

# THE COMPLETE INUTTITUT VOCABULARY COLLECTED BY WILLIAM RICHARDSON CA.1765-1771

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## Abstract

William Richardson is known to researchers of Labrador history for his account of a 1771 voyage along the coast of southern Labrador. A re-examination of the Richardson material at the University of Toronto Libraries revealed a 92-entry Inuttitut vocabulary that has heretofore never been published and is among the earliest collected in the English language. Many of the entries in the vocabulary directly reflect the nature of the relationship between Inuit and Europeans at the time, namely the exchange of furs and sea mammal products for objects of European manufacture. In order to assess the vocabulary's relevance and authenticity, this article presents research findings on Richardson's naval career, which show that he voyaged to western Newfoundland and southern Labrador each year between 1765 and 1771. During these voyages he encountered not only Inuit, but naval officers, Moravian missionaries, and others familiar with Inuit language and culture, who might have been the source of his material.

## Introduction

WILLIAM RICHARDSON IS KNOWN TO researchers of Labrador history for his account of a 1771 voyage along the coast of southern Labrador (Richardson

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<sup>1</sup>This paper benefited considerably from the thoughtful input of Dr. Hans Rollmann, Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University. Thanks also to Greg Mitchell, Corner Brook, for his enthusiasm and considerable effort in trying to find William Richardson's Australian descendants and the original Richardson material. Also thanked is consulting archivist Edward Tompkins, who in turn directed me to archivist Jennifer Toews, University of Toronto Libraries, whose help throughout was very appreciated.

1935). One of the unexpected results of a re-examination of the William Richardson collection at the University of Toronto Libraries was a vocabulary of 92 entries that is among the earliest Labrador Inuttitut-English vocabularies presently known. Like other early indigenous-language word lists collected by Europeans, it consists chiefly of nouns but also has verbs, phrases, numbers, two toponyms, and a note on sound correspondences. Although its linguistic value is limited, it has merit as an early contact document that, together with the journal in which it is found, adds to a small body of early historical information about Inuit in southern Labrador not collected for official purposes. Richardson's biographical details were researched in greater depth in order to assess the vocabulary's authenticity, whether it was collected from Inuit in Labrador, or perhaps from other sources. This was of particular importance in view of the description of an Inuit snow house found in Richardson's journal, which is not based on first-hand observation (Stopp 2013a).

### **The Richardson collection**

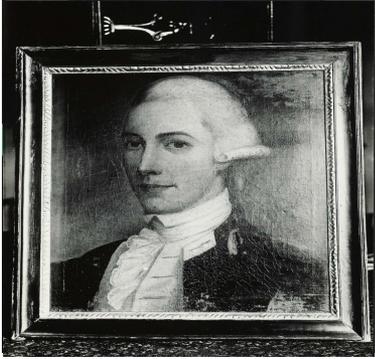
In the early 1930s, a descendant of William Richardson, Sidney C. Richardson of Melbourne, Australia, donated a small collection of Labradoriana to the University of Toronto in the form of black and white photographs. These are still in the university's collection, but the location of the originals remains unknown.<sup>2</sup> A short journal in the collection contains an account of a voyage to unnamed parts of the southern Labrador coast, brief descriptions of Inuit, the Inuttitut vocabulary, and ends with an account of a visit to the Cape Charles area where William Richardson met British merchant George Cartwright. In 1935, S.C. Richardson published this journal in *The Canadian Historical Review* (*CHR*) and it is this version that students of Labrador history have used ever since. The *CHR* article, however, includes only six Inuttitut words and the provocative footnote, "About ninety words are included in the journal of which only a few are here printed." A typed version of the same journal is also held by Library and Archives Canada (LAC) dated to 1933 but its origin is unknown (whether received from S.C. Richardson or copied from the University of Toronto file). The LAC text differs in only one respect from the *CHR* article in that it has eight Inuttitut words and the note, "and many other words not copied."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>S. Richardson Papers, General manuscripts, Box 12, folder 22, University of Toronto Libraries. There is no substantive information in the library's files about this transaction save a note dated 1963 that reads, "Original in possession of Sidney C. Richardson, Melbourne, Australia, in 1935."

<sup>3</sup>"William Richardson Journal," MG23 J2, in box MG23 J1-3, Library and Archives Canada. For a brief description of this holding see *General Inventory*,

**Figure 1** The Richardson collection includes this portrait, undoubtedly the image described in the 1771 journal as “A Portrait of himself.” (with permission, University of Toronto Libraries)



Re-examination of the Richardson holdings revealed the full extent of the vocabulary but also a self-portrait of Richardson (Figure 1) showing a young, fine-featured man wearing a white wig curled at the ears with a hint of a ribbon behind. The dress is eighteenth century, with a high-necked cravat of knotted lace. The raised coat collar bears white trim on the corner signifying master’s mate status. In addition, the collection contains a unique drawing dated 1769 of the naval blockhouse York Fort in Chateau Bay (Stopp n.d). Like the journal, both images are black and white photographic copies.

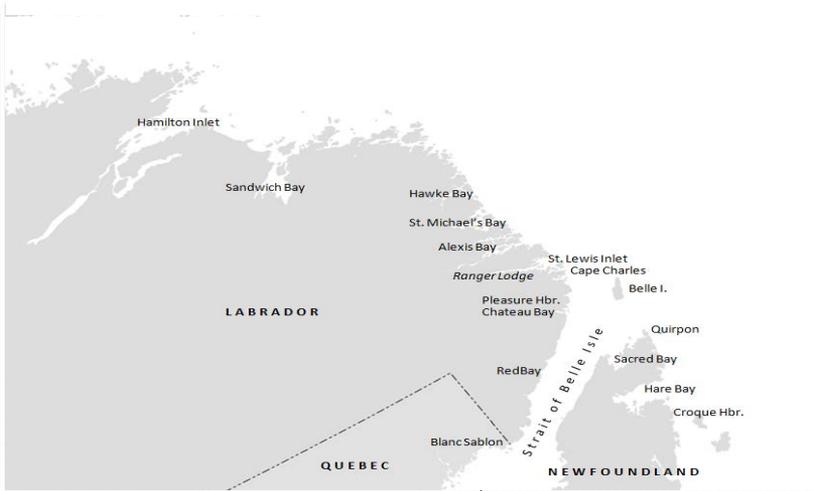
Although Richardson is a minor historical figure in the context of British naval presence in Labrador, his legacy to the region’s history is of note. The self-portrait and the sketch of York Fort are rare visual records of the time and place, and his short journal is one of only a few personal, non-official accounts of late 18<sup>th</sup> century Labrador, of which Cartwright’s (1792) three-volume journal is the best known. The following subsections begin with an overview of the political climate of the time and of Inuit-European interactions in the Strait of Belle Isle. This is followed by presentation of the vocabulary and discussion of its contents as surrogate evidence of the Inuit-European relationship. The paper concludes with a summary of the voyages that brought Richardson to Labrador waters and in contact with Inuit in order to show that the vocabulary was likely collected in Labrador and may be considered primary source material.

### **An overview of late-18<sup>th</sup> century southern Labrador**

Year-round European presence in southern Labrador first began in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century with Courtemanche’s 1702 military installation and trade post at Bradore. This was quickly followed by a series of French traders that included

Pierre Constantin in the areas of Red Bay-West St. Modeste and Port au Choix beginning in 1716, Bazil and Marsal at Cape Charles and Chateau Bay, respectively, beginning in 1735, and Louis Fornel in Hamilton Inlet in the 1740s. By the mid-1700s, French were well established throughout southern Labrador and western Newfoundland. Throughout this time, Inuit, too, were a presence along these coasts, with Inuit winter residency recorded westward into the Gulf of St. Lawrence in archival records and evident in remnant sod house remains (Niellon 1996; Stopp 2002) (Figure 2).

**Figure 2** Map of the area referred to in text (Base map from <http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/topo/map> Retrieved Feb 2013)



The late 18<sup>th</sup> century in western Newfoundland and southern Labrador was a time of cultural and political flux. The details of colonial developments can be found in several excellent analyses and are not repeated here (Whiteley 1969, 1972, 1973; Janzen 1993, 2008). Political jurisdictions were redrawn after the Seven Years' War, ending 250 years of French fisheries in the Strait of Belle Isle and granting control of the Labrador coast and much of Newfoundland to Britain (although French were still fishing Newfoundland's west coast). British sovereignty was asserted through naval presence around the Island, the construction of a blockhouse in Chateau Bay, and the preparation of an extensive series of coastal charts.

The cultural geography of the region changed substantively as French, and then English and Jerseyan enterprise moved into traditional Inuit sealing areas such as Forteau Point, Red Bay, and Chateau Bay, and established

themselves at salmon rivers such as Blanc Sablon, the Pinware, in Temple Bay, and in St. Lewis Inlet. Inuit, who had ranged along both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle for at least two hundred years prior to the 1763 Treaty of Paris, were pushed northwards and away from British and French fisheries. Archival records and archaeological evidence show that Inuit had lived in southern Labrador since at least the 1500s, exploiting key resource areas, and actively acquiring European goods through trade and pilfer from a succession of seasonal European fishing and whaling flotillas (Martijn and Clermont 1980; Stopp 2002, 2013b; Rankin, Beaudoin and Brewster 2012). Southern Labrador was Inuit resource territory both for the European goods to be had there as for the rich natural resource areas (Stopp 2002).

These developments interfered with the way of life of the Inuit who reacted accordingly – relations were often confrontational and Inuit were forced out of southern Labrador. Thus by 1765, Moravian Christen Drachardt noted that Inuit were no longer living in southern Labrador, and that the most southerly were in the Island of Ponds-Spotted Islands area (where French had not established themselves) and at the mouth of Hamilton Inlet (CO 194/16: 225-245; Trudel 1978; Taylor 1972; Stopp 2002).

British treaty enforcement also moved Inuit out of northwestern Newfoundland, where they had long traded and pilfered at French stations and had camps. Inuit were at Quirpon in 1764, at Fogo Island in the summers of 1766 and 1771, and at a large encampment in Sacred Bay in 1767 (Crantz 1820: 290; Lysaght 1971: 196; Whiteley 1969, 1972, 1973; Martijn and Dorais 2001; Stopp 2006; Martijn 2009; Tompkins 2010: 71). Pit features in low elevation cobble beaches in western Notre Dame Bay, traditionally used for preserving seal meat and pokes of seal oil (a trade item), are archaeological evidence tied to Inuit presence on the Island of Newfoundland (Stopp 2006), while sod houses tested on Degrat Island and Quirpon are also of Inuit origin (Auger 1991). Identical cultural features are found along the coast of southern Labrador, and point to broad-based Inuit presence not only in summers but also in winter (Stopp 1994, 2002, 2013b)

The arrival of Moravian missionary Jens Haven in Chateau Bay in 1765 (his first voyage there having been the previous year in way of reconnaissance) marked British plans to establish missions that would serve to draw Inuit away from southern Labrador. In 1764/65, Newfoundland Governor Hugh Palliser issued an edict preventing Inuit from coming south, partly to protect them from racial violence, to prevent their trading with French, but also to protect the fishery from Inuit pillaging. Similar restrictions were levied in southern Newfoundland to prevent Mi'kmaq movement from Nova Scotia (Janzen 2008), and by the French to prevent Mi'kmaq from travelling to the island of St. Pierre

(Martijn 1989: 223). In both cases, such measure had limited success; Inuit continued to venture southwards albeit in reduced numbers, while Mi'kmaq left southern Newfoundland for a time but within decades had once again settled parts of western Newfoundland, the southern shore, and St. Pierre. Palliser's other responsibilities in the period 1765-66 were broad and challenging, and included closing down Quebec-based merchant concessions issued by Quebec Governor Murray before the 1763 Treaty, regulating New England whaling in the Strait of Belle Isle, encouraging a successful fishery, and ensuring the coast's defence. He was, throughout, intent upon protection of the colony's Indigenous peoples, including Beothuk on the Island of Newfoundland, and Inuit in Labrador where he had documented aggressions by the whaling and fishing crews from Europe, Newfoundland, and New England (MG23/I13, v. 2: 3-5, 33-60; CO 194/27: 198, 251, 262).

Richardson's vocabulary was collected during this earliest period of British naval presence, when large numbers of Inuit were still energetically engaged in acquiring both French and English goods at points on either coast of the eastern end of the Strait of Belle Isle.

## **William Richardson's Inuttitut vocabulary**

Creating word lists as a way of engaging with the Indigenous peoples of eastern Canada has a long tradition. The earliest known were Cartier's words and numbers collected from Iroquoian speakers in 1534, and again in 1535-36 (Guégan n.d.; Biggar 1924: 80, 242; Cook 1993). The earliest Inuttitut vocabulary in the English language, "The language of the people of Meta incognita," dates to 1576, and was recorded by Christopher Hall, master of the ship *Gabriel* on the Frobisher expedition into the eastern Arctic (Hakluyt 2012; also Cheshire, Waldron, Quinn and Quinn 1980: 38).<sup>4</sup>

Richardson's complete 92-entry vocabulary is 195 years later than Hall's and like Hall's can be uniquely situated in a particular historical context. It is handwritten and found within the text of the journal spread over three pages and organized in two side-by-side columns; each column has Inuttitut terms on the left and Richardson's English translations on the right (Figure 3).

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<sup>4</sup>Hall's list has 17 words, of which seven are the same English terms as Richardson's and of these four share a resemblance in Inuttitut.

Figure 3 William Richardson's Inuttituv vocabulary. The location of the original manuscript is unknown. These black and white photos are in the collection of University of Toronto Libraries (with permission, University of Toronto Libraries)

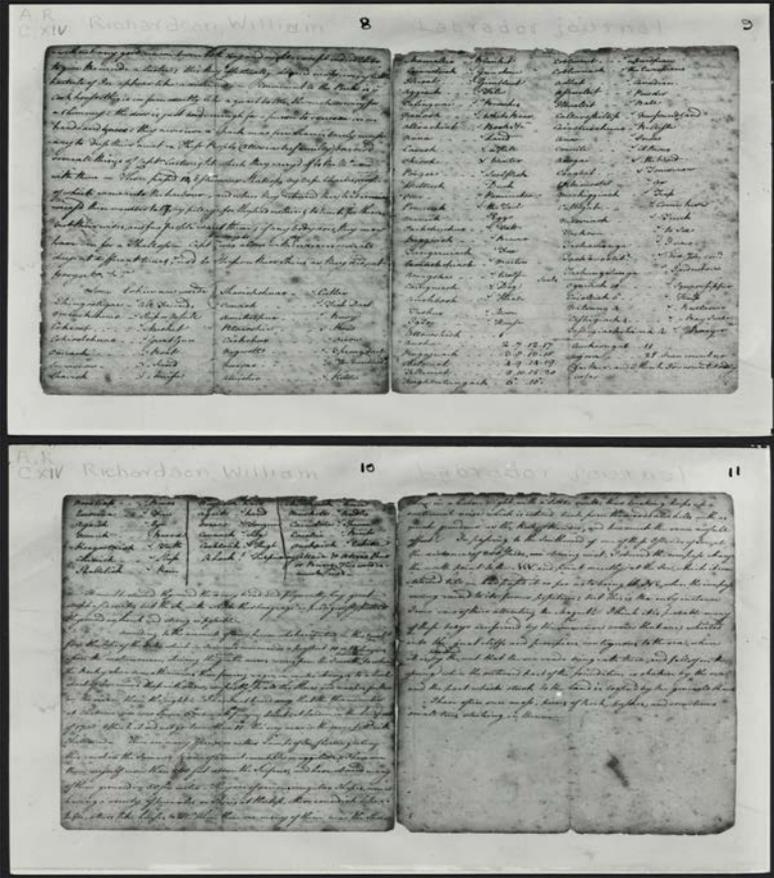


Table 1 presents the transcription of the entire word list, following Richardson's orthography including his use of capitalization of both Inuttituv and English words. Any words that were difficult to decipher are followed by "?".<sup>5</sup> Most entries are single terms but there are also a few phrases such as 'Come

<sup>5</sup>An unpublished, preliminary linguistic analysis of the word list was completed in 2010 by P. Piggot for the Labrador Metis Nation but the transcription in Table 1 differs in several instances.

here' (*Calligate*). Five numerical sequences are listed that may represent Richardson's attempt to determine if Inuit understood adding ten to a number, as in "6.16," or reckoning in multiples of five, as in "5.10.15.20" (but see below). Each number sequence is accompanied by a single Inuttitut word. When these words were compared against entries in the Labrador Inuttitut-German lexicon compiled by Moravian missionary Friedrich Erdmann (1866), it became clear that the Inuttitut word given with each numerical sequence was only the first number of the sequence. For instance, Richardson's entry for the number five sequence is *Tellumat* while Erdmann's *tellimait* refers to 'five things'; Richardson's *Aucha* next to "2.7.12.17" corresponds with Erdmann's *agga* for 'two'. The correspondence is not perfect, however, since *Aughbutungack* next to the "6.16" has no equivalent in the lexicon where six is *pigasojortut*.

**Table 1** William Richardson's Inuttitut vocabulary from his 1771 journal, the transcription, and equivalent terms from the 1866 Erdmann lexicon of Labrador Inuttitut

<b>Richardson's Inuttitut word or phrase</b>	<b>Richardson's translation</b>	<b>Term in Erdmann lexicon (1866)</b>
Ekingootigac	All friends	-
Omiackahuac(?)	Ship or Vessel	umiakotok (large boat)
Cokioot	Musket	kukkiut (rifle)
Cokiootchuac	Great Gun	-
Omiack	Boat	umiak
Sarracow (?)	Sword	Saviksoak
Shavick	knife	Savik
Shavickchuac	Cutlas	Saviksoak
Oonack	Fish Dart	-
Awietucpuc	Buoy	-
Petaioshic	Bow	pittikse, pittiksernek (bow shot)
Cackchuc	Arrow	karksok
Nigwett	Sprong dart	-
Nuisac	The handle d[itto]	-
Amictuc	Kettle	amertok, ukkisik
Mawallic	Blanket	ullik, kebbiksaijik
Caiwictuok (?)	Grin[d]stone	kaivitok
Illioat	Gimblet	ikkotak (to drill)
Aggiack	File	aggiak
Calingnai	Breeches	karlik, karliktak (long pants)
Nanook	White Bear	nennok
Alloachiat	Books etc.	aglait (sing., book)
Nuna	Land	nuna
Caack	a Hill	kakkak

Okiooke	Winter	okkiok
Poégei (Pocgei ?)	Sealflesh	puije
Mettuck	Duck	ivugak (generic); mittek (eider)
Pomiuctoo	Otter	pammioktok
Pomuok(?)	The Tail	pamiok
Manick	Eggs	mannik (sing.)
Backchuchuc	Felt(?)	-
Kiggiack	Beaver	kigiak
Terrigarniack	Fox	terrienniak
Caciackchiack	Martin	kabviaitsiak
Amagoke	Wolf	ammarok
Caingmack	Dog	kingmak
Auckbook	Whale	arvek
Tackuc	Moon	takkek
Igloc	House	igloo, igloksiak, iglovigak (snowhouse)
Attowshick	1	attausek
Aucha	2. 7. 12. 17	magguk, agga (two)
Pengajuack	3. 8. 15. 18	pingasut (three)
Shetomat	4. 9. 14. 19	sittamat (four)
Tellumat	5. 10. 15. 20	tellimat (five)
Aughbutungack	6. 16	pingasorjortut (six)
Auckeongat	11	arkanget
Ugna	21	-
I can count no farther and I think I've counted only so far		-
Cobluanet	A European	kablunak
Cobluanack	The Europeans	-
Adlat	Canadian	-
Ashuacleit	Powder	arksak (gunpowder)
Illuellit	Bale / Ball(?)	kippitak (to bale goods), aksak (ball, noun)
Callaroshillik	Newfoundland	-
Caiactuchhuac	Bellisle	-
Anco (Aneo?)	Snow	aput, mauja (soft snow)
Carnite	it Snows	kannerpok, apivok
Anogai	The Wind	anore, akkunak
Coagbat	Tomorrow	kaupet
Willimoote	Ax	ullimaut
Mackiggiack	Trap	mikkigiak (fox trap)

Calligate	Come here	-
Niooviack	Truck	niuvernianek (to trade)
Tackova	to See	tautukpok, tækkovok, tækkonek
Tackavianga	I saw	-
Tackavootit(?)	did You see?	-
Tackungilunga	I Did Not See	tækkolungilanga sunamik
Seals		
Ogriuck 18*	Square[1]ipper	-
Caiollick 6	Harp	-
Natsung 4	Bedlamer	-
Cashigiack 4	Bay Seal	-
Cashigiackchiack	Ranger	-
Nootiap	Beads	-
Eccooma	Fire	ikkoma
Aijeick	Eye	ije (many variants)
Oomick	Beard	umit, umgit
Keegootaick	Teeth	-
Chinick	Sleep	sinniuguck (verb); sinnik (noun)
Shallilick	Rain	sillaluk
Noojeaik	have	pigiva
Agaito	Hand	aggait
Oocaac	Tongue	okak
Canaack	Leg	nio
Cookloäk	Thigh	mimek, okpet
Ahook !	Surprising	-
Chiookuck	Knee	serkok
Muckett	Needles	merkut (sewing needle)
Caiuotou	Spruce	keblarikiok
Caiollic	Birch	kairolik
Oackpick	?	
Attaïa & Attaïo shuo(?) or Bring. This word is much us'd		apa (he brings it there), kaipa (he brings it here)

\*The purpose of the numbers next to the names of seals is unknown

The vocabulary also contains two Inuit toponyms that do not appear in other sources. Richardson recorded the Inuttitut name *Caiactucchuac* for Belle Isle (See Figure 2). Although not particularly habitable, Belle Isle would have been an important navigational marker for Inuit crossing from Cape Charles or Chateau Bay to the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland in low-hulled vessels (kayaks, umiacks, shallops). Belle Isle was an equally important waypoint for European seafarers as early as Cartier whose route to the St. Lawrence was via

the north coast of Newfoundland and westward through the Strait upon sighting Belle Isle. Richardson also recorded the toponym *Callaroshillik* for the Island of Newfoundland. This differs from *Ikkarumiklua*, collected in 1765 by Moravian missionary Christian Drachardt from Inuit at Cape Charles (Taylor 1972: 139; CO 194/16: 225-245). Drachardt also collected the toponym *Ikkerreitsock* for the area of Quirpon.<sup>6</sup> Martijn's and Dorais' (2001) study of Drachardt's two toponyms illustrates the difficulty of arriving at a precise meaning or literal translation of Inuttitut place names, of tying them to a specific location, and the uncertainty surrounding their collection. Poor communication between parties may explain why Richardson's and Drachardt's toponyms for Newfoundland should differ so much; Drachardt states that he showed the Inuit coastal charts in order to collect place names. Richardson may have done the same, but the potential for misunderstanding is easily imagined when using unfamiliar charts, or pointing across the Strait of Belle Isle in the direction of the Island of Newfoundland.

The vocabulary further includes three proper nouns of interest. For 'European,' and 'Europeans' Richardson collected the still-familiar terms *Cobluanack* and *Cobluanet* (but reversed the singular and plural forms<sup>7</sup>). He also provides us with a third term, *Adlat*, translated as 'Canadian,' which in the context of southern Labrador in the late 1760s referred to another common set of labourers who were the *Canadiens*, or a man of Quebec or North Shore origin, many of whom were involved in the fishery and fur trade throughout the Strait of Belle Isle and along today's Quebec North Shore. In 1770, for instance, Captain George Cartwright noted "two old furriers tilts...of Canadian construction" near his home on the Charles River in St. Lewis Inlet, referring to Quebec trappers who had been there before him (Cartwright 1792: entry of 18 October 1770). With respect to correct Inuttitut pronunciation, Richardson recorded two instructions advising that "it must be observed they sound the "a" very broad, and frequently lay great emphasis on it; but the ck with which their language is prodigiously pestered they sound as harsh and strong as possible."

For simple comparative purposes, Table 1 lists Richardson's terms alongside their equivalents found in Erdmann's Inuttitut-German lexicon. The Erdmann lexicon grew out of Moravian commitment to language preservation among Inuit in Greenland and then Labrador. At Labrador mission schools all subjects were taught in Inuttitut (until the 1960s, when the Government of

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<sup>6</sup>Whether Quirpon Island or Quirpon Harbour is unknown – Inuit knew both areas. Drachard had met Inuit at "Quirpon" in 1764; the record in Lysaght (1971: 218) on Drachard's information in this regard is incomplete.

<sup>7</sup>Noted by an anonymous reader.

Newfoundland and Labrador took over educational responsibilities in Inuit communities), and missionaries could only teach once they spoke the language. For over a century, a focussed curriculum (which was based upon Inuttitut text materials, and also resulted in dictionaries other than Erdmann's [Rollmann pers. comm. May 2013; Bassler 2006: 44]) placed Labrador Inuit among the best-educated people in much of Newfoundland and Labrador and gave them a footing in a changing economic climate (Rollmann 2008).

Linguistically, Erdmann's lexicon has been labelled "without any scientific interest" (Nowak 1999: 177) for its inconsistent orthography, high percentage of transcription errors, and its apparent basis in Greenlandic Inuttitut, which, she asserts, makes it inadequate for studying Labrador Inuttitut. Nowak's conclusions merit critical assessment,<sup>8</sup> and the accuracy or historical linguistic utility of Erdmann's lexicon is not part of this research. Rather, Table 1 reveals something of Richardson; namely that his definitions correspond with terms in Erdmann's lexicon, thereby confirming a level of accuracy in his method of collection.

Word lists possess other interpretive potential beyond the linguistic. Bakker's (1996) examination of early Inuit trade phrases shows how such texts provide a window into long-gone culture (despite linguistic aberrance, both in the trade pidgin spoken and in the written record of what Inuit said). Some understanding of the European-Inuit contact zone is revealed through trade pidgin, in particular Inuit and Basque interaction of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, and French trade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, Richardson's list is a window to cross-cultural engagement, best expressed perhaps in his very first entry, *Ekingootigac*, or 'All friends.' The trade pidgin equivalent, noted by Bakker, is 'tout camarade'; Richardson states in his journal that he heard this common greeting spoken in trade pidgin by Inuit in 1771 (Richardson 1935: 55), and six years earlier, in 1765, Moravian missionary Christen Drachard also heard it exchanged between the barge crew transporting him to Inuit approaching in kayaks near Chateau Bay (CO 194/16: 225-245). In the vocabulary, Richardson lists several Inuttitut entries that relate to the nature of Inuit-European engagement. One of these entries is the verb 'truck' or *niooviack*, meaning to trade, while another is the useful trade term 'to bring' or *attaia / attaiö*. A number of nouns are of objects of European manufacture sought by Inuit,

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<sup>8</sup>Nowak's premise brings into question the usefulness of any early word list from the colonies, since all were collected by linguistically untrained Europeans, and none derive from an emic context. Her conclusion that the lexicon is "damaged" by its Greenlandic beginnings must be re-assessed, since it was developed over many years in Labrador.

including beads and needles, also axe, trap, knife, kettle, gimlet, file, and firearms (which Inuit coveted but Europeans were loath to provide; cf. Rollmann 2011). George Cartwright recorded Inuit interest in these items in the 1770s, noting that "beads are the staple commodity in this barter, after the Indians have supplied their wants in Tools of iron & a few other conveniences." Cartwright further noted that Inuit for their part in the trade process furnished Europeans with "young Seal skins, Fox, Otter, Martin, Deer, Bear & Wolf skins" (Stopp 2008: 214, also 172, 178). Most of these fur-bearers appear in Richardson's list along with polar bear. The numbering sequences mentioned above may also have a place in the trade process. Richardson's list, whether intentional or not, is representative of the Inuit-European trade relationship and embodies the bilateral interests of a trade process that for the Inuit was already at least 200 years old by 1770.

Finally, Richardson's vocabulary adds to Dorais' (1980) roster of Inuit terms compiled over 30 years ago from a variety of English and French sources relating to southern Labrador, beginning with Jolliet's 1694 voyage along the southern Labrador coast through to George Cartwright's journal, and twentieth-century sources. The work includes two early French lists of mainly phrases from anonymous sources dated 1717 and 1730. The 1717 list is thought to have been compiled by Martel de Brouague at Fort Pontchartrain, Brador, from the captive Inuit woman Acoutsina. The 1730 list was compiled at Beauport, near Quebec City from an unnamed Inuit prisoner (LAC, MG/CIIA). Another early English vocabulary of 22 "Esquimeaux" words, not found in Dorais' work, was compiled sometime between 1768 and 1788 by John Long (1791: 183), a well-travelled trader in eastern Canada and the United States. Long does not give his sources but several words in his list differ from Richardson's, while a few are similar such as the terms for 'knife' (*Shavié*), 'bow' (*Petiksick*), 'arrow' (*Kátso*), 'moon' (*Tácock*), and 'rain' (*Kállaluck*).

## **William Richardson in Newfoundland and Labrador**

In his journal, Richardson tells us that Inuit he met along the southern Labrador coast "seemed pleased at my making myself understood to them" and that they "were very assiduous in telling me the names of things in their language, which I shall set down a little farther on" (Richardson 1935: 56). The vocabulary presented here may have been collected in its entirety during the 1771 voyage but Richardson gives every indication of already knowing some Inuit terms. Understanding how he acquired the vocabulary is relevant because not all of the information in his journal is original or of a primary nature. As I show elsewhere, Richardson's detailed description of an Inuit snow house was not

based upon first-hand observation but comes from George Cartwright (Stopp, 2013a). The source uncertainty of part of his account focuses scrutiny on the rest. As Table 1 shows, Richardson's vocabulary is reliable, but was it collected from Inuit or from secondary sources while in England? In order to assess the vocabulary's authenticity, I examined Richardson's naval career. It revealed that he journeyed to Labrador not just in 1771, but each year between 1765 and 1771. In some of those years he had opportunities to meet Inuit in both northwestern Newfoundland and in Labrador. He also met a number of individuals who had knowledge of the Inuit and it is not out of the question that they may have contributed to the word list – although this remains unproven.

S.R. Richardson (1935: 54) stated that his ancestor was a lieutenant who had made "at least" three voyages to Labrador and in 1765 was "probably with Captain Cook on his survey." Although Richardson did attain his lieutenant's passing certificate, there is no record that he ever served as a lieutenant, neither appearing in the lists of naval officers in The National Archives' catalogues nor in Syrett and DiNardo (1994).<sup>9</sup> And while he never served directly under James Cook, he was indeed on vessels charged with the coastal surveys of the Strait of Belle Isle begun by Cook in 1763 and continued by Michael Lane in 1768.

Richardson's early naval career can be traced in his lieutenant's passing certificate<sup>10</sup> of 13 April 1767, which shows that by 1767 he had already seen seven years of service as a captain's servant, an orderly, a midshipman, and an able seaman on vessels named the *Forsey* (one year), *Brune* (four years), *Lark* (one year), and *Guernsey* (one year), respectively (ADM 107/6: 139; Pappalardo 2001).<sup>11</sup> Of these vessels, the *Lark* and the *Guernsey* brought him to southern

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<sup>9</sup>Four men named William Richardson are listed in Syrett and DiNardo but in later years, between 1782 and 1808. The William Richardson discussed here is not the same as Captain William Richardson (b.1768, d. ca. 1865) who appears in Admiralty Records of the period and wrote a journal of his life (Childers 1908). He could not be the Captain Richardson referred to in a letter from Gerard de Visme to Joseph Banks, 2 June 1767, unless his rank was incorrectly given, in which "it was quite unlucky the Plants detained by Capt.n Travers...did not come by Capt.n. Richardson, or Hill, who arrived in short passages some weeks ago [to Lisbon] & are returned again to London" (Lysaght 1971: 241).

<sup>10</sup>A passing certificate confirmed that the requirements of a lieutenantancy had been met and it signalled that an individual could be promoted to that position when and if a promotion became vacant – it is, however, not proof that an individual held the position of lieutenant, but that he was qualified to do so.

<sup>11</sup>Some of this research was completed at the National Archives, Kew. Library and Archives Canada has some British navy ships' musters, masters' logs,

Labrador. In 1765, he was midshipman under Captain Samuel Thompson on HM Tender *Lark*, part of Palliser's squadron (and not, as S.C. Richardson proposed, with Captain James Cook, who in 1765 was surveying southern Newfoundland on the *Grenville*). Further connection to the *Lark* is found in a reference made by S.C. Richardson (1935: 60) to a sketch of the *Lark* drawn by his ancestor while anchored in Croque, northwestern Newfoundland (S.C. Richardson must have owned this sketch in 1935 but its whereabouts is unknown). On this voyage, Richardson had the opportunity to meet several figures with knowledge of the Inuit. These included Governor Palliser, but also the Moravian missionaries J. Haven, C. Drachardt, C.F. Hill and C.A. Schloezer who had come from England as passengers on the *Lark*. At Croque, they transferred to the *Niger*, under the command of Sir Thomas Adams, en route to Chateau Bay, Labrador. The Moravians' intention was to resume contacts made with Inuit the previous year (CO 194/16: 146v; Lysaght 1971: 182, 194; Rollmann n.d., 2009). Palliser's vessel, *Guernsey*, also at Croque, followed the *Niger* to Chateau Bay, where Palliser wrote his *Regulations for the Fisheries on the Coast of Labrador*. On 16<sup>th</sup> August, the *Lark* followed, bringing Richardson to Labrador for the first time (Master's Log, *Niger*, Tompkins 2010: 70; CO 194, 181v-182). Richardson may have met Inuit several times in 1765, both in Newfoundland and in Chateau Bay. A large group of Inuit was living as far east as Fogo that year, and Inuit were also transiting between Cape Charles, Chateau Bay, and northwestern Newfoundland throughout late summer (CO 194/16: 225-245; Lysaght 1971: 196-7).

In 1766, Richardson voyaged to Labrador on the *Guernsey* as able seaman under Palliser. Michael Lane, who assumed James Cook's mapping duties in 1768, and under whom Richardson would sail, was the vessel's schoolmaster. On this voyage, Richardson met a number of individuals of interest including John Cartwright, the *Guernsey's* 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant (and George Cartwright's brother) who shared Palliser's concerns for the colony's indigenous peoples.<sup>12</sup> The *Guernsey* cruised the northeast coast of Newfoundland and the Strait of Belle Isle, briefly anchoring in Chateau Bay on 8 August 1766 to check

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Admiralty correspondence, etc. in its holdings (ADM37/MG-12) but these do not include Newfoundland material. The Maritime History Archive at Memorial University also has some British merchant ship muster roles but none for the navy.

<sup>12</sup>In 1768, the Cartwright brothers would journey into central Newfoundland on Palliser's order in an unsuccessful attempt to aid the Beothuk, and following his naval career, John Cartwright devoted himself to social reforms and Britain's anti-slavery movement.

on the progress of the small defensive blockhouse being built there, known as York Fort. Inuit appear to have been absent from Chateau Bay that summer, also confirmed in the log books of the *Guernsey* and the *Niger*, probably in response to Palliser's request of the year before to avoid the area. But Richardson would have met the naturalists Joseph Banks and Constantine Phipps, who had arrived on the *Niger* with their friend Thomas Adams. Both men shared Palliser's and Cartwright's concerns, and Banks' journal records his disappointment at not meeting Inuit (Lysaght 1971; Tompkins 2010: 71).

In 1767, Richardson was again on the *Guernsey* under Palliser, initially as able seaman and then midshipman (ADM 36/7385: 85). The *Guernsey* had on board expert cartographer and ship's master Joseph Gilbert, and was charged with mapping the coast between York Point (Chateau Bay) and Cape Bluff in St. Michael's Bay as part of James Cook's surveys. This was Cook's last season in Newfoundland waters and he spent it on the *Grenville* surveying western Newfoundland from Cape Anguille to Point Ferolle (Rupert-Jones 1927a: 112; Skelton and Tooley 1967: 7). John Cartwright was also on board, as was able seaman Francis Lucas (ADM 36/7385: 13). The *Guernsey* reached Chateau Bay in mid-July (ADM 52: 1266) and in his journal Richardson describes meeting an Inuk named Chelie there: "I remembered to have seen [him] at Chatteau in 1767; he recolected [*sic*] me first and made me understand we had wrestled together" (Richardson 1935: 56). Inuit were frequently observed in the Strait of Belle Isle that year: there were amicable visits by Inuit with the men of the *Guernsey* and the *Niger* in Chateau Bay (as Richardson shows); Inuit were camped in Great Sacred Bay in September; they stole sails from French stages in Croque and Quirpon, wounding two of the *Niger's* men; and plundered merchants in Chateau Bay in September (Tompkins 2010: 52, 56, 71, 90). By November, serious altercations had developed between merchant Nicholas Darby and Inuit, which in turn led to the capture of Mikak, her son Tutauk and several other Inuit who were taken to York Fort for the winter. It is here that Francis Lucas, posted to overwinter at the blockhouse, met Mikak and the following spring took her and her son to England. Their story is remarkable if only for the fact that both returned to Labrador a year later not having succumbed to smallpox or other diseases. Mikak, moreover, became an effective ambassador of Inuit-British relations and was instrumental in the success of the first Moravian mission at Nain (Stopp 2009).

In 1768, Richardson served as master's mate under Michael Lane on the brig *Grenville*. During the 1766 and 1767 surveys of western Newfoundland, Lane had served on the *Grenville* as master's mate under Cook. On 12 April 1768, he was made master of the *Grenville* in Cook's absence and responsible for surveying the north shore of the St. Lawrence, producing a "Chart of Part of the Coast of Labrador from Grand Point to Shecatica" under order of Governor

Hugh Palliser (Rupert-Jones 1927b: 131; Skelton and Tooley 1967: 7; Lysaght 1971: 69; ADM 39/1077, ADM 346/11/26). Richardson's duties under Lane would have made use of his artistic skills. There is no record, however, of meetings with Inuit in 1768 along this part of the Quebec North Shore.<sup>13</sup>

The *Grenville's* 1769 muster role and the summer log book are missing from the National Archives but Richardson's presence in Labrador is confirmed by the date of his drawing of York Fort (noted above). He likely served under Michael Lane again, who was charting coastline from Shecatica to Chateau Bay.<sup>14</sup> Over 200 Inuit were camped at Cape Charles from mid-August until late autumn, some coming to Chateau "to get some Boats but had not any thing to Buy them withal" (record of the sloop *Otter*, Tompkins 2010: 53). The *Grenville* made a brief stop-over in Chateau Bay on 4 November (Tompkins 2010: 68).

Richardson was again on the *Grenville* in 1770 as master's mate under Michael Lane (ADM 39/1078), charting the same coast surveyed by Gilbert in 1767, Chateau Bay to Spotted Island, but to a larger scale. Although the log books contain no records of meetings with Inuit, the *Grenville* would have arrived at more than one Inuit encampment along this stretch of coast, especially in the Spotted Islands area, which was still inhabited by Inuit (Stopp 2002).

In 1771, Richardson's final year in Labrador, he was again master's mate on the *Grenville* under Lane, who was charting the remaining coast of southern Labrador from Spotted Islands to Sandwich Bay (ADM 39/1079; Rupert-Jones 1927b: 131). Meetings with Inuit are recorded in the *Grenville's* Master's Log (Tompkins 2010: 65) and in Richardson's journal (above). Corroboration of Lane and Richardson's presence in southern Labrador is also found in George Cartwright's journal, which contains a record of the visit of "Captain Lane, Mr. Richardson the mate, and Mr. Campbell the surgeon" and the brig *Grenville* (Cartwright 1792, Saturday 28 September 1771). The *Grenville* spent 10 days in the Cape Charles area preparing for the return voyage to England following the completion of Lane's survey of the Labrador coast northwards of Spotted Islands; Richardson passed much of that time in the

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<sup>13</sup>Richardson was very likely aware of the explorations of the Cartwright brothers, who in 1768, under Palliser's orders, carried out a survey of the Exploits River in hopes of befriending the increasingly threatened Beothuk Indians (Marshall 1996: 84).

<sup>14</sup>The 1769 chart was eventually combined with Cook's 1768 survey of the Newfoundland side of the Strait of Belle Isle in "A Chart of the Straights of Belle Isle" and "A General Chart of the Island of Newfoundland" published in 1770 (Skelton and Tooley 1967).

company of Cartwright (1792: entries of 28 September 1771 to 7 October 1771; Skelton and Tooley 1967: Table B).

Richardson was superseded as master's mate of the *Guernsey* by a John Foot in May 1772, perhaps due to illness, and he died on 20 July 1772 of unknown causes (ADM 36/9920; Rupert-Jones 1927a: 113; Richardson 1935: 54).<sup>15</sup>

## Conclusion

The complete Richardson vocabulary is presented here for the first time. It is among the earliest Inuit vocabularies collected in English. Many of the terms reflect the nature of Inuit-European engagement in these years, namely trade of furs and sea mammal products for beads, tools, boats, and other objects of European manufacture. Richardson's biographical details show that he had opportunities to meet Inuit during voyages made to Labrador in 1765, 1767, 1770, and 1771. His sources could also have included George Cartwright, Frances Lucas, Hugh Palliser, and other naval figures familiar with Labrador's Inuit, as well as Moravians in 1765, 1770, and 1771. Richardson's interests in record-keeping, his artistic skills, his observation of aspects of Inuit life, language, and physiognomy, and even his close interaction with Inuit (wrestling with Chelie) add to the probability that he collected the word list from Inuit. His overall interest in Inuit culture, moreover, reflects his association with individuals whose worldview was both humanitarian and influenced by the Enlightenment's study of the natural and cultural world.

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<sup>15</sup>His age at the time of death may have been around 26. Muster roles between 1768 and 1771 repeatedly give his age as 23.

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(LAC) Library and Archives Canada

CO 194/16/27

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