

Hopedale Inuit Gateway to the South and Moravian Settlement

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Hopedale: Inuit Gateway to the South and Moravian Settlement

HANS J. ROLLMANN

INTRODUCTION

Moravians, members of the oldest Protestant church, established themselves on the north coast of Labrador in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹ They had a keenly developed missionary consciousness that viewed evangelization among the Inuit as guided by Christ himself. The men and women enlisted in this salvific and human drama saw themselves as continuing the work of the missionaries who had preceded them in Greenland and other locales throughout the world. In Labrador, they had explored the viability of a mission two decades earlier through the Wismar mariner Johann Christian Erhardt and four missionaries. The journey and the missionaries' stay in Labrador ended prematurely with the violent deaths of Erhardt and six of the ship's crew during a trade encounter with Inuit for whalebone.² After further exploration in 1764, 1765, and 1770, and upon securing a sizable land grant in 1769, a permanent Labrador mission became a reality in 1771 at Nain.

More so than any other religious group, the Moravian missionaries documented evangelistic progress in Labrador for the administration at home, in this case the Unity Elders Conference in Saxony, and for fellow Moravians elsewhere. For this purpose they established and maintained an archive in Nain. The meticulous documentation of their activities on the Labrador coast was conveyed annually to Europe through copies sent along with other communications by the missionary supply vessel.³ These documents were collected in

the central Moravian archive in Herrnhut, Saxony, which also contains a large map collection that goes back to the eighteenth century. The beginnings of their missionary work were thus well documented in diaries, minutes, and letters, but also in specific chronicles that detailed the purposeful planning and earliest establishment of the missionary settlements at Nain (1771), Okak (1776), Hopedale (1782), and Hebron (1830). The following paper explores the historical data in the rich archival materials to better understand the tenuous nature of early Moravian settlement and trade in light of Inuit mobility and competitive European traders in southern Labrador. The diaries and other documents are used as windows that permit glimpses of Inuit activities and interactions with missionaries on Labrador's north coast and European mercantile and military personnel in southern Labrador.

Among the Moravian sources, the chronicles written by contemporary participants that document the establishment of a new settlement have largely been ignored in Labrador and Inuit studies. Included in an appendix to this paper is the Moravian chronicle, edited and translated, about the beginnings of Hopedale, penned at Hopedale in 1783 by the Labrador pioneer Jens Haven prior to his return to Europe. It is a remarkable first-hand account of the strategic, logistical, and ecological considerations that went into planning a missionary settlement. It is also a witness to the importance of Arvertok as gathering place and gateway for Inuit travelling to southern Labrador well before the Moravians settled nearby.

The missionary station at Hopedale (German: "Hoffenthal") and the old Inuit whaling site of Arvertok (also called Arbatok and other variations; in the revised spelling: Agvituk) were important locales for Inuit travelling to and from central and southern Labrador. This paper begins with a discussion of the earliest, flawed, awareness of Arvertok among the missionaries as documented in the travel journals and maps from the 1765 and 1770 exploration journeys. Also presented is the historiography of Inuit from the Hopedale area who, once Moravians had established themselves there, continued to travel to the south to trade. Specific European merchants and firms, and the locations of Chateau Bay, Sandwich Bay, and Hamilton Inlet, figure in the Moravian diaries and correspondence, and these references are presented to add to the picture of trade contacts. The paper finishes with the annotated translation of Jens Haven's chronicle of the founding of Hopedale.⁴

THE LOCATION OF ARVERTOK (ARBATOK) IN 1765 AND 1770
DOCUMENTS AND MAPS

The Inuit toponym “Arbatok,” a site with 10 houses at the southern entrance to Hamilton Inlet, first appears in the Moravian records on the Haven-Schloezer map dated 1765 associated with a second Moravian exploration journey by Jens Haven, Larsen Christen Drachardt, John Hill, and Andreas Schloezer.⁵ This and other toponyms were provided by Inuit who were interviewed further south at Chateau Bay. Although Arbatok may represent an authentic locale near Hamilton Inlet, it is very possible that an error was made, or that there were several localities with the same name since Arbatok, meaning place of whales, tends to be a generic toponym rather than a specific one.⁶ In any event, as discussed below, Haven would later question his earlier notion on the correct location of Arvertok at the mouth of Hamilton Inlet. Awareness of a more northerly location for Arvertok came during the 1770 journey.

The 1765 Haven-Schloezer map (see Figure 1) is centrally focused on the major embayment of Hamilton Inlet and Lake Melville but depicts the outer coast of Labrador from approximately 53N latitude (the Seal Islands and Porcupine Bay area) in the south to 57N (the Voisey’s Bay area) in the north. Along this littoral are located 36 Inuit toponyms including Arbatok, which is “Walfisch platz” in German and “place of whales” in English. These place names are also listed alphabetically on the left side under the title “Die Namen übersetz[t],” in English “The Names translated,” and each is given a German translation and some are provided explanatory comments. The mapped coast is further subdivided into 13 zones from north to south, each indicated by red capital letters A-N, corresponding to regions discussed by Jens Haven in a companion text.

The Haven-Schloezer map, catalogued as TS M.111.10 in the Herrnhut map collection, was the basis for two additional professionally drawn, black-and-white maps. One of these is TS Mp.114.11 (see Figure 2), which bears the Latin inscription: “Pars/Terrae Labrador/ex Gallico originali designata/per ipsos Nativos/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.”⁷ This map lacks the list of

translated toponyms of TS M.111.10 and is limited to the coast between 53 and 56 degrees north latitude. The reference to “a French Original” refers to earlier charts created by Fornel and Pilote in 1743, on which the 1765 Haven-Schloezer maps rely for a template.⁸

A commentary in Haven’s tortuous German, titled “Kortzer ercklerung über die bey folgende Carte so wohl als die Reisse nach labrador 1765,” [“Short Explanation about the enclosed Map as well as the Journey to Labrador 1765”],⁹ describes the mapped areas north to south divided into 13 sections lettered in red capitals A-N. The entrance to Hamilton Inlet contains four sections, among them Arbatok. Haven described its location as follows: “2nd Arbatok (place of whales), these are all the islands on the south side of the fjord as well as the mainland to Puktuallik.”¹⁰

Thus we find that one of the earliest Moravian maps of Labrador placed Arvertok (“Arbatok”) in Hamilton Inlet rather than in today’s Hopedale region. The 1765 journal, map, and map commentary by Haven confirm that the toponym is an Inuit regional name indicating an abundance of whales.¹¹

Moving from the maps, the sources of these toponyms are described in the Moravian journal, and are shown to derive from several occasions at which the missionaries interviewed Inuit about “Arvatok” or “Arbaktok.” The first communication was a part of the series of questions that Larsen Christen Drachardt asked Inuit on 27 August 1765 near Chateau Bay on behalf of Governor Palliser. To Palliser’s query, “Where do they [the Inuit] live, and what are the names and the places where they stay, and how many houses are there?”, “Arbaktok” is mentioned as having 10 houses.¹² After Jens Haven and Andreas Schloezer returned to Chateau Bay from their exploration journey north, another conversation with Inuit ensued about locations and names of Inuit settlements. In a journal entry for 12 September 1765, the process of obtaining the names and the location of Arbatok is described as follows:

We inquired again from them about their country and asked about fjords and passages. They said: north of them was a large passage, but it ran again into the sea in the east. There was a fjord to the north, in the mouth of which were many islands, which they all named by name. In this fjord they went to hunt for reindeer, carried their kayaks across land, and then went again into a large fresh water. On the north side of this fjord was Sekullia’s land, which he called Arbaktok. They described for us everything so clearly that we believe seriously that it is the fjord that the French call Kessessakiou or Esquimaux-Bay, and [which] lies in ca. 54 degrees N[orthern] L[atitude], south of Nisbet Harbour.¹³



Figure 1: Haven-Schloezer map from 1765 (TS Mp.111.10; with permission of the Unity Archives, Herrnhut).

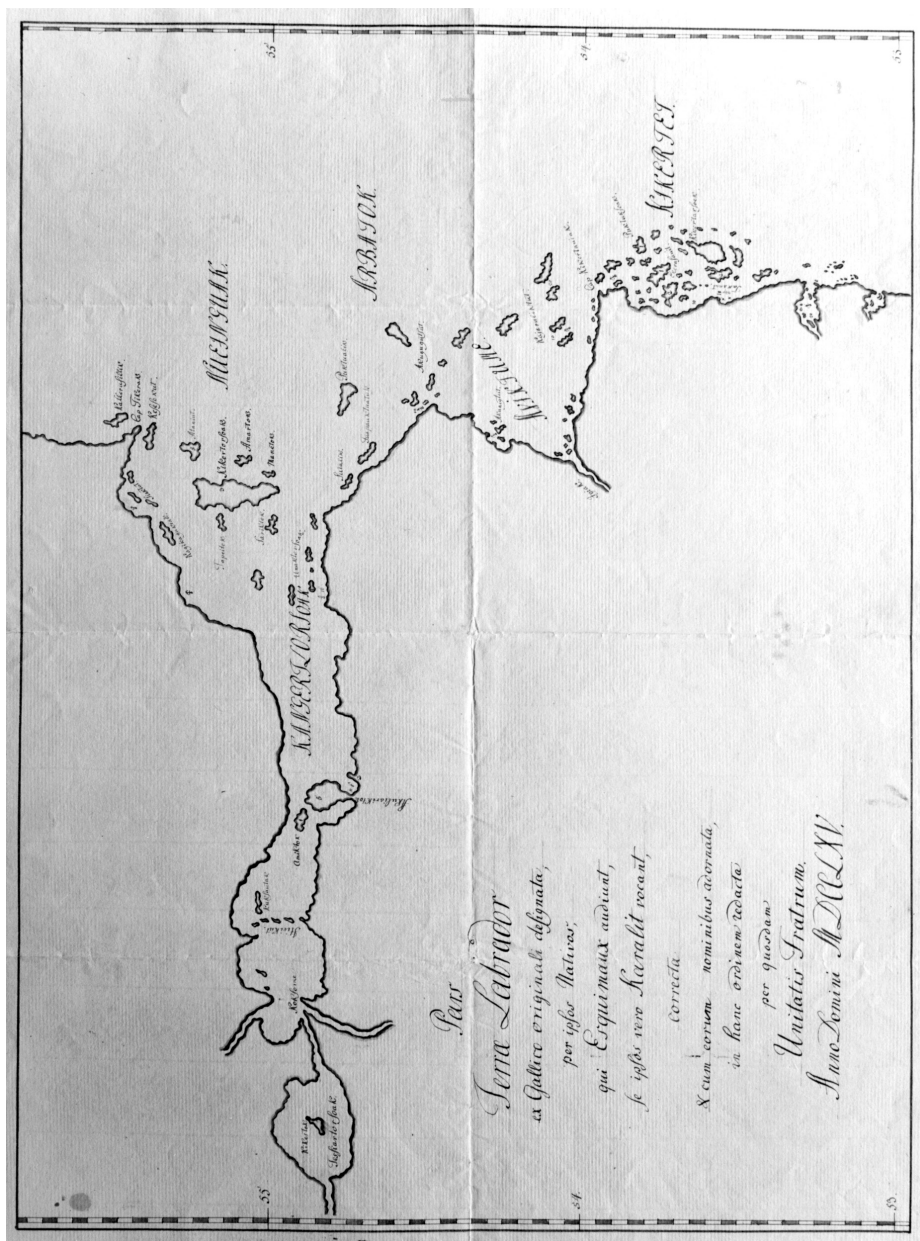


Figure 2: Black-and-white map based on the Haven-Schloezer map from 1765 (TS Mp.114.11; with permission of the Unity Archives, Herrnhut).

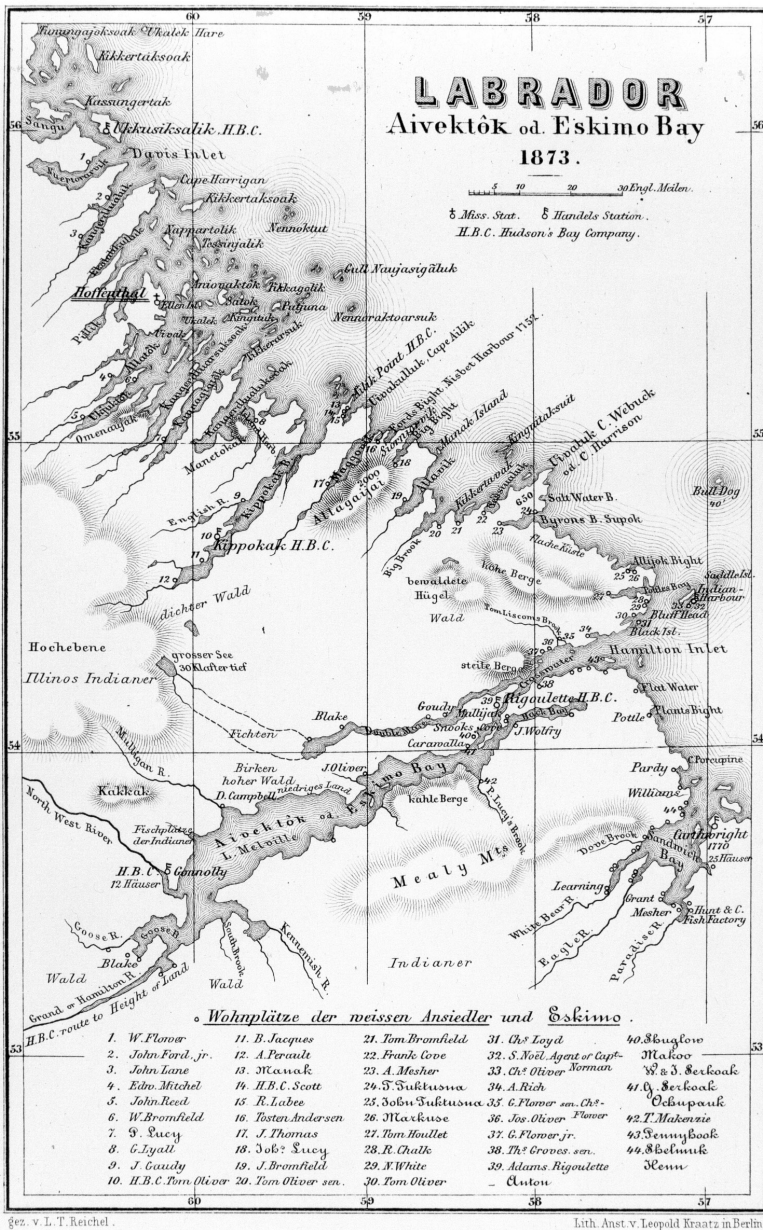


Figure 3: Printed German map of Hopedale (Hoffenthal) and Hamilton Inlet with settler locations in 1873, sketched by Levin Theodor Reichel (courtesy Hans J. Rollmann).

From this descriptive information, Arbaktok was, quite logically, identified as a region near the mouth of Hamilton Inlet in the 1765 map with other Inuit toponyms.¹⁴

The place name Arbaktok occurs next in connection with an Inuk who had been taken to England. After Haven and Drachardt's return from their exploration journey, Governor Hugh Palliser placed into their care in 1769 Karpik, a boy who was born approximately 1754 at Arbaktok. The boy's mother had died while he was still a little child, and his father was killed in 1767 during a melee between the British and Inuit in southern Labrador. Karpik, who lived with Drachardt at Fulneck, Yorkshire, where he attended school together with British boys, became the first baptized Inuk from Labrador. The missionaries held high hopes for Karpik's future help in establishing Labrador missions, but he died of smallpox on 5 October 1769, only a day after his baptism. Karpik had remembered Drachardt's presence and preaching in Chateau Bay in 1765.¹⁵

During the third exploration journey in 1770 (after the Moravians had obtained their land grant and Order-in-Council), leading to choosing Nain as the location for the first permanent settlement in 1771, the missionaries passed another place called Arbaktok. They then perceived that the region with that name had a more northerly location than they previously assumed. Haven realized that the original location assigned to Arbaktok on the basis of their Inuit informants in 1765 was "far to the south in front of Esquimaux Bay" and thus could not be correct.¹⁶ When passing Cape Ailik, their Inuit pilot told them "that it was not yet Arbaktok, namely the southern habitation of the Esquimaux."¹⁷ South of Nain and 15 German miles north of Arbaktok, the Moravians encountered Inuit from all three major regions along Labrador's north coast (Arbaktok, Nuneinguak, and Kivertlok), who played games — apparently an annual affair — and traded with each other. People from the three locations promised the missionaries to visit them the following year in Nain.¹⁸

EARLY MORAVIAN OBSERVATIONS OF ARVERTOK AND ITS RESIDENTS

On this 1770 trip, Haven formed his first character judgment of the people from Arbaktok. He wrote: "The people of Arbaktok [German: "die Arbaktoker"] are quite well dressed, but at the same time are proud, rough and look murderous [German: "mörderisch"]."¹⁹ A similar assessment is found in the manuscript history of establishing Hopedale, translated below, where Haven mentions that

“the people of Arvatok were greatly respected, and there were proud and rough murderers among them and [people from] all other areas were afraid of them and did their best to always please them.” The contrast between southern — in particular the people from Arbatok — and northern Inuit was later also made by Haven in a travel account about his journey to Nachvak in 1773, where he states, “They [the northerners] are simple, trusting; their joy is childlike. The Arbartokers, on the other hand, are conceited and proud.”²⁰

The constant tensions accompanying Inuit-European interaction in the south, so well documented during Erhardt’s 1752 voyage and Haven’s first exploration trip of 1764, when he prevented the planned extermination of a sizable number of Inuit in northern Newfoundland by the English and French, may be reflected in these comparisons and character assessments. The Moravian Elder Paul Eugen Layritz, on a visitation journey to Nain in 1773, is somewhat surprised in having met rather peaceful people from Arbatok, thus contradicting the stereotype that had been formed about them. He mentions that they generally had a reputation for being “a murderous people.”²¹ Layritz attributed their “corruption” (German: “verdorben”) to European influences²² and considered it providential for Moravians to serve as peacemakers between the southern and northern Inuit, by easing the “bitter enmity” that supposedly existed between the two groups.²³

As Jens Haven’s “Brief Account of Arvatok” below indicates, already prior to the Moravians’ settling there, the place had a great reputation and featured significantly in the Labrador-wide trading network. It was, in Haven’s words, “very well known and famous among them [the Inuit], and who has lived a winter in Arvatok boasts about it as if he had lived in London or Paris.” It also represented a strategic locale from which Inuit launched biennial raids to the south. The inhabitants of Arvertok were well positioned to benefit from the existing Inuit trade along the entire coast of Labrador. In a report of 1775-6, the missionaries summarized what they had found out about this trading network as follows:

Sedleck [Saglek] & Navok [Nachvak] are places where most Whale-fins are to be got, it is now certain that we have been the first Europeans who have visited them[.] They have hitherto carried on a trade with the Abortok [Arvertok] Tribe who truck with them European goods for their Whalefins, Weichstein [“Weichstein,” literally meaning soft stone, is the German word for soapstone] & the Whalebone they carry to the English settlers at Alexis River[.] Cape Charles & Chateau. The

farther north from Nain the more Whalefins we have found & this in all probability will hold good with respect to Killineck Bay. So much is certain that all the southern Indians [Inuit] are supplied with sea cow teeth from there with which [they] arm [?] the end of their seal darts, no Esquimaux is without at least 2 of these darts headed with such teeth.²⁴

Besides recommending Hopedale as a site for a mission settlement for geographical and ecological reasons, the close proximity — an estimated six minutes from the mission — to this “ancient place of habitation for the Esq[imaux]” was an important consideration for the Moravian missionaries in choosing it as a location. Haven described the population as living in “six inhabited houses and on occasion even more” as well as “five other places around here, with the farthest only two German miles from Arvatok.” According to an Inuit informant, “three to four hundred inhabitants have wintered in the area.” These 11 houses in and near Arvatok were close to the number given to Larsen Christen Drachardt in 1765 when he questioned Inuit near Chateau Bay for Governor Palliser and was told there were 10 in the region.²⁵ In 1773 Lieutenant Roger Curtis computed the population of Ogbucktoke — his spelling of Arvatok — as 270 persons on the basis of 30 persons per boat.²⁶ That same summer Elder Layritz and his party encountered five European shallops with Inuit from Arvertok south of Hamilton Inlet on their way to Cape Charles, each with an estimated 30 people on board.²⁷ Haven gives the total of boats encountered by Layritz as “nine boats, mainly with people from Arvatok.” In 1782, the year Moravians established their settlement at Hopedale, however, only about 70 people lived in three houses at Arvertok near the mission, a figure that fluctuated significantly after the settlement of Hopedale was established; but it usually stayed below this figure while the households at the mission station ranged from two to four houses with a somewhat smaller household average. According to J. Garth Taylor, the Inuit settlement of Arvertok had a household average of about 20 persons as compared to 16 at Hopedale.²⁸

HOPEDALE AND INUIT TRADE IN SOUTHERN LABRADOR²⁹

Governor Hugh Palliser’s attempt to confine or restrict Inuit to the north while the British ship fishery was being developed in the south of Labrador, and the Moravian missionaries’ desire to keep Inuit apart from European influences

while promoting conversion among them, led to an alliance and containment policy that the governor's immediate successors also supported, but which had only limited success. The Moravian encouragement to preserve Inuit subsistence and lifestyle, albeit in a Christianized way and with trading at Moravian stores, required continued mobility for hunting and fishing by kayak, umiak, and European-style shallops at sea and by dogsled during the winter. This mobility facilitated also continued access to the south, especially where southern traders offered a wider variety of goods than the Moravian stores, as well as better means for hunting (firearms) and travel (sail-powered shallops). Ownership of shallops had been noted already by seventeenth-century French explorers and the Moravian Johann Christian Erhardt on his fateful exploration journey in 1752.³⁰ Next to boats, firearms were the most coveted trade good for the Inuit. For the first 15 years of their presence in Labrador, Moravian stores did not sell guns, gunpowder, or lead to Inuit but were eventually forced to change their policy in 1786 to accommodate Inuit demand and discourage continued travel to the competition in the south.³¹ The availability of guns and the large land grants of 100,000 acres each in Nain, Okak, and Hopedale, which secured a land base for continued Inuit habitation and subsistence near Moravian settlements, were not by themselves sufficient to keep the very mobile Inuit population of Labrador in the north.³² British and Franco-Canadian mercantile attraction in Hamilton Inlet and southward along the coast, and a less restrained lifestyle in the south, posed serious challenges to the Moravian dream of having strictly localized Inuit communities in the north. In the case of Hopedale, this mobility and the slowness in gaining converts in the first three decades of the Moravian presence in Labrador at times called into question the very existence of the missionary settlement near Arvertok.

After a year of Moravian settlement at Nain, in 1772, Palliser's successor, Governor Molyneux Shuldham, received news that Inuit had moved south for trade. To prevent such uncontrolled southward movement, the governor "desire[d] and require[d] the said Unitas Fratrum to use every fair and gentle means in their power, to prevent the said Esquimaux Savages from going to the Southward," until additional settlements would be established along the coast or unless permission had been obtained.³³ The movement of Inuit to the south in 1772 had tragic consequences in that 200 died in a fierce storm or succumbed to sickness and hunger.³⁴ The Moravian Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (SFG), the missionary and trade organization supplying Labrador, felt, in retrospect, that Governor Shuldham's order, later communicated in Labrador by Lieutenant Roger Curtis, had indeed inhibited travel to the south

for nearly a decade, although some Inuit travel to the south continued during the first decade of Moravian settlement in Labrador, as can be gleaned from entries in the Moravian records. The Hopedale diary of 1783, for example, speaks about the missionaries' efforts to dissuade the Inuk Piugina from travelling south by reminding him that none of the seven boats that went south eight years before [in 1775] returned.³⁵ The travel account of Elder Layritz from 1773, referred to above, as well as other Moravian diaries and correspondence and the journal of George Cartwright, also indicate continued travel to the south during the decade.³⁶ In fact, Cartwright noted on 31 August 1773 that "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 (having heard of my arrival from some boats belonging to that port) . . ."³⁷

However effective the governor's prohibition may have been in diminishing Inuit travel to the south in the latter part of the 1770s, southward movement picked up again in the early 1780s. The Nain missionary Christian Lister wrote in a letter of 25 May 1783 to settlers in Chateau Bay that "a great many Eskemaux are preparing to go to the Southward, amongst whom are some of our baptized." Lister considered this movement as a direct response to invitations extended to north-coast Inuit by fellow Inuit who had gone to Chateau Bay in 1782.³⁸ That year, the famous Inuit woman Mikak,³⁹ who was feted in England in 1769 and later helped Moravians in locating Nain as a place for their first settlement, her husband Tuglavina, and the Christian Inuk Abraham had a friendly reception in Chateau Bay from a British Commander William (whether this was his Christian or surname is unknown), and at that time they acquired a boat and guns. In turn, they extended invitations to other Inuit, preferably baptized ones, to come south, where they would freely receive European food and guns, that is, "if they helped the English to fight against the Americans and French."⁴⁰ The departing Moravian Superintendent, Samuel Liebisch, mentions in a letter, penned in St. John's on 20 September 1783 and discussed at a meeting of the SFG in London, that southern Labrador held an attraction for a significant number of Inuit and identifies specifically Cartwright's settlements as the location of particular interest, where 230 north-coast Inuit had gone.⁴¹ A draft of a 1784 letter by the SFG to Lord Sidney estimated the number of Inuit who went to Chateau Bay upon the invitation of the settlers as being 250. Confirmed by violence and murders committed with guns in the south, the missionaries feared dire consequences of such trading trips, even "the destruction & extirpation of the whole Esquimaux nation," if firearms were introduced.⁴²

In the meantime, the SFG's representation to Lord Sidney had been passed on to the governor of Newfoundland, John Campbell, together with the King's wishes to recommend the thoughts of the SFG "to your particular attention and consideration, and that you do so far as it may be in your power [to] enforce compliance with their desire."⁴³ In June of 1784, the SFG noted these "attempts . . . made to prevent the Esquimaux from going to the South," especially the proclamations issued by Governor Campbell. But in November of that year, at a meeting attended by Jens Haven and his wife, who had left Labrador after 13 years of service in Nain, Okak, and Hopedale, the Society still bemoaned "the grievous & deplorable Consequences of the migration to the European settlements in the South."⁴⁴

A letter of 15 December 1785 to the SFG in London from Liebisch, the former Labrador Superintendent and now a member of the highest Moravian governing body, the Unity Elders Conference in Saxony, signalled a change in policy regarding firearms. The elders now permitted Moravian stores in Labrador to carry guns and ammunition in the hope that this would prevent Inuit from travelling south to buy firearms for their own use or trade in the north. The letter acknowledged the alienation of Inuit as a consequence of the previous restricted trading policy and that the prohibitions by the government had been largely ineffective since the traders in the south ignored government and continued to sell guns to Inuit, an assessment the SFG came to share at their February 1786 meeting.⁴⁵ Also, Governor Campbell had "declare[d] that he does not see how he can hinder their being furnished with these articles from the South, the Admirals Station being so far distant from the Labrador Coast." The SFG was thus forced to face the reality that firearms could no longer be excluded from the Moravian stores and in 1786 started selling guns, powder, and lead to Inuit.⁴⁶

The lure of a larger store inventory by southern traders had thus been a factor in undermining the desired *de facto* monopoly of Moravian trade in the north and established what appears to be a lasting alternative in Inuit relations with Europeans. The enhanced store inventory and the more relaxed lifestyle for Inuit compared with that in the Moravian settlements made the south an attractive location for trade and habitation to the Inuit on the north coast. Although the missionaries would establish an extensive settlement that included a mission house, workshop, guest house, provisions house, blubber yard and store, boat houses, sawmill, and eventually a separate church for the Inuit congregation, southward travel continued. This and the concomitant failure to convert many Inuit in Hopedale and the ecology of the area were factors

considered as early as April 1786 in possibly relocating the missionaries further to the south.⁴⁷ In March of 1792, the SFG seriously discussed the viability of Hopedale. Samuel Liebisch expressed the thought that Hopedale could be given up “without essential injury to the few baptized, who may remove to Nain.” The SFG, however, feared that if Hopedale closed, the church would forfeit the 100,000 acres granted by the British government in 1774. Several other reasons for and against maintaining Hopedale were entertained, notably the paucity of Inuit in Hopedale and lack of missionary success, but also—as a counter-argument—the historical fact that the mission in Greenland had first shown no promise but then flourished. The SFG eventually decided in typically Moravian fashion on the casting of lots, to ask Christ himself whether Hopedale was to be maintained. The missionaries resolved:

That we are unanimous, that no outward difficulties should have any weight in determining the giving up of Hopedale — but considering the small prospect of success as to the Conversion of the heathen and the increasing difficulties from the approach of the Europeans, we are willing to submit it to the decision of our Savior, whether Hopedale is to be given up or not & if He approves of its continuance, the Society will take new courage & support it to the utmost of their power.

The SFG let the Unity Elders Conference on the continent decide whether the Saviour affirmed the closure of Hopedale, which, however, was not to be.⁴⁸ Those who had pleaded for more patience in light of the initially slow Greenland experience must have felt vindicated when the revival of 1804-05 produced the hoped-for spiritual turnaround and the desired indigenization of the Moravian faith among the Inuit.⁴⁹ Conversions from the revival and a significantly larger congregation led to the opening of the first separate church at Hopedale in 1806. The revival also had consequences for Nain and Okak and was crucial in strengthening and sustaining the Moravian church in Labrador. Through its revival, the community of Hopedale breathed new life into the Labrador missionary efforts. Amid considerable contemporary challenges in remaining relevant in the twenty-first century, which it shares with other churches worldwide, the Moravian Church maintains regular religious services in Hopedale in Inuktitut and English.

While large-scale migrations to the south may have decreased by the mid-1790s, economic links with some southern traders continued, especially as the Europeans moved north, closer to the Moravian settlements. Historic ties

between Hopedale and Hamilton Inlet (Aivektok) continued into the nineteenth century so that the Inuit communities of Snooks Cove and Karawalla near Rigolet preserved relations with fellow Inuit on the north coast and were visited not only by missionaries from Hopedale and Makkovik until the early years of the twentieth century but even saw in 1871-72 an indigenous evangelization effort by Inuit from Hopedale.⁵⁰

THE EUROPEANS IN THE SOUTH IN THE EARLY HOPEDALE RECORDS

While many of the references that document Inuit travel to the south in the Hopedale diaries remain without specific geographical location, even where a destination of trade with Europeans is indicated, three historic locations in the south are mentioned prominently in connection with Inuit travel and trade. Prior to the establishment of European traders in the Makkovik and Kaipokok areas, these locations were Chateau Bay, Sandwich Bay (Netsektok) and Hamilton Inlet (Aivektok).

Inuit in Chateau Bay

Chateau Bay, with its British fortification Fort York at Pitt's Harbour, became a major locus in southern Labrador often identified in the records as an Inuit destination during the first three years of the Moravian settlement of Hopedale. As noted, here the missionaries first became mediators for the British and interpreters for Governor Hugh Palliser on their exploration journey of 1765. Once Hopedale was established, the first Inuk baptized there by Moravian missionaries was Kippinguk, born in Chateau Bay, who on 25 January 1784 received the name Jonathan at his baptism.⁵¹

Increased Inuit contact with Chateau Bay began in 1782, when Tuglavina, Abraham (formerly called Pualo), and Mikak came there and entered into business relations with the British commanding officer and where Tuglavina was baptized after becoming seriously ill.⁵² A reference by Tuglavina and his party to other ships and conflict with the English in the south suggests a likely larger Inuit presence in the area.⁵³ While missionaries sought intervention by British authorities to curb Inuit southern travel, Christian Lister penned a letter on 25 May 1783 from Nain, in which he refers to Inuit travel to Chateau Bay and commends them to the "love and good care" of the English residing there.⁵⁴ Chateau Bay is mentioned as a specific destination for several families

and many young people from among the great number of Inuit going south in 1783 and 1784.⁵⁵ But the Inuit presence there was much beset with conflict, violence, and deaths because of communication difficulties with Europeans.⁵⁶ According to the missionaries at Hopedale, Inuit were ordered to leave Chateau Bay and return to the Moravians in the north. A consequence of such strife and conflict, which apparently also involved Innu, led to more north-coast Inuit migrants going to Sandwich Bay (Netsektok) and Hamilton Inlet (Aivektok).⁵⁷

Inuit in Sandwich Bay (Netsektok)

Sandwich Bay is identified in the Hopedale records throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a location where Inuit travelled to European merchants. The Inuktitut name variously rendered as Netsektok or Neitsektok, with even other orthographic variations, indicates a place of sealing. This use of name coincides with Netshucktoke by Lieutenant Roger Curtis in 1773 and still resonates in the so-called tribal name of Netcetemiut that Hawkes records for these “sealing place people” in Sandwich Bay.⁵⁸ There is also a direct identification of the Inuit toponym with its English equivalent in a Hopedale Conference letter for 10 October 1794, which mentions the death of upwards of 40 Inuit, among others, “in Neksektok or Sandwich Bay.”⁵⁹ The identification of Netsektok with “Cartwright’s people” in the Hopedale diary of 1785 lends further credibility to this localization.⁶⁰

Contact between Inuit and Europeans at Netsektok occurred during the first decade of the Moravian presence in Labrador, notably between 1777 and 1780 with Captain Cartwright, who had established premises in Sandwich Bay.⁶¹ When Inuit in the summer of 1784 were asked to leave Chateau Bay, some remained in Hamilton Inlet while Aitauk and his party wintered “south of Neitsektok,” perhaps in the Spotted Islands area. Inuit praised the Europeans residing in Netsektok to the Hopedale missionaries “very much for being such good people,” presumably because Inuit valued the generous trading conditions there and a wider selection of goods than those available in Moravian stores, with the expectation that payment be returned in the following year. In early September 1786, Niakungêtok and Kausitsiak, returning Inuit from Netsektok, describe it as a location “where everyone traded a gun and powder and lead.”⁶² Besides their self-interest and earlier trading experience, Inuit from the north coast were encouraged by Europeans in the south to engage in middleman trade among fellow Inuit in the north.⁶³

Movements of Inuit to Sandwich Bay are documented in the Moravian

records for the second half of the 1780s, as are the vagaries and dangers of life in the south, where a young Inuk died after drinking a large quantity of alcohol among Cartwright's people and a Moravian Inuk and her daughter broke through the ice.⁶⁴ The Hopedale records show that Sandwich Bay continued to be frequented occasionally by north-coast Inuit from the 1790s to the 1840s.⁶⁵ In 1794, informants brought news of the death of upwards of 40 Inuit "in Neksektok or Sandwich Bay" and "Aivertok." The cause of death for whole families in Netsektok was food poisoning from a dead whale. The victims were mainly baptized Hopedale Inuit who had left the congregation "some years ago."⁶⁶

Inuit in Aivektok (Hamilton Inlet)

Aivektok or Aivektok Bay, also with variants Aivertok, Aivaktok, Eivektok, represents an early Inuit toponym for Hamilton Inlet, indicating a place where walrus could be found. The name was retained by Moravian missionaries alongside its English equivalent, "Eskimo Bay," and in the nineteenth century was made popular by the manuscript and printed maps of Levin Theodor Reichel. In the nineteenth century, the Inuit communities of Snooks Cove and Karawalla were located there, southwest of Rigolet. Inuit living in the area preserved a distinct Moravian identity and were visited by travelling missionaries, first from Hopedale and later from Makkovik.⁶⁷ In 1870-1 they also became the object of an Inuit evangelization attempt by Jacobus, a Moravian Inuk from Hopedale, and 14 others.⁶⁸ Earlier, in the 1820s, unsuccessful missionary efforts of Methodists associated with Newfoundland fishers and merchants reached out to these Inuit of Hamilton Inlet.⁶⁹ The Moravian diaries and other records of Hopedale establish numerous links of north-coast Inuit with this central Labrador area, especially from the 1780s on.⁷⁰ According to the Hopedale missionaries, there were multiple European parties in Hamilton Inlet. Travel from Aivektok to Hopedale was computed as taking normally three and a half days by boat, although with especially favorable wind the journey could be accomplished in only one day.⁷¹

It appears that from 1785 on, Europeans from southern Labrador showed an increased interest in central Labrador, where they established a fishery and also built boats for Inuit and sought to improve relations between Inuit and Innu.⁷² By the summer of 1787, Aivektok had become a base for operations for Franco-Canadian traders, notably Pierre Marcoux, called Makko, who employed Inuit who became increasingly acculturated and adopted European dress. Marcoux supplied food (beef, pork, bread, and peas) and boats and also intended to build separate living quarters for Inuit and Innu. While the Indian population

serving Marcoux was described as sizable, the Quebec trader had also acquired an advanced knowledge of Inuktitut. So close were the relations of Inuit and Innu with Marcoux that they were called in Inuktitut "Makkokut," meaning Makko's people. Marcoux's pronounced Roman Catholicism evidently motivated him to promote his religious beliefs among those working for him. The Franco-Canadian traders were also very mobile. In the summer, for instance, Marcoux lived with Inuit on the island of Okkortune, a two-day journey south of Hopedale, and in the winter he would take up residence "farther in Aivertok Bay."⁷³ The Europeans who had formerly stayed on the island of Itsuavik in the spring had now also moved to their people in Aivektok. It may very well be that these Europeans were part of the contingent associated with Marcoux.⁷⁴

From Aivektok, Europeans also moved northward into Makkovik Bay, where they caught seals and salmon and traded with Inuit, supplying them with rum, syrup, and flour and receiving blubber in return.⁷⁵ It seems likely that these Europeans were independent of Marcoux, for they had left a written sign in Makkovik Bay, which Marcoux ("Makko"), "the leader in Eivektok," intended to examine more closely in the summer.⁷⁶

By 1790, Marcoux appears to have gained some interest in establishing a salmon fishery at Kaipokok and engaging in trade with Inuit.⁷⁷ Also, other Europeans considered Kaipokok now as a possible settlement site.⁷⁸ These Europeans may have been associated with the partner of George Cartwright, Robert Collingham, who appears in the Moravian records under the Inuktitut name of "Kalligame."⁷⁹ The missionaries, while observing a growing Europeanization among the Inuit who associated with Franco-Canadian and English traders south of Hopedale, note that this work for Europeans did not necessarily translate into increased Inuit prosperity. "The Inuit who return from the south are usually very poor," the diarist of Hopedale wrote. "They have neither blubber nor dried meat with them. Everything they had, they sell, in order to buy European clothes, trousers, stockings, scarves, caps, hats, etc., so that they are equals of the Europeans."⁸⁰ Also, for the remainder of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, evidence indicates ongoing relations with the south and in particular with Aivektok.

EUROPEANIZATION OF INUIT

Europeanization of Inuit in Labrador was not confined to trade and settlement in Moravian communities. The exposure of Inuit to traders in the south had an

effect on Inuit hunting, fishing, and subsistence in general. Besides the acquisition of wooden boats and firearms already mentioned, Inuit also obtained large knives and fox traps and continued to catch seals, now also with nets, hunted caribou in the south, and engaged in the salmon and cod fisheries.⁸¹ Another attraction of southern trade and association with Europeans in the south was their food, especially bread,⁸² but also beef, pork, and peas.⁸³ That freshly baked bread remained a continued attraction is indicated by frequent references in the Moravian records about Inuit travel from Hopedale to Kaipokok, once Pierre Marcoux had established operations there and built a baker's oven.⁸⁴ Alcoholic beverages, notably rum, also could be obtained from European settlers — to the great regret of the Moravian missionaries.⁸⁵

The purchase of European clothing was part of what the missionaries in Hopedale considered to be the regrettable Europeanization of Labrador Inuit. Tuglavina, in particular, sported a European military uniform, perhaps to compete with Mikak's famous European dress, given to her in England by Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, the Dowager Princess of Wales, a piece of clothing that achieved legendary proportions within the Palliser family.⁸⁶ More generally, European clothing was desired by many Inuit and could be obtained in the south. In 1787, for example, the child of Dorothea, an Inuit woman, was dressed in a European way with a "black head scarf and English gown," obtained from Pierre Marcoux's wife and another woman.⁸⁷ Pearls, wide bands or ribbons, jackets and socks as well as trousers, stockings, caps, scarves, hats, and other goods were traded.⁸⁸

An indication of increased Europeanization was also the custom of chewing tobacco, which can be linked with the south. The Hopedale store was in particular frequented by Inuit who had adopted chewing tobacco when they needed new supplies. The missionaries observed in 1789: "The chewing of tobacco, which the Inuit have presumably learned from the sailors and Europeans in the south, is now very common among them and one now seldom sees them smoke. Most of them are already so spoiled that they can no longer live without tobacco, so that they often take tree leaves instead [of smoking]"⁸⁹

Early in the nineteenth century, Inuit housing styles changed or were hybridized. European-style wooden houses in imitation of settler dwellings gradually replaced the traditional sod houses. "Whenever the Eskimo men have no subsistence activities on the sea shore in the winter," the Hopedale missionaries observed in the winter of 1839-40, "they busy themselves with cutting boards and collecting building materials for their houses, which they now build increasingly in a European manner."⁹⁰ It may very well be that the

“Kannungek,” “a light straight [pine] wood without branches,” bought by Petrus from European traders in Makkovik during spring of 1791, was already used in the construction of such a European-style house.⁹¹

CONCLUSION

The settlement of Arvertok, once an Inuit whaling site on Labrador’s north coast, came into the Moravian missionary consciousness in 1765. While serving as interpreters and mediators for Governor Hugh Palliser, the European missionaries sought to explore a place for their mission station in Labrador, which was a continuation of their global missionary initiatives, including work among the Inuit of Greenland. The regional toponym “Arbatok” and the demographic information provided by Inuit were mentioned in the 1765 Moravian travel journal and mapped into earlier French coastal charts by Pilot and Fornel. The location of Arvertok near the mouth of Hamilton Inlet was corrected, during the exploration journey of 1770 that led to the establishment of Nain in 1771, as lying further north.

The Moravian diaries, chronicles, and other documents provide not only historical data for the reconstruction of the history of eighteenth-century European missions but also open up windows on Inuit mobility and trade, as well as the Europeanization Inuit underwent when acquiring European hunting and fishing technology, means of travel, foods, clothing, and housing styles. The picture that emerges for the Moravian presence in eighteenth-century Hopedale is one of a tenuous ecclesiastical institutional presence in view of the great mobility and abiding attraction the south had for Inuit habitation and middleman trade in Labrador. Here, Inuit could build on previous trading experience that predated the Moravians and had situated Arvertok as an important locale in the Aboriginal coastal trading network.

Historically, the naval and commercial centres for Inuit trade and habitation in the south that appear in the early Moravian records were Chateau Bay, Netsektok (Sandwich Bay), and Aivektok, where European and Inuit mercantile interests benefited from each other. The decided efforts of the British naval government and the Moravian Church to prohibit and discourage movement of Inuit to the south were of limited success. The continued relations with southern traders and a lack of religious conversions in the north had consequences for Moravian settlement and trade. At times it called in question the continued viability of Hopedale as a missionary settlement. Even a wider assortment of

trading goods in Moravian stores that included guns and other supplies offered by southern traders did not entirely prevent migrations by Inuit. As the case of Hopedale demonstrates, only a thoroughgoing indigenization of the Moravian faith through a massive revival in 1804-05 led to a paradigm shift in the religious self-understanding of the Inuit and stabilized the Moravian presence from Hopedale to Okak.

APPENDIX: JENS HAVEN'S CHRONICLE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HOPEDALE

Inuit travel to and trade in the south during the early Moravian period appears to have continued a practice that had already been established prior to their coming. Arvertok, the Inuit gathering place and gateway to the south, was perceived by the Moravians in Nain as a viable location for the third missionary settlement in the south. The reasons for choosing Arvertok as a settlement site and the development of Hopedale are documented by Jens Haven in his chronicle from 1783, which is here translated for the first time into English. Annotations to the translation are augmented with additional source material gleaned from the 1775 exploration report for a southern settlement site and other relevant Moravian sources.

JENS HAVEN'S BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ARVATOK AND ITS BEGINNING, NOW CALLED HOPEDALE⁹²

1769, when we requested an Order-in-Council for a piece of land of one-hundred-thousand acres — but four times one-hundred-thousand acres land had already been requested in 1765 for four missions — this caused quite a stir and we were accused of establishing a Jesuit empire in Labrador since we requested four locations for the mission. Thus we made do with one place for a mission, for which we asked only one-hundred-thousand acres of land, with the request that if in time we considered to establish several missions, we could ask for more land; and this was also granted in the same year and visited in 1770 and established in 1771.⁹³

1773, when Brother Layritz visited us, the remaining missionary locales were considered, and I went with the shallop that Brother and Sister Layritz had brought us to explore the north along the coast and came as far as Nagvak,

which lies in 59 degrees.⁹⁴ On this journey Okak was found and was subsequently more closely considered, which lies in 58 degrees on the land of Kivallek.⁹⁵

But the exploration of Arvatok still remained alive since one heard many nice things about this area. It also happened that on his journey from Chateau Bay to Nain Brother Layritz met nine boats, mainly with people from Arvatok.⁹⁶ Thus he desired to serve also this place with the gospel of Jesus' death and suffering. But all of these people have since been exterminated.⁹⁷

1774, the year after Brother Layritz came from the Unity Elders Conference,⁹⁸ we were instructed to reconnoitre once more the northern coast, which also took place that same fall through Brasen,⁹⁹ Lehmann,¹⁰⁰ Lister,¹⁰¹ and Haven. But the former two drowned and nothing came of this exploration journey.¹⁰² But since our instructions also said that Arvatok as well as the destroyed Hopedale ("Hoffentahl")¹⁰³ were to be explored as soon as such was possible and doable, it took place in the spring of 1775 through Haven, Lister, and Beck.¹⁰⁴ There were many difficulties in finding a place where a mission could flourish, although we spared no effort, and all exploring was fruitless until we finally found a place six minutes west of Arvatok on the same headland, where with effort a mission house could be maintained, and [it] had the following advantages:

1. a good harbour for ships;¹⁰⁵
2. a water source that does not freeze in winter and not dry up in summer;¹⁰⁶
3. a rock that was largely even [and] where a house can stand straight;¹⁰⁷
4. enough land for a garden¹⁰⁸ and
5. room enough so that the Esq[uimaux] can live among us;
6. close enough to the Esq[uimaux] who live at Arvatok and, as mentioned before, only six minutes by land to there.¹⁰⁹
7. In our ship harbour is also the only place in this area that in the month of March has the small grey cod (otherwise called Sei),¹¹⁰ where all inhabitants of this area come to fish around that time. It is also in August only half an hour from the place where in summer there are many cod of the regular kind here.¹¹¹
8. This headland lies also good four German miles inside the islands that are to the east towards the sea in front of it and is therefore safe from the whalers that swarm about. Only one real difficulty remains, namely wood, for burning as well as building. For in the area where the house is to stand and where the Esq[uimaux] live, is wood enough for only one year; and in the

area one German mile around us only for some years; and approximately two to three miles from the place there was a nice amount of wood.¹¹² At the time, we could not explore any further and sailed southward and found the destroyed Hopedale as well as the place where Brother Erhardt together with six Europeans was killed. And in both places there was a depressing feeling.¹¹³

1775, Brother Liebisch came and brought the news that it ought to be determined where Okak was to be and the border stones to be set,¹¹⁴ which also happened that same fall by Brethren Haven and St. Jensen,¹¹⁵ and it was begun in 1776.

But since Brother Liebisch brought with him also the order that Arvatok was to be explored once more, such took place in 1777 through Brethren Johann Schneider,¹¹⁶ Chr. Lister, and St. Jensen, and the previously suggested place was found, but they gave it a bad report, which subsequently caused considerable trouble, that in an area of 100,000 acres no more comfortable place could be found. But the above-mentioned Brethren themselves could not find a better place, not even suggest one, and the border stones were set according to the formerly chosen place.¹¹⁷

The same year, 1777, I received a call to come to Germany, but before I left Labrador, I heard that there was much movement regarding Arvatok, that it was soon to begin, but I advised against it when I came to Barby.¹¹⁸

Firstly, I thought that it was necessary to wait with a third mission until the two that had begun had believers and members and, secondly, since the inhabitants of Arvatok had so-to-speak been exterminated or had died. I thus considered it not advisable to start a mission until inhabitants had gathered there again or until there were so many believers at the first two places that had been started that it would be necessary to distribute them, and because in the Nain district as well as in Okak there may presumably be different people from Arvatok, who could easily be encouraged to move to Arvatok, once a mission had begun there. And since the start of a mission is necessarily very costly and the two previous ones still have great debts, for with less than 300 Reichsthaler, no mission can be started in Labrador, nothing was done in 1778.

But when in 1779 a rumour originated in England that the English would extend their places of fishing and subsistence farther north and soon come to Arvatok, our brethren thought that they might get ahead of us to Arvatok and start a fishery there, by which our rights in the Order-in-Council could be lost. Therefore it was brought before the Saviour and we received [word] in 1781 in

our instruction sent to Labrador that we should build a mission house in Nain for Arvatok.¹¹⁹ Brother and Sister Haven came for that reason from Okak to Nain to help build the house and also go to Arvatok to start a mission there, which also happened.

And when in the same year 1781 an English whaler with the name of Mr. Gardener arrived at Nain, who had reconnoitred the coast of Labrador from Chateau Bay to Nain in order to find, as he said, a place where in the fall he could catch whales and winter on this coast, for which he had chosen Arvatok and, particularly, had just selected the harbour and also the flat land that we had wanted for a mission, and had destroyed one of the border stones that stood on the same land, but when he heard from the Esqu[imaux] as well as in Nain that this area had been given by the King and Privy Council in England through an Order-in-Council to the Brethren and their Society for a missionary establishment, he let go of his intention and went to Chateau Bay where he wintered.¹²⁰

This gave us reason to believe that it was time to start Arvatok, and it gave us hope that the place that we had selected for the construction of a mission was a good one since Mr. Gardener, together with several capable and experienced men on the ship as well as one of the most knowledgeable men of Arvatok who was well acquainted with the area,¹²¹ had not been able to find anything else but just the harbour and the same small place which also we had chosen to build on.

1781 as well as 1782, the wood was cut and carried home, prepared and bound up together, and a great part of the boards that in Nain we cut, planed, grooved . . . in their sawmill and much other equipment that is unavoidably necessary for building was fabricated at Nain.¹²²

It is necessary to mention that it was connected with considerable discomfort, as everyone well knows: every beginning is hard, and that there are many different views and temperaments. I have now been present in seeking and choosing four places for a mission.¹²³ And it took several years for all of them, before they could find the place. But it lasted the longest in Lichtenfels in Greenland, where they disputed for three years until it could be determined and, finally, after all, at the first location. Thus it would also be the case with Hopedale.¹²⁴

It is quite difficult to find a place that has everything to maintain a mission and also where, fortunately, the Esq[uimaux] can find their food nearby. And it is essential that the sea permits it to be covered with ice in the fall and only in spring opens up. If this and similar things were not the case, there would be

many very nice places in the district of Arvatok where there is enough wood and valuable land, also salmon fishing and enough hunting land, but of what use would it be if it were four to five German miles into the district, where one would see the Esq[imaux] only a few times a year and could find food among us for only a few days? But I will not write more about this here and will turn now to a consideration of Arvatok.

Arvatok now called Hoffentahl¹²⁵ [Hopedale], called in German place of whales, has this name since it is the last place towards the south where the Esq[imaux] catch whales in the fall. It is a land tongue off the mainland that carries this name and lies in 55 degrees between 30 and 40 minutes northern latitude¹²⁶ and about 500 German sea miles west-northwest from London. Islands precede it for more than four German miles, before one reaches the open sea, and [it is] south enough for the whalers that swarm about if they have no Esq[imaux] for a pilot.¹²⁷

This corner is an ancient place of habitation for the Esq[imaux] and there have been often six inhabited houses and on occasion even more. Except for this place, there have been five other places around here, with the farthest only two German miles from Arvatok. Last year, only Arvatok was inhabited, and only three houses and some 70 souls. According to all estimates by one of these [people], three to four hundred inhabitants have wintered in the area.¹²⁸

The place is very well known and famous among them [the Inuit], and who has lived a winter in Arvatok boasts about it as if he had lived in London or Paris. And in former times when they went every two years to the south to rob and murder, Arvatok was the gathering place, where they came together from more than 60 German miles [about 450 km] from all habitations in the north, and left from here for the south and did their best to return here in the fall. Because of this, the people of Arvatok were greatly respected, and there were proud and rough murderers among them and [people from] all other areas were afraid of them and did their best to always please them.

Wood

There is little in the area and only enough for a few years, but four miles into the bay there is very much wood as well as birch wood.¹²⁹

Fish

About half an hour from our house, there are in August and September very many cod. Two miles north of us is a good place to catch trout, and four miles into the bay are many sizable salmon. In our ship harbour are in March and

April the small black cod (otherwise called Sey) and from the end of June until the end of September there are also trout, mussels of two kind, and sculpins,¹³⁰ very many, from which the Esq[quimaux] can live for a long time, if only they have blubber.

Seals

This area is richly supplied with all kinds of seals, and if they dealt properly with them, they would not need to starve. One can see it by the fact that a person from Arvatok is too proud to catch cod and says with arrogance, "I am not suited for fishing and my wives have other things to do than to dry fish. That is work for useless people. I catch seals and whales." Because of such arrogance it happened last year that they did not get any whales and they wasted the summer and the seal hunt in the fall was bad. When starvation came, I repeated [to them] their words, namely their talk that: you were not suited for fishing; starve with contentment and make it better next summer.

Whales

are there in the fall and there is a good whale hunt here. The last few years, however, they have been on too few such hunts and caught none.

*Beluga*¹³¹

[A] Kind of white whales, usually three fathoms long, are here plenty in spring when the ice starts to break. This spring they got ten.¹³²

Sea birds

of all kinds are here, very numerous in summer and thus there are also many eggs in spring. There are also many wild geese here, which hatch their young here.

Land birds

There are also ptarmigans,¹³³ but fewer than in Nain and Okak. There is here, however, in fall a kind of "Schnepper"¹³⁴ that are approximately as large as a dove, and it is the fattest and best-tasting bird that I have seen.

Land animals

There are quite a few reindeer¹³⁵ here but no good hunting place like in the area of Nain. The Esq[quimaux] say that there is so much bush here that they cannot find them. Hares are few, foxes and wolves many, also wolverines,¹³⁶ otters,¹³⁷ martens¹³⁸ and bears, of the latter four kinds but few. I have also seen some fur here.

It is likely the indisputably most nourishing place for the Esq[uimaux] of all three missionary locales.

We arrived here Anno 1782, on 2 September, and have lived in peace with the Esq[uimaux] in Hopedale until 20 August 1783, when I copied this,
Jens Haven.

NOTES

- 1 I am grateful to Dr. John Kennedy, Dr. Marianne Stopp and Mr. Greg Mitchell, co-investigators in the SSHRC-sponsored CURA Project “Understanding the Past to Build the Future,” for most helpful comments on this manuscript. I am also thankful for the helpful editorial comments offered by one of the journal’s anonymous reviewers.
- 2 On the first exploration in Labrador, see Hans Rollmann, “Johann Christian Erhardt and the First Moravian Exploration of Labrador in 1752,” in Hans Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador: Papers from a Symposium held in Makkovik and Hopedale* Occasional Publications of Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, No. 2 (St. John’s: Memorial University, Faculty of Arts Publications, 2009), 53–68.
- 3 The establishment and maintenance of an archive in Nain is examined by Paul Peucker in “Labrador Records at the Unity Archives in Herrnhut, Germany,” in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador*, 152–61. The global links and communications network of Moravians have recently been treated in a monograph by Gisela Mettele, *Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine als globale Gemeinschaft: 1727-1857*, Bürgertum Neue Folge: Studien zur Zivilgesellschaft, vol. 4, eds. Manfred Hettling and Paul Nolte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).
- 4 A very readable and well-illustrated history of Hopedale, authored by Carol Brice-Bennett, was published by the Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador in 2003 under the title: *Hopedale: Three Ages of a Community in Northern Labrador*.
- 5 “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” [Journal of the Exploration Journey on the Coast of Labrador of the 4 Brethren John Hill, Jens Haven, Chr. Drachard and A. Schloezer from London and Back Again in the Year 1765], 155, Manuscript R15.k.a.5.2.b, Unity Archives, Herrnhut (hereafter UAH). Arbatok is identified by Inuit, *ibid.*, 111 and 170, as a locale with 10 houses.
- 6 See also a discussion in W. Gordon Handcock, “A Cartographic and Toponymic Analysis of the Jens Haven Maps of coastal Labrador 1765,” 11, 13, unpublished paper prepared for the Labrador Métis Nation (2007).
- 7 I am grateful to my colleague in the Classics Department at MUN, Dr. K.O.A. Simonsen, for help with this translation.
- 8 Handcock, “A Cartographic and Toponymic Analysis,” 1–6, 9.
- 9 The original manuscript is in the Unity Archives, Herrnhut, Germany: R15.K.a.12.

- 10 Jens Haven, "Kortzer erklerung über die beÿ folgende Carte so wohl als die Reise nach labrador 1765," 8. A copy of the map is also housed at the Naval Library, Ministry of Defense, in Taunton, and was printed in A.M. Lysaght, *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766: His Diary, Manuscripts, and Collections* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), facing 185. An English translation of the list of Inuit place names from the Herrnhut map TS Mp.111.10 that may have accompanied this map is located in the Public Record Office, document C.O. 194/16, folio 245, and was also presented by Lysaght. This second map was likely the same given to Governor Hugh Palliser by the Moravians in St. John's in 1765. Its origin can be reconstructed from the Moravian travel journal of that year. After the return of the four brethren from Labrador, the missionaries gave Governor Palliser on 5 October in St. John's "a map of the Bay, where the Inuit live, with the Indian [Inuit] names of the islands and the land." See "Journal von der Recognitions-Reise auf der Küste von Labrador der 4 Brüder John Hill, Jens Haven, Drachard u[nd] Schloezer im Jahr 1765," 174. On 11 October, the missionaries also supplied Palliser with the English translation of the Inuit place names (ibid., 175). One week later, on 18 October, Palliser informed the Brethren that he would have the map they handed him enlarged (ibid., 177).
- 11 The toponym is variously rendered as Arbatok, Arbetok, Arbaktok, Arbartok, Arvatok, and Arvertok, which in today's revised spelling is rendered as Agvituk. I will use the original spelling wherever I discuss or quote from a historical text and revert to Arvertok in the discussion since this became the most common Moravian spelling.

Douglas Wharram, "Linguistic Analysis of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven's Map of 1765 and Related Documents," 3; see also Ludger Müller-Wille, "Assessment of Inuit Toponymy on Jens Haven's Map of 1765," 4, unpublished papers prepared for the Labrador Métis Nation (2007).
- 12 "Journal von der Recognitions-Reise auf der Küste von Labrador der 4 Brüder John Hill, Jens Haven, Drachard u[nd] Schloezer im Jahr 1765," 111. See also the repeat in the journal on 170.
- 13 Ibid., 155.
- 14 The association of Sekullia refers to a well-known shaman whom Haven had met in 1764 on an island near Quirpon, Newfoundland. See J. Garth Taylor, "In the Wake of the Hope: Jens Haven's 1764 Reconnaissance Journey in Northern Newfoundland and Southern Labrador," in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador*, 95, 102, n. 55; see also Linda Sabathy-Judd, "Winning Souls for Jesus: Moravians in Nain, Labrador, 1771-1781," ibid., 135.
- 15 David Cranz, *Fortsetzung der Historie von Groenland insonderheit der Missions-Geschichte der Evangelischen Brueder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Liechtenfels nebst betraechtlichen Zusaetzen und Anmerkungen zur natuerlichen Geschichte* (Barby: Heinrich Detlef Ebers; Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1770), vol. 2, part 3, 352-60. There is a significantly shortened English version in David Crantz, *History of Greenland: Including an Account of the Mission Carried on by the United Brethren in that Country . . . With a Continuation to the Present Time* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), vol. 2, 297-300. See also the German handwritten "Lebens Lauf des Knaben Johannes Karpik," 58313-58318,

- Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Penn. (hereafter MAB), and the Inuktitut manuscript by Larsen Christen Drachardt, "Relation von des Eskimoischen Knaben Karpik Leben, Erziehung, Unterweisung in der christlichen Religion, Bekehrung[,] Taufe und seligen Heimgang von A[nno] 1769," 58328-58592, MAB.
- 16 "Jens Havens Rekognoszierungsreise 1770," 320, R.15.K.a.5.no.5, UAH; see also "Journal Steffen Jensen 1770," 196, R.15.K.a.5.no.3, UAH, with the variant spelling "Arbetek."
 - 17 "Jens Havens Rekognoszierungsreise 1770," 325.
 - 18 Ibid., 340. Other mentions of Arbatok in Haven's 1770 diary can be found on 332, 336, and 351. I am grateful to Thea Olsthoorn for sending me for comparison with my own transcriptions her passages relating to Arvertok in the early exploration journals.
 - 19 Ibid., 351.
 - 20 Jens Haven, "Kurze Nachricht von denen nach Norden von Nagvak an, bis an die Hudsons-Straight liegenden Wohnplaetzen der Eskimos, ihrer Lage u[nd] Nahrung," 190-204, R.15.K.a.No.11, UAH; see also the English translation of Jens Haven, "A brief Account of the dwelling Places of the Eskimaux to the North of Nagvack to Hudsons Straits, their Situation and Subsistence" (1773), 101-10, Moravian Church House, London (hereafter MCH). In the same year he judged the business sense of northern Inuit as "more simplistic and not as corrupt" as those among the people of Nain and the Arvertoker. "Das Diarium vom Jahr 1773," 324, R.15.K.b. No. 4a, UAH.
 - 21 Paul Eugen Layritz, "An die Unitats-Aeltesten-Conferenz" [Visitation Report of Paul Eugen Layritz], Nain, 31 July 1773, 18v (36), R.15.K.a.11.a.1, UAH.
 - 22 Ibid., 15v (30).
 - 23 Ibid., 16v-17r (33-34).
 - 24 "Report of the Brethren's Settlement on the coast of Labrador from the middle of Sept. [1775] to the middle of Oct. 1776. Extracted from the Journal of the missionaries," Microfilm No. 513, reel 5, 161, MUN, QEII Library.
 - 25 "Journal von der Recognitions-Reise auf der Küste von Labrador der 4 Brüder John Hill, Jens Haven, Drachard u[nd] Schloezer im Jahr 1765," 111, 170.
 - 26 Roger Curtis, "Particulars of the Country of Labradore, 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," *Philosophical Transactions* [of the Royal Society] (1683-1775) 64 (1774): 387.
 - 27 Paul Eugen Layritz, "An die Unitats-Aeltesten-Conferenz" [Visitation Report of Paul Eugen Layritz], 36, UAH.
 - 28 See the compilations in J. Garth Taylor, *Labrador Eskimo Settlements of the Early Contact Period*, Publications in Ethnology, 9, National Museum of Canada (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1974), 71-72.
 - 29 The following is a summary that reproduces data from a hitherto unpublished documentation of mine furnished to the Labrador Métis Nation (NunatuKavut) titled "Inuit Mobility to and from the South in the Hopedale Moravian Diaries and Church Book (2009/2010)." I am grateful to NunatuKavut for permission to make use of these materials.
 - 30 John Kennedy, "Two Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit," in Rollmann, ed.,

- Moravian Beginnings in Labrador*, 30-32. See also Marianne Stopp, "Reconsidering Inuit Presence in Southern Labrador," *Études/Inuit Studies* 26, 2 (2002): 71-106.
- 31 I have discussed this change in policy in detail in Hans Rollmann, "'So fond of the pleasure to shoot': The Sale of Firearms to Inuit on Labrador's North Coast in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 26, 1 (Spring 2011): 5-24.
 - 32 On the land grants see Hans Rollmann, "The Labrador Land Grants of 1769 and 1774," in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador*, 104-31.
 - 33 Proclamation by Governor Shuldham to Keep Esquimaux within Moravian Settlement, 10 Apr. 1772, Privy Council Documents: Labrador Boundary Dispute, No. 436, 1326, at: <www.heritage.nf.ca/law/lab3/labvol3_1304.html>.
 - 34 Draft of a letter submitted in 1784 by the SFG to Lord Sidney, Secretary of State. The draft was sent by Benjamin LaTrobe to Evan Napean, Esqr. on 27 Apr. 1784, original draft at MCH; see also Privy Council Documents: Labrador Boundary Dispute, No. 450, 1335/6, at: <www.heritage.nf.ca/law/lab3/labvol3_1335.html>.
 - 35 "Diaría fon Hoffentahl in Labrador fon den 2ten fiertel Jahre 1783 die Monate Appril May Juny" [Diaries of Hopedale in Labrador from the 2nd quarter of the year 1783, the months April, May, June], 88-89, R15Kb2a, UAH.
 - 36 On Layritz, see above. See also the letter of Andrew Pinson, Dartmouth, 26 Mar. 1776, to James Hutton, Chelsea, 15508, MAB, and the letter of George Noble to James Hutton [accompanies letter of Pinson], 15509, MAB.
 - 37 *Captain Cartwright and his Labrador Journal*, ed. Charles Wendell Townsend (Boston: Dana Estes, 1911), 137-38. On Cartwright's presence in and impact on Labrador, see especially John C. Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands: Anthropological History and the Fate of Communities in the Unknown Labrador* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 29-46.
 - 38 Letter of Superintendent Christian Lister to English settlers at Chateau Bay, 25 May 1783, 2, MCH.
 - 39 On Mikak, see Marianne Stopp, "Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England," *Arc-tic* 62, 1 (Mar. 2009): 45-64.
 - 40 Entries for 2 Oct. and 4 Dec. 1782 in the German Nain Diary for 1782, 93-94, 112-14, R.5.K.b.4b, UAH; see also "Reisse Diaria fon Nain bis Hoffentahl [*sic*] 1782" [Travel Diaries from Nain to Hopedale 1782], 13-14, 20, R15Kb2a, UAH.
 - 41 SFG Minutes of 21 Oct. 1783, 137, MCH.
 - 42 Draft of a letter submitted in 1784 by the SFG to Lord Sidney, Secretary of State, MCH; see also Privy Council Documents: Labrador Boundary Dispute, No. 450, 1335/6, at: <www.heritage.nf.ca/law/lab3/labvol3_1335.html>. Inuit journeying to the south with disastrous results is also noted in Stopp, "Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England," 53.
 - 43 Lord Sydney to Governor Campbell, 28 May 1784, Privy Council Documents: Labrador Boundary Dispute, No. 451, 1337, at: <www.heritage.nf.ca/law/lab3/labvol3_1337.html>.
 - 44 SFG Minutes, 1 June 1784 and 14 Dec. 1784, 148, 159, MCH.
 - 45 Samuel Liebisch for the UEC to Brethren Latrobe and Wollin of the SFG in London, Herrnhut, 15 Dec. 1785, 1-4, MCH.

- 46 SFG Minutes, 7 Feb. 1786, 185, MCH. For a more detailed discussion of the introduction of firearms, see Rollmann, “So fond of the pleasure to shoot,” 5-24.
- 47 On the Moravian building complex, see my report to Parks Canada: Hans Rollmann, “The 1782 Mission House and 1817 Parks Canada Building at Hopedale (2001)”; SFG Minutes, 4 Apr. 1786, 190, MCH.
- 48 SFG Minutes, 2 Mar. 1792, 303-09, MCH.
- 49 I have argued elsewhere that education and literacy played a significant role in effecting a paradigm shift in the religious self-understanding of Labrador Inuit, from sin and salvation as a superficial taboo violation to an understanding of it as a profound existential change. See Hans Rollmann, “Moravian Education in Labrador: A Legacy of Literacy,” in Gerald Galway and David Dibbon, eds., *Conference Proceedings: Symposium 2008: Post-Confederation Education Reform: From Rhetoric to Reality* (St. John’s: Memorial University, 2008), 234-36.
- 50 See Hans Rollmann, “Moravians in Central Labrador: The Indigenous Inuit Mission of Jacobus and Salome at Snooks Cove,” *Journal of Moravian Studies* 9 (Fall 2010): 7-40.
- 51 Jonathan later piloted the missionaries Benjamin Gottlieb Kohlmeister and Georg Kmoch in 1811 on their exploration journey to Ungava Bay. He died the following year while travelling from Hopedale to Okak and was buried in Nain. See Benjamin Kohlmeister and Georg Kmoch, *Journal of a voyage from Okkak, on the coast of Labrador, to Ungava Bay, westward of Cape Chudleigh: undertaken to explore the coast, and visit the Esquimaux in that unknown region* (London.: Society for Furtherance of the Gospel, 1814) and “Kirchenbuch der Evangelischen Brueder-Mission zu Hoffentahl” [Church Book of the Evangelical Brethren Mission at Hopedale Labrador], 36216/1, 36232/1, MAB. The original handwritten first Church Book of Hopedale, in the possession of the Hopedale Moravian Church, was filmed as part of the Bethlehem Collection at Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1959 and comprises pages 36146-36394 in the microfilm collection. In 2009, the original was in the Agvutuk Historical Society museum at Hopedale, Labrador.
- 52 “Reisse Diaria fon Nain bis Hoffentahl [sic] 1782” [Travel Diaries from Nain to Hopedale 1782], 13-14; R15Kb2a, UAH; Nain Church Book, Adult Baptisms, 7, no. 34.
- 53 “Reisse Diaria fon Nain bis Hoffentahl [sic] 1782,” 13-14, 20.
- 54 Letter of Superintendent Christian Lister to English settlers at Chateaux Bay, Nain, 25 May 1783, 1, MCH.
- 55 “Diaria fon Hoffentahl Monat July 1783 und August bis som 17” [Diaries of Hopedale, for the month [of] July 1783 and August until the 17th], 121, 128, R15Kb2a, UAH; “Diaria fon Hoffentahl die drey Monaht October November December 1783” [Diaries of Hopedale for the three months October, November, December 1783], 143, R15Kb2a, UAH.
- 56 Ibid., 144-45; see also “Diario fon Hoffentahl d monate July August bis d 21 1784” [Diary of Hopedale for the months July, August, until the 21st 1784], 279, R15Kb2a, UAH; Draft of a letter submitted in 1784 by the SFG to Lord Sidney, Secretary of State, MCH; see also Privy Council Documents: Labrador Boundary Dispute, No. 450, p. 1335/6, at: <www.heritage.nf.ca/law/lab3/labvol3_1335.html>; Conference letter of Okak to SFG, London, 30 July 1785, 2, MCH.

- 57 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1785" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1785], "Monath July 1785" [Month of July 1785], 410-11, R.15.K.b.2a, UAH.
- 58 E.W. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916), 24. Regarding the name Netsektok, see especially the research report to the Labrador Métis Nation (NunatuKavut) by Lisa K. Rankin et al., "Toponymic and Cartographic Research Conducted for the Labrador Metis Nation," Sept. 2008, 73, 97-99.
- 59 *Periodical Accounts* 1: 258-59.
- 60 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1785" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1785], "Monath July 1785" [Month of July 1785], 409, R.15.K.b.2a, UAH.
- 61 James K. Hiller, "The Foundation and the Early Years of the Moravian Mission in Labrador," MA thesis (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1967), 131-32.
- 62 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1786" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1786], 542, R.15.Kb.2.a, UAH.
- 63 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1785" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1785], "Monath July 1785" [Month of July 1785], 410, R.15.K.b.2a, UAH.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 409. See also MAB: 36234/22.
- 65 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen April, May und Juny 1792" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months April, May and June 1792], 227, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; MAB 36218/22, 36234/20, 36216/3, 36232/5, 36234/15, 36218/18, 36234/16, 36218/26, 36234/22, 36225/133, 36244/129, 36226/141.
- 66 Hopedale Conference Letter of 10 Oct 1794, in *Periodical Accounts* 1: 258-59.
- 67 See Allyson Davis and Hans Rollmann, "Moravian Missionary and Exploration Journeys South of Hopedale, 1857-1900," contract research for the Labrador Métis Nation (Aug. 2007).
- 68 See Rollmann, "Moravians in Central Labrador," 7-40.
- 69 See *ibid.*, 12-15.
- 70 "Diario fon Hoffentahl d monate Jully August bis d 21 1784" [Diary of Hopedale for the months July, August, until the 21st 1784], 279-80, R15Kb2a, UAH.
- 71 Bericht von Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1790 [Account of Hopedale for the year 1790], 47-48, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH.
- 72 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1785" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1785], "Monath July 1785" [Month of July 1785], 411, R.15.K.b.2a, UAH;
- 73 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen July, August, u[nd] September 1787" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months July, August, and September 1787], 641-45, R.15.Kb.2.a., UAH.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 645. See also the references to Marcoux in Marianne P. Stopp, ed., *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 20, 21, 32. There is also, *ibid.*, 232-33, the sketch

- map redrawn by Cartwright but based on one by an Inuk of Makkovik Bay, showing building locations.
- 75 Bericht von Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1790 [Account of Hopedale for the year 1790], 85, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH.
- 76 Ibid., 35.
- 77 Ibid., 46.
- 78 “Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von the Monathen July, August biss Ende September 1791” [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months July, August to the end of September 1791], 153, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH.
- 79 Ibid., 156-57; “Diarium des Haus-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen January, February, u[nd] Merz 1792” [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months January, February and March 1792], 195, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH. On Robert Collingham, see Stopp, *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright*, 30-32, 74. See also John Kennedy, *People of the Bays and Headlands*, 37-38.
- 80 “Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen April, May und Juny 1792” [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months April, May and June 1792], 224-25, 234, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH.
- 81 German Nain Diary 1782, 112-14, R.5.K.b.4b, UAH; “Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Okkak auf der Insel Kivallek: Von den Monathen April, May u. Juny 1783” [Diary of the little house congregation in Okak on the island of Kivalek for the months April, May and June 1783], 739, R.15.Kb.5a, UAH; “Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Okkak vom 21ten July biss ende des Monaths, ferner August u. September 1785” [Diary of the little house congregation in Okak from the 21st of July to the end of the month, also August and September 1785], 961, R.15.K.b.5.a, UAH; “Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Okkak vom Monath July biss zur Schiff Ankunf d 20ten Ao. 1785” [Diary of the little house congregation in Okak from the month July to the arrival of the ship on the 20th Anno 1785], 955, R.15.Kb.5a, UAH; “Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1786” [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1786], 547, R.15.Kb.2.a, UAH; “Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von the Monathen July, August biss Ende September 1791” [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months July, August to the end of September 1791], 153, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; Letter of the Brethren in Hopedale to the Mission Department of UEC, 9 Oct. 1799, 25586-8, MAB; “Bericht des Haus Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1800” [Account of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1800], 601-02, 615, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; Letter of the Brethren in Hopedale to Mission Department of UEC, 11 Oct. 1800, 2669-700, MAB; “Bericht von Hoffenthal in Labrador vom September 1841 bis August 1842” [Account of Hopedale in Labrador from September 1841 until August 1842], *Nachrichten aus der Brueder-Gemeine*, 1842, No. 5: 93; Conference letter of Okak to SFG, London, 30 July 1785, 1, MCH.
- 82 “Diarria fon Hoffentahl die drey Monaht October November December 1783” [Diaries of Hopedale for the three months October, November, December 1783], 143, R15Kb2a, UAH; “Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen July, August, u[nd] September 1787” [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months

- July, August, and September 1787], 643, R.15.Kb.2.a., UAH; "Bericht von Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1790" [Account of Hopedale for the year 1790], 85, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; Mission Conference in Hopedale to Mission Department of UEC, 7 Oct. 1791, 26594, MAB, "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von the Monathen April, May und Juny 1791" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months April, May and June 1791], 137, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; "Diarium des Haus-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen January, February, u[nd] Merz 1792" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months January, February, and March 1792], 195, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; Letter of Bro. Krügelstein to Bro. LaTrobe of SFG in London, Nain, 4 Sept. 1792, 3, MCH; "Continuation des Diariums des Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von 11 September 1797" [Continuation of the diary of the congregation in Hopedale from 11 September 1797], 399, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; [Bericht des Haus-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1798] "Ao. 1798" [Account of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1798], 616, 417, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; Brethren in Hopedale to Mission Department of UEC, 19 Aug. 1798, 26676, MAB; "Bericht des Haus Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1800" [Account of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1800], 609, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; Brethren in Hopedale to Mission Department of UEC, 11 Oct. 1800, 26699-700, MAB; "Bericht von Hoffenthal in Labrador vom Anfang August 1832 bis dahin 1833," [Account of Hopedale in Labrador from the beginning of August 1832 until then in 1833] *Nachrichten aus der Brueder-Gemeine*, 1835, No. 3: 413, 416.
- 83 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen July, August, u[nd] September 1787" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months July, August, and September 1787], 643, R.15.K.b.2.a., UAH; [Bericht des Haus-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1798] "Ao. 1798" [Account of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1798], 418, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH.
- 84 [Bericht des Haus-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1798] "Ao. 1798" [Account of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1798], 616, 417, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; "Bericht des Haus Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1800" [Account of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1800], 417, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH.
- 85 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Okkak vom 21ten July biss ende des Monaths, ferner August u. September 1785" [Diary of the little house congregation in Okak from the 21st of July to the end of the month, also August and September 1785], 961, R.15.K.b.5.a, UAH; "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von the Monathen January, February und Merz 1791" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months January, February, and March 1791], 118, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; Letter of Bro. Krügelstein to Bro. LaTrobe of SFG in London, Nain, 4 Sept. 1792, 3, MCH; "Bericht von Hoffenthal in Labrador vom August 1833 bis Ende Juli 1834" [Account of Hopedale in Labrador from August 1833 to the end of July 1834], *Nachrichten aus der Brueder-Gemeine*, 1836, No. 5: 763-64.
- 86 "Continuation des Diarii von Hoffenthal vom Monath August 1784" [Continuation of the Diary of Hopedale for the month of August 1784], 300-301, R.15.Kb.2.a, UAH.

- 87 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen July, August, u[nd] September 1787" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months July, August, and September 1787], 645-6, R.15.Kb.2.a., UAH.
- 88 Conference letter of Okak to SFG, London, 30 July 1785, 1, MCH; "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen July, August, u[nd] September 1787" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months July, August, and September 1787], 641, 643, 645-6, R.15.Kb.2.a., UAH; "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen April, May und Juny 1792" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months April, May and June 1792], 224-5, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH.
- 89 "Bericht von Hoffenthal vom July 1789" [Account of Hopedale for July 1789], 808-09, R.15.K.b.2a, UAH; "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von the Monathen April, May und Juny 1791" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months April, May and June 1791], 128, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; [Bericht des Haus-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal vom Jahr 1798] "Ao. 1798" [Account of the house congregation in Hopedale for the year 1798], 416, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH; [German Hopedale Diary] "Vom Jahr 1830" [For the Year 1830], 23, R.15.K.b.2d, UAH.
- 90 "Bericht von Hoffenthal in Labrador vom August 1839 bis Anfang August 1840" [Account of Hopedale in Labrador from August 1839 to the beginning of August 1840], *Nachrichten aus der Brueder-Gemeine* 1842, No. 2: 263-64.
- 91 "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Hoffenthal von den Monathen April, May und Juny 1791" [Diary of the house congregation in Hopedale for the months April, May and June 1791], 128, R.15.K.b.2b, UAH.
- 92 Jens Haven, "Kortz gefaste nachricht fon Arvatok und dessen anfang ietz Hoffentahl genant," R.15.K.a.7.u, UAH. I am grateful to the Archives and its director, Dr. Rüdiger Kröger, for granting me permission to edit and publish the manuscript in translation.
- 93 The accusation of establishing a Jesuit empire is also mentioned in Haven's larger essay on his dealings with Labrador. "Auszug aus Br. Jens Havens Aufsaz von seiner recognoscirungs Reise u[nd] Aufenthalt unter den Eskimoern in Terra Labrador von Ao. 1770 bis 1784, Erster Theil," 48, R15.K.a.5.4, UAH. For a historical study of the land grants, see Rollmann, "The Labrador Land Grants of 1769 and 1774," 104-31.
- 94 On Paul Eugen Layritz's (1707-88) visitation, see Kerstin Bölkow, "Am Rande der Zivilisation: Die Anfänge der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine in Labrador 1771-1775: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Frage, wie sich die Missionsstation in Nain, Labrador, selbst verwaltete und von der obersten Direktion in Deutschland geleitet wurde," unpublished exam study (Trier: Universität Trier, 2002), 107-28.
- 95 "Kiverleker land." On the journey to Okak, see Jens Haven, "Extract of the voyage of the sloop George to reconnoitre the northern part of Labrador in the months of Aug. and Sept. 1773," MCH.
- 96 See Paul Eugen Layritz's travel account of his voyage to Labrador, written in Nain, to the Unity Elders Conference in Saxony, 31 July 1731, 29 [15r] – 36 [18v], R.15.K.a.No.11,3, UAH.
- 97 The comment about the extermination of these Inuit may refer to the death of several

- boatloads of north-coast Inuit in the south. The numbers range from 6-9 boats. See Conference letter of Okak to SFG, London, 30 July 1785, 2, MCH; also Andrew Pinson, Dartmouth, 26 Mar. 1776, to James Hutton, Chelsea, 15508, MAB; German Nain Diary 1782, entry for 4 Dec. 1782, 112-14, R.5.K.b.4b, UAH; "Diarium der Hauss-Gemeine in Nain von den Monaten Jan., Febr. u. Merz 1782" [Diary of the house congregation at Nain for the months January, February and March 1782], 6 Mar. 1782, R.15.K.b.4.a, UAH.
- 98 This sentence is syntactically confusing and makes sense only by a transposition of some words. It says literally: "17674 [*sic*] when Brother Layritz came the year before to the U.E.C. . . ." On Layritz, see "Lebenslauf des Bruders Paul Eugenius Layritz, Bischofs der Brueder-Kirche, heimgegangen zu Herrnhut den 31. Juli 1788," *Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine*, 1838: 96-120.
- 99 Christoph Brasen (1738-74), a Danish barber-surgeon, was the first Superintendent of the Moravian mission in Labrador. For a biographical sketch and sources on his life, see Hans Rollmann, "Moravians in Labrador (1): Christoph Brasen (1738- 1774)," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 90, 4 (Winter 1997): 47-48.
- 100 Gottfried Lehmann (1747-74), a weaver from Niesky, Saxony, drowned with Brasen less than two months after his arrival in Labrador when the ship foundered.
- 101 Christian Lister (1750-1803), a Moravian from Spen, Yorkshire, was part of the original party that established Nain in 1771 and later served as missionary in Jamaica.
- 102 On the mishap, see the manuscript "Schiffbruch & Tod Brasens und Lehmann 1774," R.15.K.a.7.k, UAH.
- 103 The reference to "the destroyed Hopedale" refers to the burned-out remnants of a house in Nisbet Harbour, Ford's Bight, near today's Makkovik, which Inuit traditions and Jens Haven identified as the one that was built in 1752 during Johann Christian Erhardt's fateful first Moravian exploration journey of Labrador. On the first exploration journey and the house, see Rollmann, "Johann Christian Erhardt and the First Moravian Exploration of Labrador in 1752," 54-55, and Henry Cary, "Hoffnungsthal: The Archaeology and Architecture of Labrador's First Moravian Mission, 1752," in Rollmann, ed., *Moravian Beginning in Labrador*, 69-86.
- 104 Johann Ludwig Beck (1737-1802) grew up in Greenland, where his father Johann Beck was a missionary. He accompanied Paul Eugen Layritz on his visitation to Labrador in 1773 and subsequently served in Nain and Okak until 1797. The exploration journey for a southern settlement to Arvertok and Old Hopedale took place from 11-28 July 1775 and is chronicled in "Nachricht von der Südnischen Recognoscirungs-Reise von 11ten July biß 28ten July 1775," 13312-34, MAB.
- 105 The original exploration of 1775 found: "Here there is a good harbour for ships. The boat place could easily be turned into a good condition." See "Nachricht," 013319-20, MAB.
- 106 "Where a little Elbe river [the missionaries' designation of any river near the missionary settlement, presumably in memory of the Elbe River in Saxony] comes down, where the Esk[imos] fetch their water during winter and which according to their report never dries or freezes up in winter." See "Nachricht," 013319, MAB.

- 107 "We finally found a place on the western side, where, if need be, in fact only in dire need, the mission could establish a settlement. The house would need to be mainly put on rocks and the palisades can be attached to beams and supported on both sides with props." See "Nachricht," 013319-20, MAB.
- 108 "The garden could be established behind the house." "Nachricht," 0133120, MAB.
- 109 The 1775 report mentions a distance "of ca. 400 feet to the winter houses [of the resident Inuit]." See "Nachricht," 0133120, MAB.
- 110 It was presumably rock cod, although "Sei" is the Norwegian name for pollock.
- 111 "In the bays where a ship harbour appears to be is the place where the Eskimos of this area get the small black cod during February and March, just like the Esk[imos] in Nuneingok [Nain area] Pangnertok and Kikkertaujak. And in summer, in the month of August, the Eskimos can fish for Cod on the island of Anniovaktok." See "Nachricht," 0133120, MAB.
- 112 "The wood that is nearby can be burned in 2 winters in the kitchen and heating stoves. One would need to take care in summer, to cut down trees and stack the wood that one can fetch by boat in the summer and by sled in winter. The wood in the surrounding area will at most be enough for 10 years. In Pilliarusek Bay, which runs very deeply into the land of Arvertok, there is [a] nice [amount of] wood, but it is far and difficult to get. Among all of this wood and woodland, there is no wood for building, much less logs for building boats." "Nachricht," 0133120, MAB.
- 113 The discovery of the grave of the Europeans on the island of Mannerektok and the ruins of the first house in the second, southernmost bay of Makkovik, is narrated in detail in "Nachricht von der Südnischen Recognoscirungs-Reise von 11ten July biß 28ten July 1775," 013322-29. The locations are also mapped in a chart drawn by Haven (TS Mp. 121.6), which has been preserved at UAH.
- 114 Samuel Liebisch (1739-1809) replaced Christoph Brasen as Superintendent of the mission after Brasen drowned, and Liebisch stayed in Labrador until 1783, when he was called back to Saxony to become a member of the Unity Elders Conference. See "Memoir of the Life of Br. Samuel Liebisch, Bishop of the Brethren's Church, and one of the Earliest Missionaries in Labrador, who departed this Life at Berthelsdorf, Dec. 3rd, 1809," *Periodical Accounts* 19 (1848): 209-12, 273-77. On setting the border stones for Okak, see *Mission der evangelischen Brueder in Labrador* (Gnadau: Franz Burkhard, 1831), 79.
- 115 Stephan Jensen (1724-1800) was a Danish carpenter and steersman and a member of the original 1771 party that established Nain, where he died on 2 August 1800.
- 116 Johann Schneider (1713-85), a member of the old Unitas Fratrum in Moravia, had previous missionary experience in Greenland and America when he and his wife Elisabeth joined the original party that established Nain. Later, the Schneiders also worked in Okak and Hopedale. He and his wife lie buried in the oldest Moravian cemetery in Hopedale. See my forthcoming study, "Johann and Elisabeth (Ertel) Schneider: Pioneer Missionaries in Labrador from Moravia."
- 117 On the 1777 trip, see "Bericht der Brüder Johann Schneider, Lister und Stephan Jensen von ihrer Reise aus Nain nach Arvertok und wieder zurück vom 2ten bis 23ten July 1777"

- [Report of the Brethren Johann Schneider, Lister and Stephan Jensen about their Journey from Nain to Arvertok and back again from the 2nd to the 23rd July 1777], 63-73, R.15.K.a.10.a.5, UAH; see also the untitled manuscript report from July 1777 in the Bethlehem Collection, 58258-62, MAB. A copy of the sales contract in Inuktitut and German translation with the signatures of the Inuit from Arvertok is preserved in Herrnhut as manuscript R.15.K.a.7.1, 276-77 (German) and 278-79 (Inuktitut). The original sales contract in Inuktitut was preserved among the archival materials from Labrador and is titled "Kauf-Brief über das Land in Arwertok: 1777" [Deed of Sale for the Land at Arwertok], 013692-013698, MAB. There is no indication in the report of the three Moravian brethren who purchased the land and set the border stones that they "gave it a bad reputation," as alleged by Haven. They also did not explore and consider any alternative site.
- 118 Barby, Saxony, was from 1771 to 1784 the seat of the Moravian Unity Elders Conference and its worldwide administration.
- 119 Bringing an issue before the Saviour meant that lots were cast to have a decision rendered by Christ himself. Since this resulted in an instruction brought by the mission ship, the decision was made for the Labrador missionaries by the Unity Elders Conference in Saxony.
- 120 Note the German Diary of Nain for 23 Oct. 1781: "The Inuit also said that Mr. Gardner [*sic*] stayed with the schooner *Industry* in Arvertok, both when coming and on his return, in the bay where the mission house is to be built, where they [the Gardener party] thought of building their winter house. But eventually they gave it up. The Inuit were told that the land in Arvertok was ours, since we had bought the same from them and that no one could build a house there but us. If someone should come, who wanted to build there, they should tell him that this land is ours and show them the border stones. *Tuglauvina* promised to do this" (1167), R.15K.b.4.a, UAH. For Gardener's visit at Nain and his familiarity with Labrador, see the German Nain Diary, 6-9 Sept., "Diarium der Hauss-Gemeine in Nain von den Monaten Aprill, May u[nd] Juny ab 1781" [Diary of the house congregation at Nain for the months July, Aug[ust] and until the 15th [of] Sept[ember] 1781], 1156-58, R.15.K.b.4.a, UAH; see also the detailed letter of Superintendent Samuel Liebisch to the Unity Elders Conference in Germany, 1-2, according to which Gardener was American-born: R.15.Kb.17.b.25, UAH; also the entry for 23 Oct. 1781 in "Diarium der Hauss-Gemeine in Nain von der letzten Helfte Septbr. bis ult. Decbr. 1781" [Diary of the house congregation at Nain for the final half of September until the last of December 1781], 1167, R.15.K.b.4.a, UAH; also 6 Mar. 1782, "Diarium der Hauss-Gemeine in Nain von den Monaten Jan., Febr. u. Merz 1782" [Diary of the house congregation at Nain for the months of January, February and March 1782], 30-31, R.15.K.b.4.a, UAH; also the diary for Okak of 24 July 1782, "Diarium des Hauss-Gemeinleins in Okkak von dem Monathe July 1782" [Diary of the little house congregation in Okak for the month of July 1782], 661-63, R.15.Kb.5.a, UAH; see also the German Nain Diary for 2 Oct. 1782, 94, R.5.K.b.4b, UAH.
- 121 Presumably the pilot of the boat, Kullak. See the entries in the German Nain Diary for 6 and 7 Sept. 1781 as well as the one for 23 Oct. 1781. See "Diarium der Hauss-Gemeine

- in Nain von den Monaten Aprill, May u[nd] Juny ab 1781" [Diary of the house congregation at Nain for the months July, Aug[ust] and until the 15th [of] Sept[ember] 1781], 1156-57; "Diarium der Hauss-Gemeine in Nain von der letzten Helfte Septbr. bis ult. Decbr. 1781" [Diary of the house congregation at Nain for the final half of September until the last of December 1781], 1167, R.15.K.b.4.a; UAH.
- 122 The modern meaning of the German word "geflugt" in the lacuna for boards is not certain. The syntax of the sentence creates difficulties as well.
- 123 One in Greenland (Lichtenfels, 1758) and three in Labrador (Nain, 1771; Okak, 1776; and Hopedale, 1782).
- 124 On the origins of Lichtenfels, Greenland, see David Cranz, *Historie von Groenland* (Barby: Heinrich Detlef Ebers; Leipzig: Weidmann, 1765), 870-926. As documented in this manuscript, it took seven years from the first exploration of Hopedale until its eventual settlement.
- 125 The correct German spelling is actually "Hoffenthal," not "Hoffentahl." From the beginning, the English name was Hopedale, which is also etymologically appropriate. Hoffen = to hope or the hope; "thal" = valley or dale. Hopedale was named in honour of the first Hopedale where missionaries had built a house at Nisbet Harbour in 1752. The 1752 Hopedale was later differentiated from the 1782 Hopedale as "Alt-Hoffenthal" or "Old-Hopedale."
- 126 According to the official *Sailing Directions: Labrador and Hudson Bay*, 6th ed. (Ottawa: Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 1988), 241, Hopedale Harbour lies in 55:27N 60:13W.
- 127 The sentence represents a difficult reading and is one of the many examples of Haven's unorthodox German grammar and orthography. I read "wenn sie keine Esq. som los haben" as "wenn sie keinen Esq[uimaux] zum Lotzen haben," in English: "if they have no Esq[imaux] for a pilot."
- 128 Because of Haven's defective punctuation, the clause "According to all estimates by one of these [people]" can also conclude the preceding sentence.
- 129 The Danish missionary Peder Dam, reviewing the Moravians' 100 years at Hopedale in 1882, noted the following in a German article: "100 years ago, our peninsula was covered in all valleys, gorges and on several mountain slopes with trees. Now it is almost totally deforested, and whoever wants to have real firewood or lumber must travel for several hours. As time progresses, it becomes increasingly impossible for our people to fetch a winter's supply of firewood by sled; and caring, industrious Eskimos have for years already seen to it in the fall that they bring in a sufficient amount of firewood by raft for the winter. See [Peder Petersen] Dam, "Rückblick auf die Geschichte der Missionsstation Hoffenthal in Labrador von deren Anfang im Jahr 1782 bis zum Jahr 1882" [Retrospect of the History of the Mission Station Hopedale in Labrador from its Beginnings in the Year 1782 until the Year 1882], *Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeine* 1882: 1048.
- 130 German: Ulken.
- 131 The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German word for beluga was "Weis[s]fische": "white fish."

- 132 Dam observed in 1882: "Arvertok means as much as 'to have many whales,' which name was given to this place only because there were many such fishes here. Now there are no longer any whales in our area. Even the small 18- to 20-foot-long white whales [beluga] have not been here for 30 or more years. Therefore it seemed to our people like a miracle when in the spring of 1881 suddenly they appeared again and four or five of them were captured." [Peder Petersen] Dam, "Rückblick auf die Geschichte der Missionsstation Hoffenthal in Labrador von deren Anfang im Jahr 1782 bis zum Jahr 1882," 1048-49.
- 133 "Rupper" is also listed in Moravian records as Rypen or Ripper and is likely a ptarmigan or grouse.
- 134 Schnepper or Schnäpper can represent a variety of robin.
- 135 "Rentiere"
- 136 "wolfering"
- 137 "fischotters"
- 138 "Martins"