themselves like the Greenlanders Inuit, i. e. human beings or inhabitants, also likely Karalit, and the foreigners they call Kablunaet” (Cranz 1770: 309-310). The adverb “wol” (modern “wohl”), meaning “likely,” qualifies the degree of certainty in the self-designation of Karalit somewhat and indicates perhaps an inferential conclusion based on a comparison with the Greenland Inuit.

In a further appendix to his *Fortsetzung der Historie von Groenland*, Cranz returns to his previous statement that derives the word Karalit from Skraeling and corrects his earlier explanation. He now disputes that Karalit was a simple adoption of a Norse term appropriated as self-designation by Inuit. He considers it unlikely that a people would not have a term with which to refer to itself and would adopt it from outsiders. “One can rather assume, that the Normans, who had seen the Karalit in their Vinland (“Weinland”; which Cranz locates in Newfoundland or elsewhere in North America), changed this name to Skraling und Skraelinger. They call each other usually Inuit, humans or inhabitants, but their nation they call in distinction to other nations Karalit.” Cranz provides two possibilities for the origin of the word. It derives either from “Karlik,” since, according to the Tartar writer Abulgasi Chan, a Tartar nation was thus named long before Christian time reckoning. Or it could come from “Kallak,” “as Greenlanders call the first human being or their ancestor (Stammvater).” Phonetically and grammatically this would call according to Cranz for the plural noun *Kalâit*, which indeed most women call it, “either because they cannot pronounce well the ‘r’ or because, as in several other words, they change it for euphonic reasons into ‘l’,” while “men, however, say ‘Káralit” (Cranz 1770: 337-338).

KARALIT (*KALÂDLIT*) IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY ETHNOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Some of the subsequent ethnological discussion of Karalit (*Kalâdliit*) has raised serious questions about the word being a common ethnic self-designation for Greenlanders. In particular Kaj Birket-Smith has drawn attention to the geographically limited use of the word in Greenland.

In his study of Kap Farvel Greenlanders, Birket-Smith found “that the Kap Farvel Greenlanders prefer to refer to themselves as the *inivit* (the written language’s inuit), whereas the name *kalâdliit* is very little used.” He considers it possible that the word was introduced fairly recently in the area through education. Also on the east coast of Greenland, the word *kalâdliit* is not used, “although *inik* is used as the national name—as opposed to *qavdlunâq*, a stranger” (Birket-Smith 1917: 29). Birket-Smith also found that “[t]he inhabitants of the Egedesminde District do not describe themselves as *kalâdliit*, no more than do the remaining population of North Greenland.” *Kalâdliit* is rather a name “which is exclusively used in the central part of the West Coast, in particular round Godthaab,” whereas in Julianehaab and in the Egedesminde District, “the Eskimos simply use the word *inuit*, ‘men,’ when speaking of themselves, this being the appellation used by the majority of Eskimos” (Birket-Smith 1924: 37). In his 1935 synthesis of Inuit history and culture in Greenland, Birket-Smith concludes that the name *Inuit* is the nearly ubiquitous self-designation from Atlantic Ocean to the Bering Strait whereas *Kalâdliit* can only be found in the central part of the west coast of Greenland as a substitute for *inuit* (Birket-Smith 1935: 8).

Finn Gad, in his comprehensive *History of Greenland* (1970), comes to the conclusion that the words *Kalâdliit*, Greenlanders, and *kalâleq*, Greenlander, is a relatively late designation that “presumably did not come into general use until the twentieth century.” In the Middle Ages and as late as the eighteenth century, “the Eskimos called themselves *inuit* or ‘human beings.’” It represented “an all-Eskimo designation marking their difference from all individuals who seemed to come from

other places, *qavdunât*, which perhaps means ‘people who come from the south or from outside.’” While Gad is uncertain as to the origin of *kalâdlit*, he suspects that it may have been “the creation of European ‘armchair’ geography and cartography of the eighteenth century” (Gad 1970: 172).

While the anthropologist E. B. Tylor still followed Cranz’s original suggestion that the word Karalit was of Norse origin and Birket-Smith considered *kalâtdlit* (sing. *kalâleq*) possibly a corruption of the Norse “skræling” that “conform[ed] to the Eskimo phonetic laws,” more recent discussion about Cranz’s and Kleinschmidt’s derivation of the word from Skraeling points out the difficulties inherent in such a name change (Tylor 1884: 349; Birket Smith 1935: 8; Gad 1970: 328-329. See also <http://www.arctic-journalists.com/atagu/debat/indlaig/2002/2002032201.htm>, <http://www.arctic-journalists.com/atagu/debat/indlaig/2002/2002031511.htm>, and <http://www.arctic-journalists.com/atagu/debat/indlaig/2002/2002030812.htm>).

CONCLUSIONS

1. The name Karalit as a name for the Inuit of Labrador precedes the actual exploration of Labrador and started with Lutheran and Moravian missionaries in Greenland. Hans Egede’s vocabulary list of 1722 contrasts the word, which according to him means Greenlander (Kalálæ), with that of a foreigner (Kablunàch).
2. The Moravian missionaries continued in the tradition of their Lutheran predecessor. In their collective dictionary, started in 1734, the Greenlandic word “Karalek, lik, lit” has the meaning of “native Greenlander.”
3. This latter meaning became according to Cranz a prevalent name by which Greenlanders called themselves in distinction to Europeans, although “Inuit” is as well recognized as such a self-designation.
4. Several explanations developed that linked the origin of the word with Inuit history in Asia and North America and saw the word mediated by the Norse inhabitants of Greenland, one dominant theory seeing in it a transformation of the term Skræling.
5. It is this previous history of the word and its assumption as a general term for Inuit that Drachard and Jens Haven brought to Labrador during the second Moravian exploration journey of 1765, although Haven does not use the term on his first exploration journey in 1764.
6. From the Journal and Drachard’s use, the word is applied by Moravians in 1765:
 - a. to the Inuit of Greenland
 - b. to the northern Inuit (Northlanders) of Labrador and British America
 - c. to Inuit encountered in southern and central Labrador.
7. In addition, the claim is made in the Journal and on a contemporary map that the Inuit of Central and Southern Labrador used this term when referring to themselves as distinct from the Europeans.

8. Although modern anthropology and linguistics question that Karalit (Kalâdlit) was a general and widely used name by which Greenlanders referred to themselves, it served as a Moravian early global ethnic identifier for Inuit of North America and Greenland.

9. Such identification is also indicated by the synonymous use of Karalit and Greenlanders in the Journal and the further identifications of the term in the German version when compared with its English translation. Karalit is identified with “our kin folk in the east” (unser Lands-Leute im Osten) and “people of the same nation as they [i.e., Labrador Inuit] are.”

10. The use of Inuit and Karalit leads Cranz in his 1770 published continuation of the History of Greenland to distinguish between the word “Inuit” as a global ethnic self-reference and the word Karalit as a national self-reference and collective political identity marker in contrast to other nations.

11. Although the recorded confusion of the Inuit of Labrador when first confronted with the word Karalit raises serious doubts about the alleged self-referential character of the term, there is no doubt that the missionaries saw in the Inuit they encountered in 1765 in southern and central Labrador ethnic Inuit and kin folk of Greenlanders and Northlanders.

12. Although the French name Esquimaux and its English and German version Eskimo became subsequently the preferred terms for Labrador Inuit as distinct from Greenlanders, the Moravian employment of Karalit as a global Inuit self-designation covering the southern, central and northern Inuit of Labrador as well as the Inuit of Greenland is quite evident from the 1765 Journal and its attendant documents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Drs Birgitta Sjöberg Ramsey and Richard David Ramsey as well as Dr John Molgaard for furnishing translations of the works of Birket-Smith from the original Danish.

REVIEW OF 'TRIBAL' NAMES
NETCETEMIUT AND PUTLAVAMIUT

(Contract Item 4b)

Peter Ramsden Ph.D.

REVIEW OF ‘TRIBAL’ NAMES *NETCETEMIUT AND PUTLAVAMIUT*

Peter Ramsden Ph.D.

These two ‘tribal’ names appear in E. W. Hawkes’s *The Labrador Eskimo* (Hawkes 1916), an account based on literature and archival research, informant interviews, and a field trip to the coast of Labrador in 1914. Specifically, they occur in a list of tribal divisions and place names that Hawkes obtained from an Inuit informant during his 1914 trip (Hawkes 1916: 24).

Both terms use the suffix *-miut*, which identifies a group of people with reference to the place that they inhabit. Dr. Douglas Wharram has provided translations for these two names, and they are included in his section of this report. Hawkes himself provided a translation for *Netcetemiut*, but none for *Putlavamiut*.

NETCETEMIUT

The term *Netcetemiut* was translated by Hawkes (1916) as “sealing place people”, and this translation is confirmed by Wharram (see below). This group of people is recorded by Hawkes’s informant as inhabiting Sandwich Bay. Curtis (1774) gave Sandwich Bay the name *Netshucktoke*, which Wharram (below) translates as “place where there are many jar (ringed) seals”. Although Curtis did not indicate that there was a group of people resident there, the congruence of the names suggests that the ‘tribal’ name may have some antiquity. Speck (1931) notes that Cartwright recorded a group of 30 to 40 Inuit residing continuously in Sandwich Bay from 1770 onwards and observed that, while they did not hunt whales, they killed large quantities of seals.

PUTLAVAMIUT

Hawkes (1916) provided no translation for the ‘tribal’ name *Putlavamiut*, merely noting that according to his informant the name referred to the area of Battle Harbour. From the heading of Hawkes’s table (“The place-names of the Eskimo”, 1916: 24) it might be ambiguous whether he actually means that this is the name of a group of people or of the place, although for most of the other terms there is no doubt that he intends names of groups of people since he translates them in that way. Moreover, the word ends with the suffix *-miut* (people of...), which Hawkes discusses elsewhere in his article (1916: 23). Assuming that he intends *Putlavamiut* to mean a group of Inuit people residing near Battle Harbour, there is no indication of what time period this refers to, but presumably within the memory or oral history of his informant in 1914. Rompkey (2003:41) cites the ledger of the Slade trading company in southern Labrador, wherein the people of Battle Harbour are referred to as *Putlavamiut* in 1798.

Wharram has been able to provide a translation for *Putlavamiut* (see below), although, as he indicates, it presented some difficulties. He believes that the literal translation would be “People from the big stone trap”, which seems not to make much sense. However, he feels it is more likely that “stone trap” in this case is being used metaphorically, and figuratively means a geographical feature that seems like a trap, probably a stretch of treacherous water. So the real ‘meaning’ of the name would be something like “*people from the place with the treacherous water*” (see Wharram, below).

**A REVIEW OF THE LIST OF 'TRIBES' IN CURTIS 1774
(SOUTH OF CAPE HARRISON)**

(Contract Item 4c)

Gordon Handcock Ph.D.

**A REVIEW OF THE LIST OF TRIBES IN CURTIS 1774
(SOUTH OF CAPE HARRISON)**

Gordon Handcock Ph.D.

This section poses a challenging set of issues partly because it makes assumptions which may not be valid, and also because it requires a very broadly based academic expertise to analyze satisfactorily in all its subject areas (historical, geographical, anthropological, ethnological, and linguistic).

Stopp (2002:95) notes that two documentary sources (Curtis and Jens Haven), both dating in 1773 and naming “tribes” indicate that Labrador Inuit groups at that time were associated with particular regions. George Cartwright also used the term “tribes” to distinguish different group of Inuit but did not give specific “tribal” names or assign them to identifiable regions. He uses the expression “southern tribes” to refer to Inuit in southern Labrador during the summer but does not name the regions in which they were ‘seated’, or regularly associated in their winter residence.

A literal interpretation of the “List of Tribes as described by Curtis 1774” (or in his other reports and on his chart) is that there were no “tribes” south of Cape Harrison. This conclusion is clearly conveyed in introductory remarks to the “List of Tribes”, and their respective population numbers “Of their Numbers”, in which he wrote: “Leaving the straights (sic) of Belleisle(sic), and proceeding, northwards, the first tribe, or settlement, you come to, is that of Ogbucktuke ...” (Curtis 1774: 387; see also Curtis 1772: 179). On his Chart he places the name “Ogbucktuke” to the north of *C. Webeck* (Cape Harrison) near present-day Hopedale. He names the next tribe “Nonynoke” and locates it near Nain, and the next tribe, the “Keewedluke”, is mapped in the locality of Okak. A further thirteen named tribes were all located further to the northward as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Inuit tribes from Curtis 1774, with modern locations.*

1774 Name	Location	1774 Name	Location
Ogbucktoke	Hopedale area	Nuckvauk	Nachvak Fjord
Nonynoke	Nain area	Cummucktobick	Seven Islands Bay
Keewedloke	Okak area	Kidlenock	Killinek Island
Nepawktoot	Nartokh Bay	Toogeat	not located
Cannuklookthunck	Hebron Bay	Congerbaw	not located
Chuckluck	Saglek Bay	Ungabaw	not located
Chuckbelweet	Bears Gut (fjord)	Ivevucktoke	not located
Noolatucktoke	not located	Igloo-ockshook	not located

Despite what he sets forth in his “List of Tribes” and shows on his chart, Curtis did acknowledge in his reports that the Ogbucktoke migrated into southern Labrador every year. Thus in 1772 he said “There are several Hoards of Esquimaux. That which is nearest to us (i.e. at Chateau Bay and vicinity), and which comes every Year to the Southward stile (sic) themselves the Ogbucktuck Tribe.”

He added further comments on the other tribes as follows:

A good way beyond these [the Ogbucktuck] reside the Noninucks (sic), amongst whom the Moravians are settled. Between these two Tribes there seems to be little Intercourse. We are not so well acquainted with the Noninucks, nor they ever make such distant peregrinations as

the Ogbucktucks. There are other Hoards of these People still further to the Northward, but as yet we know nothing of them.

Curtis believed it much more important for the British to establish good relationship with the Ogbucktukes than the Nonynukes for the following reasons:

The Noninucks kill no Whales, and as taking Seals is their chief Employment, from them nothing can be expected [i.e.. trade opportunities]. The Ogbucktucks are more worthy our attention. In the first place they are our Neighbours this renders their Enmity more alarming & their Friendship more valuable

When he visited northern Labrador and Nain the next year Curtis was able, with the help of his experienced Inuit coastal navigator, to put tribal names on the “other Hoards” northward, and to estimate their population sizes. In his Report on the Moravian Mission 1773 he again drew attention to the southward migrations of the Ogbucktoke by stating that the “Ogbucktuke Tribe still continues to visit our settlements every summer”, but noted “their numbers begin to decrease every year” influenced he believed by the establishment of the Moravian Mission post at Nain in 1771.

As observed earlier, much of what Curtis says concerning Inuit tribes, and their migrations and settlement is oversimplified and factually inaccurate especially when confronted with more reliable documentary evidence in other sources (See Commentary on A Review and Analysis of comments by Curtis...elsewhere in this report).

**COMMENTS OF THE TRANSLATIONS
OF 'TRIBAL' NAMES**

(Contract Item 4c)

Gordon Handcock Ph.D.

COMMENTS OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF 'TRIBAL' NAMES

Gordon Handcock Ph.D.

Curtis understood that “In the Esquimaux Language, the “Word” Ogbuck signified Whale” and that “the constant Winters Residence of this Tribe is Ogbucktuck: The place of Whales ... from thence they derive the Appellation of Ogbucktucks, the Whales”. Wharram’s grammatical analysis of ‘Ogbuctoke’ (this report) affirms the accuracy of this interpretation by indicating that the name comes from the root words ‘*arviq-tuuq*’ meaning ‘place where there are many (bowhead) whales’.

The tribal names used by Curtis and other observers appear to reflect the close spatial association between particular Inuit groups and their resource bases and places of residence, or their association with particular regions where important resources were available and exploited. Hawkes (1916:ix) stated that “ethnological divisions of the Eskimo are geographical rather than cultural” and although he intended this observation to mean across the north generally it could easily apply to Labrador.

Although Curtis suggested that the name *Ogbucktoke* was a self-ascribed name, Hawkes judges it unlikely that the Inuit ever had tribal names as used by Indians but that they had a tradition of place-names by which they designated “a territory or locality from which a stranger comes” (Hawkes 1916: 23). He takes the discussion into the linguistic realm by explaining that the suffix *-miut* meant “people of...” (1916: 23). When added to the place-name of the “settled territory”, this was the means by which one Inuit group distinguished another. Accordingly Hawkes compiled his own set of place-name/tribal division associations in 1914 from Inuit informants as follows:

Killi’nunmiut, “land’s end people”	Cape Chidley
Konilcu’amiutiut	Okak
Nu·neñnu·miut	Nain
Añvitu•miut	Hopedale
Aivituñmiut “whaling-place people”	Rigolet
Netceñtu·miut “sealing-place people”	Cartwright, Sandwich Bay
Pu·tlañva·miut	Battle Harbour

In most known cases where the names have been properly translated the tribal or group designation can be associated with the prevalence and exploitation of identified marine resources (seals, whales, walrus etc.). In other instances, however, the association is in reference to environmental conditions or relative locations.

A more complete translation of all the tribal names used over time is needed to develop a fuller understanding of their respective relationships with other aspects of Inuit culture.

COMMENTS ON THE USE OF THE WORD 'TRIBE'

(Contract item 4c)

contributions by

**Peter Ramsden Ph.D.
Gordon Handcock Ph.D.
Lisa Rankin Ph.D.**

COMMENTS ON THE USE OF THE WORD 'TRIBE'

Contributions by Peter Ramsden Ph.D., Gordon Handcock Ph.D., & Lisa Rankin Ph.D.

HISTORY OF THE WORD 'TRIBE'

The English word 'tribe' has a long history, and quite predictably has undergone numerous transformations of meaning over the centuries. The word appears in Middle English as *tribe* or *tribu* (as in Old French), and is generally agreed to be derived from the Roman word *tribus* designating one of the three divisions of the population of the city of Rome (OED 2002). These divisions corresponded generally to three 'ethnic' groups that, according to mythology, had come together at the founding of Rome, but had retained some political autonomy (Fried 1975: 3). Some argue that the Roman word is an allusion to the tripartite structure (*tri* meaning three in Latin), but others regard this etymology as simply speculative (e. g. Bishop 1998). Be that as it may, in its ancient origins the word 'tribe' connoted, very generally, a group of people who were probably related linguistically and culturally, who claimed descent from a common ancestor, real or fictive, and who were governed as a single group.

In its earliest known (Middle) English usage, the term referred to a group of persons forming a community and claiming descent from a common ancestor, and was used most often in connection with the Biblical 'tribes' of Israel (Fried 1975: 7). By the end of the Middle Ages, English usage of the term became less restricted, and was used to denote a variety of groups united by descent or kinship. For example, in the 16th century it was applied to Irish social groups that were essentially extended families, or communities of people sharing a surname (Fried 1975: 7).

Over the next few centuries, the word *tribe* was used more and more to designate groups of people of a 'primitive' or 'barbarous' nature, whose social and political structures were perceived to be of a relatively simple nature, as opposed to the more 'complex' organization of nations and states (Fried 1975: 7).

By the early 19th century, the term 'tribe' had expanded to have several different, although related, connotations: 1) a family, race, or series of generations derived from common descent (e.g. the twelve tribes of Israel), 2) a division, class, or distinct portion of people (e.g. the ten tribes of Athens, three tribes of Rome), 3) a number of things sharing certain characteristics or having resemblances in common (e.g. a tribe of plants or animals), 4) a nation of savages; a body of people united under one leader or government (e.g. tribes of the six nations), 5) a number of persons of any character or profession (Webster 1828). The more pejorative or derogatory sense of the word 'tribe' (number 4, above) came into effect during European colonial expansion, to distinguish the political and social structures of many of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, Africa, Oceania, and other regions from what were perceived as the more 'complex' state level societies of Europe, the Middle East, Asia and northern Africa.

In the mid 20th century, the term came to have more specific meanings within the discipline of anthropology. This scholarly use of the term was developed and described in greatest detail by Service (1962) among others. In this sense, a tribe is a particular type of socio-political organization, one of a series of evolutionary 'levels' of social organization comprising Bands, Tribes, Chiefdoms and States. A tribal society is one that is socially, politically and economically integrated above a local and kinship level by what Service referred to as 'sodalities': organizations that transcend descent and residential groups, such as medicine societies, warrior societies, and the like. In this definition, a tribe is not just a local community, but a group of such communities linked together. Also according to this

scheme, the members of a tribe generally do, however, share a common language and other cultural traits, and day-to-day activities and relationships are governed by kinship and local community power structures.

In 1975 Morton Fried published a definitive overview of the concept of tribe, including the history of the term and in particular its anthropological uses and characterizations (Fried 1975). The greatest contribution of this work is probably Fried's meticulous detailing of the degree to which the concept of 'tribe', whether in its common or its scientific usages, fails to conform to any ethnographic realities.

In the late 20th century, the use of the term 'tribe' fell into disrepute in Anthropology as a result of its evolutionary implications, and its historical association with colonialism. At the present time, most anthropologists would consider it demeaning to refer to a group of people as a tribe, since they would feel that it implies a judgement of inferiority to western culture.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MEANING OF 'TRIBE' AS APPLIED TO GROUPS IN LABRADOR

Of specific interest to this enquiry is what the use of the word 'tribe' may have meant or implied when it was applied to the peoples of coastal Labrador by missionaries, explorers, cartographers and others, from the 17th to early 20th centuries. It is clear that throughout this period the word would have meant a division or group of people, whose members either had some characteristics in common or were linked together in some form of social or political structure. Beyond that, unfortunately, it is impossible to be much more precise without some indication from the users of the term themselves as to what, exactly, they intended by it. Unfortunately, again, since the word is one of those that people tend to feel has a generally understood meaning at any given time, people don't feel that it is necessary to make it clear what they mean by it.

Notwithstanding, it is possible to surmise some of the things that were *probably* implicit in the use of the term by early English-speaking visitors to Labrador. First, by the time the English were visiting Labrador, the word 'tribe' had come to mean a group of people whose social and political organization or integration was considered to be on a 'simple' or 'primitive' level compared to the nation states of western Europe. Thus, the term might be applied to groups of quite different types, that in modern social science might be characterized as 'bands', 'tribes', 'chiefdoms', or even peasant societies. In effect, all that was necessary for a group of people to be labelled a tribe was that its members, or their customs, or the nature of the group itself appeared to European observers to be 'primitive' or 'simple'.

Again, it is impossible to be precise about what might constitute 'primitiveness' or 'simplicity'. Certainly, one contributing factor might be that a group was relatively small, say up to a couple of hundred people, and that it was relatively isolated or independent, i.e. not an integral part of a much larger group. A second critical factor often was that the cultural institutions were of a 'traditional' or 'folk' nature, in other words, not formalized and codified as were the laws and the political and religious institutions of much of western Europe at the time.

A second meaning that was sometimes intended by the word 'tribe', particularly as used by early English observers of aboriginal groups in North America, was that a tribe was considered to be a self-contained socio-political unit (Fried 1975: 8), governed by a single chief, headman or tribal council, which could in effect be dealt with as a sovereign nation, answerable only to itself. However, given the highly variable nature of the groups to which the term was applied at various times and places,

this interpretation must be used with great caution. This is particularly so as some European explorers may have exaggerated or understated the degree of political autonomy enjoyed by a particular group in the interests of negotiating various kinds of agreements with its members or leaders. In the same circumstances, the members or leaders of a group may themselves have misrepresented their political independence.

Thirdly, it is likely that a group referred to by early English-speaking explorers as a tribe resided within a restricted, local geographical area, although in practice the actual size of the area might vary tremendously. In the case of Labrador, the ‘tribe’ was often a single small community (e.g. Curtis 1774: 387).

But in the end, the most important thing to be noted about the term ‘tribe’ as used by early English visitors to North America is its ambiguity and total lack of consistent or precise implications. Indeed, Fried noted that “the nature of the concept of tribe has been a confused and ambiguous one from its earliest period of utterance” (Fried 1975: 5). The word often connotes a community speaking a single language, but this is not always the case; it often connotes a group that is known to its own members as well as others by a specific name, but again this is not always the case; and the same can be said for virtually any criterion that might be suggested for the definition of a tribe.

The only certain thing that can be said about the word ‘tribe’ as used by early English-speaking visitors to the coast of Labrador is that it’s meaning was ambiguous, and probably inconsistently and loosely applied. However, as an educated guess it is probable that the following could be said of each of the groups to which the term was applied:

1. The group was small and, at the time of meeting, was residing in a restricted local area.
2. Many members of the group were related by ties of kinship.
3. Social institutions appeared ‘simple’ or ‘primitive’ to European eyes of the time.
4. Rules of social and political behaviour were not codified.
5. The members of the group seemed to the European observers to be similar to each other in appearance, dress and customs.
6. The members of the group spoke a sufficiently common language to be mutually intelligible.

‘TRIBE’ AS USED BY CURTIS

Curtis’s perceptions of the Labrador Inuit, as articulated in his reports, seem remarkably similar to those expressed in George Cartwright’s Journal and documents of the Moravian missionaries. Insofar as these convey contemporary European concepts of “tribal” divisions, they may be said to be the kind of ideas influencing Curtis in composing his tribal typology. Basically it seems what he did was to identify by their respective Place-names and/or Tribal Names regional locations (mostly bays or island-groups) where different Inuit groups (ranging in numbers from about 30 to 400) were ‘seated’ or settled. These regions appear to have been perceived as core areas, where most of the group normally spent their winters, and whence they took hunting, foraging, gathering and fishing expeditions often into other areas, in the case of the Ogbucktoke to the southward. In reality, it seems Curtis recognized these “core” areas and assigned them “tribal” names known to his Inuit guide who was, according to Taylor “probably an Avertok Eskimo [an Ogbucktoke Inuit]” (1974:13). Curtis also had a sense that these “tribes” had different patterns of migration and resource utilization, but also that all belonged to a common cultural group, or nation, known to him and his contemporaries, as the “Esquimaux Indians” (Curtis 1774: 382).

COMMENTS ON THE USE AND DECLINE OF INUKTITUT TOPONYMS

(Contract Item 6)

Hans Rollmann Ph.D.

COMMENTS ON THE USE AND DECLINE OF INUKTITUT TOPONYMS

Hans Rollmann Ph.D.

WHY WAS THE COAST DESCRIBED WITH INUK TOPONYMS (HAVEN 1765)

The recording of toponyms on the Haven map served an overall British colonial effort to know more about the Inuit presence in Labrador and locate the most suitable future settlement site for a Moravian mission. After the Peace of Paris, it served the needs of the British colonial administration to develop a ship fishery, improve trade in Labrador, and reduce French influence on the coast. In order to accomplish this, existing hostilities between Inuit and the British had to be reduced and more amiable relations conducive to fishery and trade established. The Moravians were seen by Palliser as effective agents in accomplishing the intent while the primary Moravian objective was the conversion of Inuit to Christianity, similar to missionary efforts already undertaken successfully in Greenland since 1733. Given the Moravian experience with relative non-interference in their missionary activities on Greenland's west coast and the troubled missionary work among the Indians of America caused by European interference, the missionaries sought large land grants and conditions of relative isolation to insure an optimally uninterrupted missionary encounter with Inuit in Labrador.

Jens Haven, the driving force of the Labrador mission, viewed landownership as a condition of the mission in Labrador. In a somewhat apologetic defense of seeking large land concessions from the British government, he noted particularly that the disregard for the Moravian Indians in America had motivated such a request. In a conversation with a high-ranking British colonial administrator, Haven argued that the request for four times 100,000 acres was not motivated by European colonial ambitions, such as colonizing Labrador, but was solely for the success of their mission to the Inuit. The request for large land concessions occurred in light of the prior American experience of poor European colonial relations with aboriginals, "that if once the land should be covered with fishing establishments (Fischereyen), the same as what happened in America was not to occur, that the land of the poor Inuit should become an object of dispute, and that they should have land and water where they could seek their food without any hindrance" (Haven 1784: 48). Without an adequate land base assuring continued subsistence for Inuit, settled Moravian Inuit communities would not flourish on the Labrador coast.

Thus the two intents, British development of fishery and trade in Labrador and the Moravian evangelization and conversion of the Inuit apart from European interference, fit hand in glove. If the Inuit could be contained at a relative distance from Europeans in the north, then non-interference of Inuit with British fishing and trading operations in the south would be assured, while non-interference of Europeans in the Moravian mission in the north would result for both the British and the Moravians in a win-win situation (See Whitely 1964; Hiller *in press*). The Moravians' diary of the 1765 journey spells out well Palliser's design.

"It is my intention," Palliser stated on 15 August 1765 at Chateau Bay during a conversation with the Moravian John Hill, "to prevent the Indians [Inuit] from coming to the place where our fishers are. Perhaps it may be necessary to erect ca. 30 leagues from here a log house and occupy it with a number of soldiers in order to prevent the Indians from coming here as well as the English to go to them. And so that they do not lack any European goods that they need, for the exchange of goods,

which they acquire by their industriousness, sometimes a number of English ships could come to this fort and trade under the supervision of a person in charge of it. This would be entirely sufficient so that they would no longer find it necessary to come further west; and if they should do it, it should be forbidden for ships to trade with them. This way the English could carry out their fishery entirely free and secure, and the Indians would not exert such efforts in traveling so far but could better follow their business; and the collecting point [Sammel-Platz] would be so close to them that they would be able to bring their blubber [Thran], which so far they have not been able to do. This way not only will our fishers be secure but also the intention of your mission will be better accomplished as when they had the freedom to roam freely along the coast, whereby they surely have no good intentions. You will then have them for you without them being used and corrupted by Europeans” (Hill *et al.* 1765: 91). Even the potential for conflict during the exchange of goods was eventually removed when the Moravians received permission to engage in trade with the Inuit at their missionary settlements, which was also seen as a further inducement for Inuit not travel to the south.

Palliser, during this same conversation, thought that the Moravian settlement “in accordance with your efforts must be between the borders of the Hudson’s Company up to 30 leagues from here [Chateau Bay].” The governor suggested that the Moravians might wish to settle where they had made a first attempt (in 1752) at Nisbet Harbour (Hill *et al.* 1765: 90-91).

As to his further plans for the Inuit and the development of the Labrador fishery and trade, the governor was “totally convinced, that the Indians [Inuit] will in no other way be made a civil people [German: “ordentl[iches] Volk”]” except through the Moravian mission. He promised to support the planned missionary initiative upon his return to England as “the only method ... to be of benefit for this coast and for the fishery.” According to Palliser, there were several suitable harbours on the coast, “which besides those in Newfoundland are enough to employ all people that England can send there” (Hill *et al.* 1765: 90).

But in order to accomplish this dual intent, more information about the demographic strength and the location of Inuit habitation and subsistence needed to be known. The 1765 exploration trip sought to gain certainty about these questions by using Inuktitut-speaking Moravians as intermediaries and interpreters. An initial 1764 trip of Jens Haven had proven to Palliser the effectiveness and good offices of the Moravians (see Taylor *in press*). The set of questions posed by the Moravian missionaries to the Inuit and translated into Inuktitut was drawn up in 1765 by Governor Palliser but remained open to augmentation by the missionaries.

Palliser’s questions sought explicitly names of locations along with other information on Inuit subsistence, ecology, and culture. Already the first in the list of questions by the governor inquired about the Inuit name for Newfoundland. Among an additional set of 33 questions raised by Palliser, question two asks where the Inuit live “and what is the name of the place or the places of their habitation and how many houses are there?” This question was answered by Inuit with four regional Inuktitut names, including the number of houses in each of these places. Additional questions sought to secure a more reliable knowledge about the nature of Inuit habitation, demographic strength, their travel intentions, inter-Inuit relations as well as geographical, biological, and economic specifics of Labrador (Hill *et al.* 1765: 109-114).

The experience in Greenland and other missionary locales with conducting missions in the original languages of the potential converts had consequences for the recording of Inuit toponyms. The fact that actual Inuit names were recorded was the result of a wider Moravian policy to conduct missions in the original languages of the people whose conversion was sought. Also the Inuktitut capabilities of the two Moravian missionaries who served as Palliser’s interpreters and intermediaries played a role. Both Jens Haven and Larsen Drachard had acquired Greenlandic while serving as missionaries in

Greenland. The Moravian policy of conducting missions in the original languages, and even developing writing systems for the oral Aboriginal languages, was eventually expressed as a general policy by Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg in his 1782 book *Von der Arbeit der evangelischen Brueder unter den Heiden* (An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, Preach the Gospel, and Carry on their Missions Among the Heathen). He wrote that among people

who can neither read nor write, one cannot find any writings and books that would help a person to learn the language. Thus they must, when they speak with the heathen, point at this or that, and when they hear the name, remember it well, write it down and become familiar with it. In time, when they have organized these words alphabetically, it will become a little dictionary. If they then also learn the words, which establish the connection in speech and which indicate this or that action, they create for themselves a little grammar of the language (Spangenberg 1782: 73-74).

Thus the specific needs of Palliser to gain information on the Inuit presence in Labrador and the Moravians' capacity to record place names in Inuktitut resulted in a map with Inuktitut toponyms. Additional questions about locations and toponyms beyond the formal set of questions sought by Governor Palliser seem to have been motivated by the need to determine the best location for a Moravian settlement in Labrador. It is on the basis of this toponymic and geographical knowledge that Jens Haven eventually also drew preliminary conclusions as to the best suitable location for the planned missionary establishment. "At these four places," Haven wrote in his map commentary regarding the mapped four regions of Inuit population, "more than 600 reside, and I would say 1,000. Besides the four main names [of places], they have given almost each island and cape another name, and in order to establish several places for our future mission, if the savior wants it, we have made every effort to determine where they live as well as the situation of each individual place" (see Rollmann 2007a).

WHY DID THE USE OF INUK TOPONYMS DECLINE AND CEASE IN THE PUBLISHED MATERIALS?

The question of why the use of Inuit toponyms declined subsequently assumes that the Inuit names encountered by the Moravians in Labrador in 1765 had a fixed character and achieved a degree of cartographic authority. But the Inuit toponyms recorded and mapped by the Moravians (whether they are correctly mapped or not is irrelevant) in 1765 represented a very specific system of naming locales to which other Inuit groups and particularly Europeans may have had little or no access. With the successful subsequent settlement of Moravian communities on Labrador's north coast, starting with Nain in 1771, the British colonial administration and the European settlers felt no need to perpetuate cartographically Inuit place names that had never played a role on European or American maps in the first place. Once the majority of Inuit had located around settled communities in Nain, Okak, and Hopedale, Palliser's design was viewed as having been accomplished, despite occasional forays of Inuit to the south. Any Inuit who may have remained in the Esquimaux Bay or Sandwich Bay areas or elsewhere in the south and who might have continued to use these names among themselves were politically powerless and typographically voiceless so that these Inuktitut toponyms never even entered the British or American cartographic tradition. The only exceptions seem to be Arbatok and

Nu[n]jeingoak, names that were also Inuit place names on the “Moravian Coast” and may possibly have been erroneously projected from the north into the south on the 1765 map or are generic doubles in both places. In fact the Moravian manuscript maps of 1765 remained well hidden in the archives until A. M. Lysaght published the English version in 1971 (Lysaght 1971: facing 185). The German original on which Haven based his unpublished commentary has to my knowledge never been published (see Rollmann 2007b).

Moravians continued the use of Inuktitut toponyms in their mapping, as the rich history of northern Labrador manuscript and printed maps demonstrates. For example, the nineteenth-century manuscript map of Hopedale and Nain, no. 1851 in the Herrnhut collection, identifies as many as 17 Inuktitut toponyms for islands near Hopedale and 48 for islands near Nain. Esquimaux Bay and Sandwich Bay, however, the main area of the 1765 map, would play no longer any role in Moravian cartography until the 1860s, since the traditional “Moravian Coast,” since 1771, started at Cape Harrison and extended to Killinek. When Esquimaux Bay re-entered the history of Moravian mapping through the Reichel map of 1872, the place names reflect established English names for the area. Moravian interest in the area had been renewed through new settlement prospects near Rigolet in the second half of the nineteenth century (see Davis and Rollmann 2007). But already the manuscript coastal chart for the Jersey Packet, which took Haven, Drachard and several other Moravians on their third exploration journey in 1770 to the future Nain, skips Esquimaux Bay and begins in the south with Byron’s Bay, the Inuktitut Supok.

TRANSLATIONS OF INUKTITUT NAMES

(Contract Items 1, 3, 4b, 4c, 7)

Douglas Wharram Ph.D.

TRANSLATIONS OF INUKTITUT NAMES

Douglas Wharram Ph.D.

This short section provides grammatical analyses of some Inuit toponyms and terms which appear on the Curtis 1773 map, and in Hawkes 1916.

PLACE NAMES

Netshucktoke (Curtis 1773; Sandwich Bay)

natsiq-tuuq

jar.seal-place.with.an.abundance.of

'place where there are many jar (ringed) seals'

Current Labrador orthography: natsitok

Ivucktoke (Curtis 1773; Hamilton Inlet)

aiviq-tuuq

walrus-place.with.an.abundance.of

'place where there are many walruses'

Current Labrador orthography: aivitok

Ogbuctoke (Curtis 1773; Belle Isle area)

arviq-tuuq

bowhead.whale-place.with.an.abundance.of

'place where there are many (bowhead) whales'

Current Labrador orthography: apvitok

Ockposeequock

(Appears as Ockpaseeguock on the Curtis 1773 map)

My initial thought was that it must be based off of the root akpasik-, meaning 'to be situated too low' or 'to be lower than normal'. But then the ending, which could only be -guak, meaning 'often'/'frequently', is problematic. No Inuktitut speaker would ever have said "akpasiguak", as it is not a word without some sort of verb ending; e.g., akpasiguavuk 'it (the tide?) is frequently too low (there)', or akpasiguavut 'they are frequently lower than normal'. I suppose it is possible that the ending just got left off.

The other, maybe stranger, possibility is that "ockpaseeguock" represents not one word, but two disjointed ones. That is, ukpat means 'hind quarter (of any animal)', and siqquaq means 'hind flipper of a walrus'. With relatively similar meanings, the two words may have been given in quick succession in response to a "What's the name of this place?" question, and then interpreted as if a single word.

I'm not terribly satisfied with either of these two answers, but I'm unable to provide anything more insightful. I had the opportunity to try this word out on three speakers — they were also at a loss.

Okehowtet

akki-quatit

harpoon.point-containers.for

More generally, *a place where harpoon points are, or have been, stored.*

Innuckchuckluck

inuksuk-aluk

inuksuk-large

'big inuksuk'

Current Labrador orthography: inutsualuk

Ectrawbick

iksarvik

wharf, dock, quay; generally, any place for unloading a boat

Current Labrador orthography: itsavik

Webatuke

uivvaq-tuuq

cape-place.with.an.abundance.of

'place where there are many capes'

Current Labrador orthography: uivvatok

Note: uivvaq can also refer to the journey of going around a peninsula, instead of cutting across it. Its translation as a point of land facing the open sea seems more reasonable to me in this case.

Noootaleweet

nuvuk-aluit

promontory/headland/point.of.land-large(plural)

'big headlands'

Current Labrador orthography: nuvualuit

Ikenuluke

ikkaru-luk

shoal/shallows-bad

'bad shoal'

Current Labrador orthography: ikkatuluk

Kyemuckoemick

I just can't make sense of what they might have been going for with that one -- not even a plausible guess.

NAMES OF INUIT GROUPS

Netcetemiut (People of Sandwich Bay: Hawkes 1916)

Natsik + tuu(k) + miut (=natsitommiut, in Labrador orthography)

jar.seal _ place.abounding.in + people.from
'people from the place abounding in jar (ringed) seals'

Putlavamiut (People of Battle Harbour: Hawkes 1916)

Pullak + vak + miut

trap + big + people.from

This one didn't make sense to me for the longest time, because I literally interpreted it as "*people from the big trap(s)*": "pullak" ("putlak"/"pudlak") is a specific type of trap: a stone trap, used for luring game (it's also now an archaic term, "pullatik" being used today). So, "people from the big stone trap(s)". Really doesn't make sense.

But the term does make sense when one looks at the distribution of the postbase -vak, meaning "big". It doesn't generally combine with objects, like traps. If one wanted to talk about a large stone trap, one would use another postbase meaning "big", like -tsuak: pullatitsuak ("a big stone trap"). What -vak does combine with is stuff that's already very large, generally topographical features. For example, Kikittak ("island") versus Kikittavak ("big island"), or tasik ("pond"/"lake") versus tasi-vak/tasiffak ("big lake"). (-vak is also used with loan words, but that's not relevant here). So, what putlavak refers to is either a geological feature that resembles a large stone trap, or, I think far more likely, a feature that FUNCTIONS like a putlak (i.e., it lures you in, and then, well, crushes you). I'd guess that it refers to a particularly treacherous chunk of water (quite possibly TRAP Cove, just to the west of Battle Harbour). A chap who kayaked around and about Great Caribou Island mentions the "aptly named Trap Cove" (<http://www.wildheart-ventures.com/Labrador.htm>)

That doesn't provide a particularly simple English translation ("*people from the place with the deceptively treacherous topographical feature*"), but I am comfortable in saying that that is what it means.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

(Contract Items 4c, 5 & 7)

Contributions by

Gordon Handcock Ph.D., Peter Ramsden Ph.D., Lisa Rankin Ph.D., Hans Rollmann Ph.D.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Contributions by

Gordon Handcock Ph.D., Peter Ramsden Ph.D., Lisa Rankin Ph.D., Hans Rollmann Ph.D.

This section is necessarily something of an anti-climax, as the individual contributors have included in their various sections of the report substantial discussion and interpretation concerning the issues that the contract required us to consider. As such, that discussion and interpretation is situated within the relevant contexts, and it really only remains here to add a few summary comments.

Firstly, as a disclaimer, we should note that we found the wording of contract item #7 to be quite ambiguous, and we were unclear as to what was required or intended. Contract item #7 reads:

Analysis of the placement of toponyms to answer questions related to the movement of Thule people, occupation of the Inuit, and subsequent mixing of cultures and cultural indicators.

While there are many questions that an analysis of the placement of toponyms might answer, as detailed in other sections of this report, the “movement of Thule people”, for example, is certainly not one of them. This is a question most appropriately answered through archaeology. Similarly, we found it very unclear what was meant by “mixing of cultures” and particularly by “cultural indicators”. That being said, however, we will attempt to summarize our findings in what we believe to be the spirit of this requirement.

The distribution of the term “esquimaux” and variants, as properly applied to the Inuit, on early maps of eastern Canada reliably documents their presence as far south as the estuary of St. Paul’s River until about the early 1700s, and in northern Newfoundland to around the Quirpon area until the 1760s. The Inuit toponymy used by French explorer Fornel in 1743 reconstructs an Inuit culture area extending southward from Hamilton Inlet to Cape Charles. He labels this area “*Coste des Eskimaux*”. In the 1760s and 1770s Inuktitut toponyms collected by Moravian missionaries and a British naval officer (Roger Curtis) strongly associate Inuit occupation with the island-strewn coastal area around Spotted Island-Island of Ponds-Seal Islands, known to the French regionally as *Mille Isles*, or *Isles des Esquimaux*, and the Inuit themselves as *Kikertet*. Although these regional names were never used, or the region renamed, in English, early adventurers such as George Cartwright document Inuit occupation and use during the 1770s and 1780s both along this coast and Sandwich Bay through toponyms which can be called “associate Inuit toponyms” (place-names in English or other languages which evoke an historic presence). After 1763 English cartographers recorded only a few toponyms in Inuktitut in southern Labrador. The location of these names on maps and among the toponyms of other cultures, few as they might be, bear some testimonial record to the continued presence of Inuit in southern Labrador, but it is very difficult to relate these meaningfully, or in specific ways, to cultural interactions with other groups.

The occurrence of Inuktitut toponyms on maps south of Cape Harrison after 1763 resulted from very special and largely unrelated historic events. The Inuit names on the Haven map 1765, for example, were gathered by Inuktitut-speaking Moravians who, at the request of Governor Palliser and for their own missionary purposes, made a chart of the Labrador coast and tried to discover, from Inuit informants, where they (the Inuit) lived. The result was the placing of Inuit names at 36 locations in central and southern Labrador. In 1770 The Moravians made another chart of northern Labrador and recorded, south of Cape Harrison, two Inuktitut toponyms, but none matching the 1765 chart.

Then in 1773 a British naval officer, Roger Curtis, with the help of an Inuit informant, collected 11 toponyms south of Cape Harrison overlapping the 1765 chart area, but again there is no toponymic accord with the earlier surveys. These findings suggest that either some of the name placements were inaccurate, or that different features or places were named on these separate maps, or that multiple naming prevailed (that is, Inuit groups or “tribes” in Labrador possessed very different toponymic systems). In the latter case European recordings would thus only reflect Inuktitut toponymy known to their informants and then probably only a vestigial component of more complex and comprehensive oral nomenclature systems. The received archival records of Inuit toponyms in central and southern Labrador thus do not appear to be related one to the other, or to be in any sense developmental in character. These are, in reality, European literary interventions into Inuit oral traditions at given points in time and for specific purposes. These reflections suggest that we need more knowledge about Inuit naming strategies in Labrador and also the dynamics of oral toponymic systems among indigenous peoples generally.

The recording of Inuit toponyms on early maps of Labrador shows, once again, that by the middle of the 18th century, at the latest, the Inuit presence in Southern and Central Labrador was pervasive. The nature of many of the place names makes it clear that the Inuit by that time had an intimate knowledge of the land and environment of central and southern Labrador, and of its resources. Some of the 18th century documentary evidence suggests that the Inuit were engaged in trade in southern Labrador. However, the fact that some Inuit groups came to be identified by names that clearly relate them to specific places on the coast (e.g. the Netcetemiut: the people of the place of many seals, Netshucktoke or Sandwich Bay) suggests that the Inuit were not simply transient visitors to the southern coast. The placement and meanings of some Inuit ‘tribal’ names discussed in this report is summarized in Figure 1.

The analysis of Inuit toponyms can play an important role in reconstructing Inuit cultural history particularly the extent of past migrations, settlement or occupation areas, and interactions with other non-Inuit cultures. Inuktitut toponyms, as found on maps (historic and modern) and in documents, require a thorough linguistic and geographic interpretation to be effective research tools. It is equally important, in each set of extant historic Inuit toponyms, to examine systematically and critically the circumstances of their recording on maps and in documents. These circumstances will often provide valuable insights which can be as important in the reconstruction of the past as information (and indicators) contained in the toponyms themselves.

At the same time, it must be remembered that Inuit toponyms and tribal names in Labrador were initially often gathered by people with little or no extensive knowledge of Inuktitut, or of Inuit social, economic and political systems, and thus such terms must be interpreted with caution. For example, an 18th century European meeting a group of Inuit in a particular bay might presume that those people lived in that bay all the time. Even 20th scholars were capable of making the same mistake.

As important as toponymy can be in historic research, in the case of the Inuit and other indigenous peoples, place names data should be largely regarded as complementary and/or supplementary ethnohistorical information to other archival and archaeological sources.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It became clear in putting the results of this research together that there were two critical issues. First, it is apparent linguistics is a most important tool in using maps in historical research. This contract did not allow us to conduct as much linguistic interpretation as we would have liked, with the result

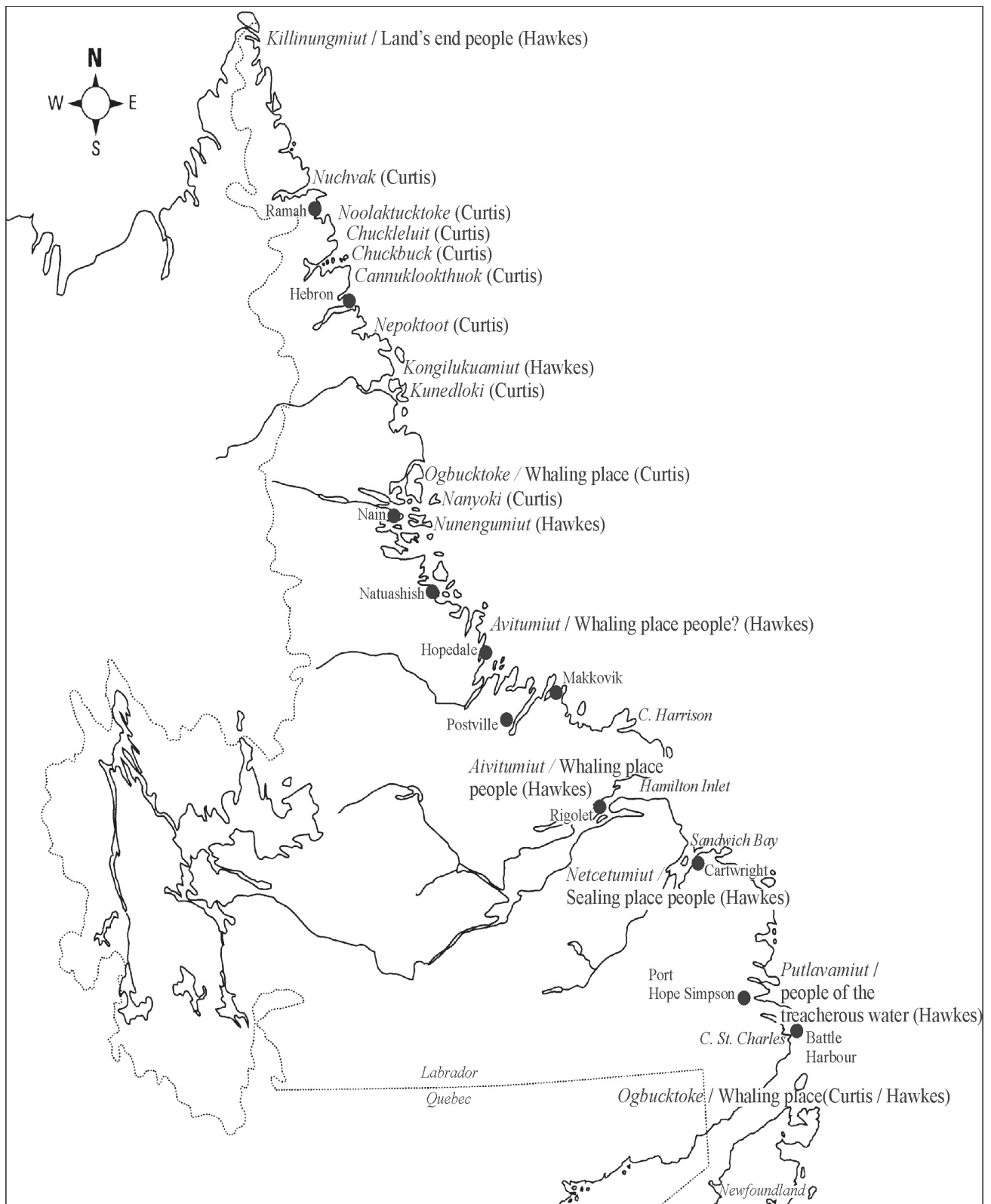


Figure 1. Probable locations of some ‘tribal’ designations from Curtis 1773 and Hawkes 1916. Note that most of these are names of locations which Curtis refers to in discussing people.

that there are many questions still unanswered about the significance of particular Inuktitut terms that occur on early maps or in early reports. Future contracts that are devoted to linguistic work would probably be worthwhile.

Second, some of the specific questions asked in this research were a little puzzling. We have already alluded to the ambiguous nature of Item #7 with regard to Thule migrations and ‘cultural indicators’. Another section asked us to review the ‘tribes’ listed by Curtis south of Cape Harrison, when in fact Curtis listed no tribes south of Cape Harrison. The result is that the research can become a bit lacking in direction, and it can be difficult for the researchers to see any overall framework for the various questions being asked. Research is most productive when it occurs in an integrated context that makes academic sense. It might be worthwhile for the LMN to engage somebody to systematize the questions and information that they need to have research done on, so that future contracts can be more focussed and more effective.

A final recommendation is that archaeological research should be undertaken. When this contract was first sent for proposals in the spring of 2007 it was earmarked as an Archaeological Research Project, but in fact the work was historical in nature. Nevertheless, the next step should be to conduct archaeological surveys in some of the regions suggested by the present research to be significant to the historic Inuit. Spotted Islands and Squasho Run particularly should be examined, as research is already planned for Chateau Bay and ongoing in Sandwich Bay where several Inuit sites dating from the early historic period have already been located. At this point archaeological field research is the primary way to verify the significance of particular locations to the Inuit.

REFERENCES CITED

REFERENCES CITED

Auger, Reginald

1991 *Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: From the Written Sources to the Archaeological Evidence*. Centre d'Etudes Nordiques, Université Laval, Collection Nordicana, No. 55.

1993 Late-18th and early-19th century Inuit and Europeans in southern Labrador. *Arctic*, 46(1): 27-34

Beck, Johann Ludwig

1734 Ein / nach dem Alphabet / Wohleingerichtetes / Grönländisches Wörter=Buch, / nebst / unterschiedenen Redens-Arten / mit vieler Mühe und Fleiß zusammengetragen / seydt Anno 1734, aufs neue / Abgeschrieben, von / Johann Ludwig Beck. Manuscript in F. W. Peacock Collection, MUN, CNS Archives, Coll. 69, Box 1.

Biggar, H.P.

1922 *The Works of Samuel Champlain*. The Champlain Society, Toronto.

Birket-Smith, Kaj

1917 Foreløbigt bidrag til Kap Farvel-Distrikternes kulturhistorie. *Meddelelser om Grønland* 53: 1-38. København: C. A. Reitzel.

1924 Ethnography of the Egedesminde District with aspects of the general culture of West Greenland. *Meddelelser om Grønland* 66: 1-484. København: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri.

Bishop, Thomas

1998 web comment on the use of 'tribe' in the writings of Shakespeare. URL: <http://www.shaksper.net/archives/1998/0384.html>

Canada

1983 *Gazetteer of Canada. Newfoundland*. Ottawa. Energy, Mines and Resources. Second Edition.

nd *National Topographic System of Canada (1:250,000)*. Map sheets 14-C Nain, 13-N Hopedale, 13-O, Makkovik, 13-J Rigolet, 13-I, Groswater Bay, 13-G Lake Melville, 13-F Goose Bay, and 13-H & 3-E Cartwright. Ottawa: Energy, Mines and Resources. Various dates and issues.

2004 *Sailing Directions Labrador Camp Islands to Hamilton Inlet (including Lake Melville)*, ATL 120 Ottawa: Fisheries and Oceans, First Edition.

Cartwright, George

1792 *A Journal of Transactions and Events, during a Residence of nearly Sixteen Years on the coast of Labrador*. Allan and Ridge, Newark (U.K.), 3 volumes.

Cook, James

- 1763** A Plan of the Harbours of Quirpoon and Noddy In Newfoundland. Surveyed by order of His Excellency Thomas Graves Esqr Governor. By James Cook. (Copy in National Archives of Canada.)
- 1764** A Chart of the Coasts, Bays and Harbours in Newfoundland between Griquet and Pt. Ferolle. Survey'd by order of Hugh Pallisser Esqr. Commodore &c. by James Cook. Chart in the British Admiralty, Hydrographic Dept. (C 54/7
- 1766** A Chart of the Straits of Belle Isle with Part of the Coast of Newfoundland. From actual surveys taken by order of Commodore Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland, Labrador , & c.. Surveyed by Cook in 1766 (Newfoundland side of Strait of Belle Isle) and Michael Lane in 1769 (Coast of Labrador from Mistanoque Bay near Shecatica I. to Cape C. Charles). Published in 1770 and 1775

Cranz, David

- 1765** *Historie von Grönland.* Barby: Heinrich Detlef Ebers; Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich.
- 1770** *Fortsetzung der Historie von Groenland insonderheit der Missions-Geschichte der Evangelischen Brueder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Lichtenfels von 1763 bis 1768.* Barby: Heinrich Detlef Ebers; Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich.

Curtis, Roger

- 1772** An extended account about Labrador, its people In CO 194/30 (Colonial Office series 194 series) ff 158-191 (on microfilm) Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 1773a** Remarks upon the Northern parts of the Coast of Labrador.... In CO 194/31(Colonial Office series 194 series) ff 31-51(on microfilm) Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 1773b** An Account of the Moravian Mission upon the Coast of Labrador. In CO 194/31(Colonial Office series 194 series) ff 58-65 (on microfilm) Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- 1773c** A Chart of part of the Country of Labrador Taken by order of Commodore Shuldham in a Tour up the Coast in the year 1773 By Lieutenant Roger Curtis N.B. the pocked line denotes Mr. Curtis's track up the Coast but the same passage must not be attempted by a ship of burden. (Copy in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland).
- 1774** Particulars of the country of Labrador, extracted from the papers of Lieutenant Roger Curtis, of His Majesty's sloop the Otter, with a plane-chart of the coast. *Royal Society Philosophical Transactions* 64:372-388.

Davis, Allyson and Hans Rollmann

2007 Moravian Missionary and Exploration Journeys South of Hopedale 1857-1900. Research Report for the Labrador Métis Nation.

Egede, Hans

1986 Nogle Grønlandske Vocabula (1722). In: *Pioneers of Eskimo Grammar: Hans Egede's and Albert Top's early manuscripts on Greenlandic* edited by Knut Bergsland & Jørgen Rischel: 49-52. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague, vol. 21. Copenhagen: The Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen, Reitzel Publishers.

Fornel, Louis

1743 Narrative of a voyage by Sieur Louis Fornel to La Baye des Eskimaux, 16 May to 27 August 1743. An English Translation of the Original French Narrative from Documents of the Enquiry into the Labrador Boundary by the British Privy Council. London: William Clowes and Sons 1929. See http://www.heritage.nf.ca/explorations/louis_fornel.html

Fried, Morton H.

1975 *The Notion of Tribe*. Cummings Publishing Company.

Gad, Finn

1970 *The History of Greenland, Vol. 1: Earliest Times to 1700*. London: C. Hurst.

Gilbert, Joseph

1767 A Chart of the coast of Labradore from the Straights of Belle Isle to Cape Bluff/ surveyed by Joseph Gilbert in 1767 and engraved by Thomas Jeffreys. London: Laurie & Whittle, [ca 1794]. Copy in Public Library, Arts and Culture Centre, St. John's.

Gosling, W.G.

1910 *Labrador: Its Discovery, Exploration, and Development*. Alston Rivers, Ltd., London.

Handcock, W. Gordon

2007 A Cartographic and Toponymic Analysis of the Jens Haven Maps of coastal Labrador 1765. Report to the Labrador Métis Nation in Rollmann 2007a.

Harrisse, Henry

1900 *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre Neuve et des pays circonvoisins 1497-1501-1769; Essais de géographie et documentaire*. 2 vols. Henry Stevens, Sons & Stiles, London ; H.Welter, Paris: 1968 The Gregg Press, RidgeWood, N.J..

Haven, Jens

1784 Auszug aus Br. Jens Havens Aufsatz von seiner Recogniscirungs Reise u[nd] Aufenthalt unter den Eskimoern in Terra Labrador von Ao. 1770 bis 1784, Erster Theil. Herrnhut, Unity Archives.

Hawkes, E. W.

1916 *The Labrador Eskimo*. Geological Survey Memoir # 91, Ottawa, Canada Department of Mines

Hill, John, Jens Haven, Chr. Drachard & A. Schloezer

1765 Journal von der Recognitions-Reise auf der Küste von Labrador der 4 Brüder John Hill, Jens Haven, Chr. Drachard u. A. Schloezer von London aus biß wieder dahin im Jahr 1765. Herrnhut: Unity Archives.

Hiller, James K.

in press Eighteenth Century Labrador: the European perspective. In: Hans Rollmann (ed.), “*Our Friend is Come*”: *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador: Studies from a Symposium in Makkovik and Hopedale, Labrador (2002)*.

Hind. Henry Y.

1863 **Explorations In The Interior of the Labrador Peninsula**. Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Greens, London.

Kaups, M.

1966 Finnish Place Names in Minnesota: A Study in Cultural Transfer. *The Geographical Review* 56: 377–397.

Knight, Roger

2008 Curtis, Sir Roger. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. See http://en.wikipedia.org/Roger_Curtis

Lane, Michael

1768 A Chart of part of the coast of Labrador: from Grand Point to Shecatica/ surveyed by Michael Lane 1768 and engraved by Thomas Jeffreys. Copy in Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

1769 *A Chart of the Coast of Labrador from Mistanoque Bay near Shecatica I. to Cape C. Charles. Surveyed by Michael Lane in 1769*. Published in 1770 and 1775. Copy in Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

1770-1 A Chart of part of the coast of Labrador: from Cape Charles to Sandwich Bay/ surveyed by order of the Honble. Commodore Byron. Governor of Newfoundland. Labrador & c.: in the years 1770 and 1771, by Michael Lane, surveyor; engraved by Wm Faden, Geographer to the King. Copy in Cartwright 1792, also Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Lysaght, A. M.

1971 *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland Labrador, 1766: His Diary, Manuscripts, and Collections*. Berkeley : University of California Press.

Mailhot, J.

1978 L'Étymologie de << Esquimau >> Revue et Corrigée. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 2 (2):59-69.

Martijn, Charles A.

1980a The Esquimaux in the 17th and 18th century cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence: a preliminary discussion. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 77-104.

1980b La présence Inuit sur la côte-nord du golfe St. Laurent à l'époque historique. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 105-125.

1980c The Inuit of southern Quebec-Labrador: A rejoinder to J. Garth Taylor. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 194-198.

Martijn, Charles and Louis-Jacques Dorais

2001 Eighteenth-Century Innu (Montagnais) and Inuit Toponyms in the Northern Peninsula. *Newfoundland Studies* 17(2): 319-30.

Mason, J. C. S.

2001 *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England*. London: Royal Historical Society, Boydell Press.

McDavid, R. I.

1958 Linguistic Geographic and Toponymic Research. *Names* 6: 65–73.

Müller-Wille Ludger

2007 Assessment of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven's Map of 1765 Covering the Labrador Coast from Davis Inlet to Bay of Islands. In: Hans Rollmann (ed.), *The 1765 Map of Jens Haven: Linguistic, Toponymic and Geographical Studies*. Research Report for the Labrador Métis Nation.

OED

2002 Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 10th Edition. Oxford University Press.

Powicke, F. M.

1954 Review of: Armstrong, Mawer, Stenton and Dickins *The Place-Names of Cumberland (1950-53)*. *The English Historical Review* 69: 312.

Prowse, G. R. F.

1936 Cartological Material, Vol. I, Maps: The Author, Vol. III, 1942, Names [Mimeograph], Winnipeg.

Rollmann, Hans

2005 Jens Haven's Commentary of the Map of Labrador from 1765. Unpublished manuscript with copy of the original maps and prospects (Herrnhut Archive, Map Collection, No. 1784, 1785, 1786). Unpublished manuscript.

2007a Remarks about the locations of the Inuit and the map of 1765 in the German Trip Diary. In: Hans Rollmann (ed.), *The 1765 Map of Jens Haven: Linguistic, Toponymic and Geographical Studies*. Research Report for the Labrador Métis Nation.

2007b Research reports on the 1765 Map of Jens Haven and related sources: Introduction and summaries. In: Hans Rollmann (ed.), *The 1765 Map of Jens Haven: Linguistic, Toponymic and Geographical Studies*. Research Report for the Labrador Métis Nation.

in press Johann Christian Erhardt and the first exploration of Labrador in 1752. In Hans Rollmann (ed.), *“Our friend is come ”: Moravian Beginnings in Labrador: Studies from a Symposium in Makkovik and Hopedale, Labrador (2002)*.

Rollmann, Hans (ed)

2007 *The 1765 Map of Jens Haven and Andreas Schloezer and Related Sources*. Research Report Prepared for the Labrador Métis Nation.

Rompkey, Bill

2003 *The Story of Labrador*. McGill-Queens University Press.

Seary, E. R.

1971 *Place Names of the Island of Newfoundland*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

2000 *Place Names of the Northern Peninsula*. Edited by Robert Hollett and William J. Kirwin, ISER, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.

Service, Elman R.

1962 *Primitive Social Organization, an Evolutionary Perspective*. Random House.

Spangenberg, A. G.

1782 *Von der Arbeit der Evangelischen Brueder unter den Heiden*. Barby: Christian Friedrich Laux.

Stopp, Marianne P.

2002 Reconsidering Inuit presence in southern Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 26(2): 86-116.

Stopp, Marianne P. (ed)

2002 *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*. McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal & Kingston.

Taylor, J. G.

1972 Eskimo answers to an eighteenth century questionnaire. *Ethnohistory* 19(2) : 135-145.

1974 *Labrador Eskimo Settlements of the Early Contact Period*. Publications in Ethnology No. 9, Ottawa, National Museum of Man.

- 1980** The Inuit of Southern Quebec-Labrador: Reviewing the evidence. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2): 185-193.
- 1983** The Two Worlds of Mikak Part I Winter. *The Beaver*.
- 1984** The Two Worlds of Mikak Part II Spring. *The Beaver*
- in press* In the Wake of the Hope: Jens Haven's 1764 Reconnaissance Journey in Northern Newfoundland and Southern Labrador. In: Hans Rollmann (ed.), *"Our Friend in Come": Moravian Beginnings in Labrador: Studies from a Symposium in Makkovik and Hopedale, Labrador (2002)*.
- Townsend, C. W.**
- 1911** *Captain George Cartwright and his Labrador Journal*. Dana Estes and Co., Boston.
- Tylor, E. B.**
- 1884** Old Scandinavian civilization among the modern Esquimaux. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 13: 348-357.
- Wharram, Douglas**
- 2007** Etymology of Inuit Toponyms on Haven's Maps (No. 1784 and 1786). In: Hans Rollmann (ed.), *The 1765 Map of Jens Haven: Linguistic, Toponymic and Geographical Studies*. Research Report for the Labrador Métis Nation.
- Webb, Jeff A.**
- 2005** Report on the treaty between Hugh Palliser and the Inuit, 1765. Manuscript submitted to the Labrador Métis Nation.
- Webster, N.**
- 1970** Reprint of original [1828]. *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York and London.
- Wheeler, E. P.**
- 1953** *List of Labrador Eskimo Place Names*. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 131, Anthropological Series No. 34, Ottawa.
- Whitely, William H.**
- 1964** The establishment of the Moravian Mission in Labrador and British Policy, 1763-83. *Canadian Historical Review* 45(1): 29-50.
- 1983** Curtis, Sir Roger. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 5: 220-222. University of Toronto Press.

APPENDIX A

1765 HAVEN-SCHLOEZER CHART

1770 MORAVIAN CHART

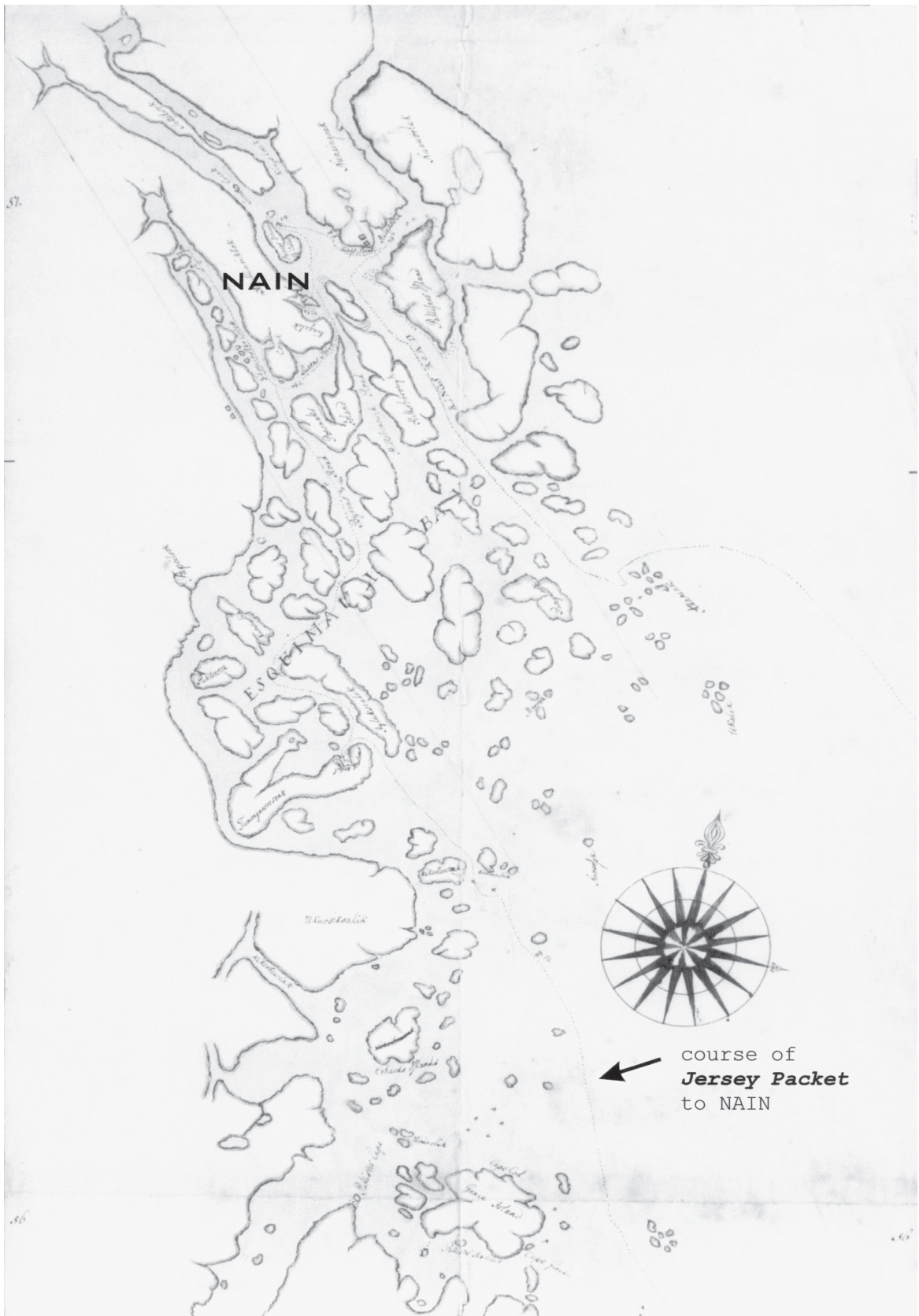


Figure 3. Moravian chart 1770, Part 2.