

Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England

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ABSTRACT. In the late 18th century, a number of Labrador Inuit were at different times taken to England. Their lives, journeys, and likenesses were unusually well documented through writings and portraiture. Presented here are the histories of Mikak and her son Tutauk, brought to England by Francis Lucas in 1767, and of Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna, Tooklavinia, and Caubvick, who traveled to England in 1772 with Captain George Cartwright. These individuals, especially Mikak, played a part in Britain's expansion along the northeastern seaboard of Canada. Although the story is relatively well known to students of northern history, this retelling details source material and also clarifies discrepancies found in earlier publications. The portraits, which include two previously unknown depictions of Labrador Inuit, are particularly striking for their ethnographic content.

Key words: Labrador Inuit, voyages to England, portraits, Mikak, Tutauk, Karpik, Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna, Tooklavinia, Caubvick, Nooziliack, George Cartwright, Moravians

RÉSUMÉ. Vers la fin du XVIII^e siècle, des Inuits du Labrador ont été amenés en Angleterre à différents moments. Grâce à de nombreux écrits et portraits, la vie, le voyage et la ressemblance de ces Inuits ont été inhabituellement bien consignés. Cette communication relate l'histoire de Mikak et de son fils Tutauk, qui ont été amenés en Angleterre par Francis Lucas en 1767, ainsi que les histoires de Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna, Tooklavinia et Caubvick qui ont accompagné le commandant George Cartwright en Angleterre en 1772. Ces personnes, et surtout Mikak, ont joué un rôle dans l'expansion de la Grande-Bretagne le long de la côte nord-est du Canada. Bien que leur histoire soit relativement bien connue des étudiants de l'histoire du Nord, ce récit fait état des sources originales et jette de la lumière sur les divergences trouvées dans des publications antérieures. Le contenu ethnographique des portraits, qui comprennent deux représentations auparavant inconnues d'Inuits du Labrador, est particulièrement frappant.

Mots clés : Inuit du Labrador, voyages en Angleterre, portraits, Mikak, Tutauk, Karpik, Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna, Tooklavinia, Caubvick, Nooziliack, George Cartwright, Moravians

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INTRODUCTION

When Moravian Brother Christen Drachardt spoke for the first time with the many Inuit gathered at Chateau Bay, Labrador, he told them that he was a teacher, there to tell them of God the Creator. Two aged Inuit men stepped forward and declared that they too were Angekoks, and indicated that they knew of a Creator named Silla (Moravian Mission, 1962a: fo. 11).

Differing worldviews met that day in August 1765, well symbolized by male and female deities, and realized on the one hand in the missionary's denial of a viable Inuit belief system, and on the other, in the Inuit view that Europeans were difficult but necessary visitors. A mutual interest in trading set the stage for relatively peaceful British expansion in Labrador and became the fulcrum for irreversible changes in Inuit settlement, subsistence, religion, culture, and health.

The Moravian missionaries had arrived in Chateau Bay with Commodore Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland

and Labrador. Palliser was horrified by the treatment of Inuit at the hands of Europeans. He wrote of the "murthers, robberies and other disorders committed on the Indian inhabitants on the coast of Labrador" and described the source of the problem as "a Banditti Lawless People resorting thither from the Plantations, particularly those from New England and the winter inhabitants from Newfoundland" (CO 194/27, f. 178). Violent clashes between Inuit (who did not possess firearms at that time, and who are referred to as "Indians," "esquimau," or "esquimaude" in various early sources) and European fishers and whalers were frequent along the coast between the Strait of Belle Isle and Groswater Bay. By 1765, a pattern of attacks and counter-attacks between the two groups had been ongoing for at least 50 years. Many records of this conflict exist in French archival documents (RAPQ, 1922–23) up to 1763 and then in the earliest British accounts (CO 194/27). However, Inuit resilience and Christian blind faith, with the added fillip of future trade possibilities, allowed a shift in relations between the Inuit, the British, and the Moravians.

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Palliser's plans for Labrador during his three-year term of office included increasing British merchant presence, decreasing that of illegal New England whalers and privateers, and improving relations with the Inuit (CO 194/27, fos. 198, 211–224). To facilitate these interrelated issues, he commissioned a small blockhouse at Chateau Bay in 1766. It was named York Fort and manned by a garrison of about 20 soldiers (CO 194/27, fo. 262, 194/31, fo. 1). He further enlisted the help of the Moravians, members of a protestant church based in northern Europe and England that eventually had long-standing missions all over the world, in inducing the Inuit away from southern fishing stations. Between 1765 and 1769, Palliser encouraged the Moravians in their application to the British government for land grants north of Groswater Bay, and the first Moravian mission station was established in Nain in 1770. The Moravians' early success among the Inuit was greatly facilitated by the fact that two of the missionaries, Jens Haven and Christen Drachardt, could communicate in Inuktitut from their years at the Greenland mission. The British planned ultimately to end Inuit presence south of Groswater Bay. Although Inuit baleen, whale bone, and seal and whale oil were valuable commodities on the European market, the costs of acquiring them (in time lost to protection, pilfered tools and shallops, and even loss of life) outweighed the benefits. For a few years immediately after the 1763 Treaty of Paris, however, Inuit presence in the south was still substantial. Hundreds of Inuit stationed themselves between Cape Charles and Chateau Bay to trade with merchants and with French fishing crews on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula, and conflicts formed a constant part of these proceedings (CO 194/30:173; PA, 1790–96; Moravian Mission, 1962a; Lysaght, 1971; Rollman, 2002).

The stories of the Inuit women Mikak and Caubvik, of the man Attuiock, and of the other Labrador Inuit who journeyed to England in the late 18th century have been told before, and many readers will be familiar with these accounts (Cartwright, 1792; Jannasch, 1958; Savours, 1963; Lysaght, 1971; Pearson, 1978). In particular, Mikak's life has been the subject of a detailed and evocative two-part history prepared by J. Garth Taylor (1983, 1984), which is in part based on the original German Moravian documents translated by Helga Taylor. The Moravian source materials used in the present paper for the history of Mikak are chiefly the 18th century English translations of the annual *Nain Diary* (ND), which was written in German and then translated for the English brethren. The English translations are known to be summaries of the voluminous original writings; they are less detailed and can even contain errors (Rollman, 1984). Until the German sources become available in fully translated form, however, the English Moravian papers remain the source material for the majority of researchers. In compiling Mikak's history, I have wherever possible checked multiple sources, including the English version of the *Nain Diary*, in order to confirm the details of her life.

The Labrador Inuit described here were neither the first nor the last Inuit to journey across the Atlantic. The

transport of Inuit to Europe by the earliest Breton, Basque, and Dutch whalers was part of a long, disturbing tradition of bringing indigenous people from all parts of the expanding European world to courts and fairs as human curiosities (cf. Feest, 1989). The well-known 1566 broadsheets from Nuremburg, Augsburg, and Frankfurt tell of the early capture by French/Breton sailors in *Terra Nova* of a 20-year-old woman and her seven-year-old daughter and bear an engraving of the two (Sturtevant, 1980; Quinn, 1981). A decade later, in 1576, Martin Frobisher brought to London an Inuit man from Baffin Island, who died within two weeks of arrival, was painted in life and in death, and was buried in St. Olave's churchyard (Cheshire et al., 1980). The following year, Frobisher brought another party of three Inuit to England. Like the Labrador Inuit described below, this group was considered a potentially valuable source of information on northern geography and resources, if only they could be taught English. The remarkable resemblance these Inuit bore to northern Asiatic peoples, suggesting proximity to a place of fabled riches, was not lost on members of the Company of Cathay. These three were also documented, painted, and variously studied until their deaths, which again followed quickly upon arrival (Hulton and Quinn, 1964; Cheshire et al., 1980; Sturtevant and Quinn, 1989; Watts and Savours, 1999). Yet another painting in Bergen depicts a family of four Greenlanders tragically abducted by a trader in 1654 (Issenman, 1997:29). These are to date the earliest pictorial accounts we have of Inuit in Europe. The items listed in the 1642 inventory of the Danish *Museum Wormianum*, which include Inuit bird, seal, and gut skin clothing, as well as a kayak and paddle (Bahnson, 2005), hint at yet other Inuit who were fated to meet Europeans. As an interesting aside, in at least three different and unusual cases, Inuit made the journey across the North Atlantic unassisted by Europeans. In 1682 and 1684, "Finmen" who were thought to have originated in the Davis Strait region were recorded in the Orkneys. Each came in a boat of "fish skins...so contrived that he can never sink...his shirt he has is so fastnd to the Boat that no water can come into his Boat to do him damage" (Wallace, 1688, quoted in Savours, 1963:337). In the early 18th century, an Inuit voyager was found in Scottish waters and brought to Aberdeen, where his kayak is still on display at Marischal College (MC, 2002).

The histories of the Labrador Inuit presented here merit re-telling if only for the purpose of record maintenance: the separate stories overlap in time and space and even share characters, but points of intersection have led to confusion and error in later writings. My main purpose, however, is to present a rare body of unusually detailed information about specific individuals whose experiences, while not representative of all Labrador Inuit, nevertheless tell us a great deal about colonial impacts upon Inuit society and culture, Inuit cultural resilience, cross-cultural relations, and Inuit as active economic players during Labrador's early colonial period. The fact that written documentation can be combined with the added medium of portraiture enhances the historiographic capability of this body of material. The

portraits have significant scholarly appeal as ethnohistorical records, and they possess an abiding general appeal as aesthetic works. A small sample of oral accounts relating to these Inuit is also considered. Oral traditions in Labrador form a rich and pervasive aspect of society and have long served to preserve community, family, and individual histories. In the case of Mikak, oral accounts have introduced new details that differ from documented information but nevertheless serve to keep alive an important historical narrative. Finally, the documented histories of these Inuit are retold in order to ensure that, through their repetition, they become a better-known part of northern heritage.

THE LIFE OF MIKAK (CA. 1740–1795)

Mikak's story unfolds at a time of tremendous colonial impacts along the eastern seaboard that were felt by all indigenous peoples in northeastern North America. When Mikak (variant spellings include Mykok, Mecock, and others) was very young, both shores of the Strait of Belle Isle were seasonally populated by large numbers of French fishing crews and, to a lesser extent, by winter sealing crews (RAPQ, 1922–23; Whiteley, 1969). European shore stations for drying summer cod and for autumn and spring sealing occupied most of the good coves and harbours as far north as Chateau Bay (Fig. 1). After 1763, when the Labrador stations passed to the British, expansion came swiftly, and by the 1780s, British merchant stations dotted the entire south-central coast and operated all year long (Stopp, 2008). As already noted, Britain's plan for moving Inuit off the coast was chiefly effected through an arrangement with the Moravian Church, which subsequently established mission-cum-trade stations north of Hamilton Inlet that succeeded in bringing an end to significant Inuit presence in the southern region (Whiteley, 1969; CO 194/27).

Mikak stepped onto history's stage at this time, when Britain wished to transplant Inuit away from the southernmost coast of Labrador, when tensions between the two peoples had reached a flash point, and, fortuitously, when the new governor considered it of utmost importance to protect the indigenous inhabitants under his jurisdiction from growing depredations (CO 194/27:78; CO 194/30:173; Whiteley, 1969, 1977). Mikak was a woman in her early twenties when she first encountered the Moravian missionaries who figured so largely in her life a few years later. In 1765, she was one of a group of Inuit who hosted the Brethren when they were forced by bad weather to stay in the tent of Segullia, where they also witnessed his shamanic dance (Moravian Mission, 1962a). Segullia, whom the Moravians described as a noted "sorcerer," was the brother of Tuglavina, who later became Mikak's partner for a time. In 1765, Mikak had a partner whose identity is unknown and a young son named Tutauk.

Two years later, in 1767, Palliser was able to report a profitable fishery (the quantity of cod, salmon, and train oil taken in at Chateau Bay was nearly three times greater than in the Strait of Belle Isle), but conflicts between Inuit

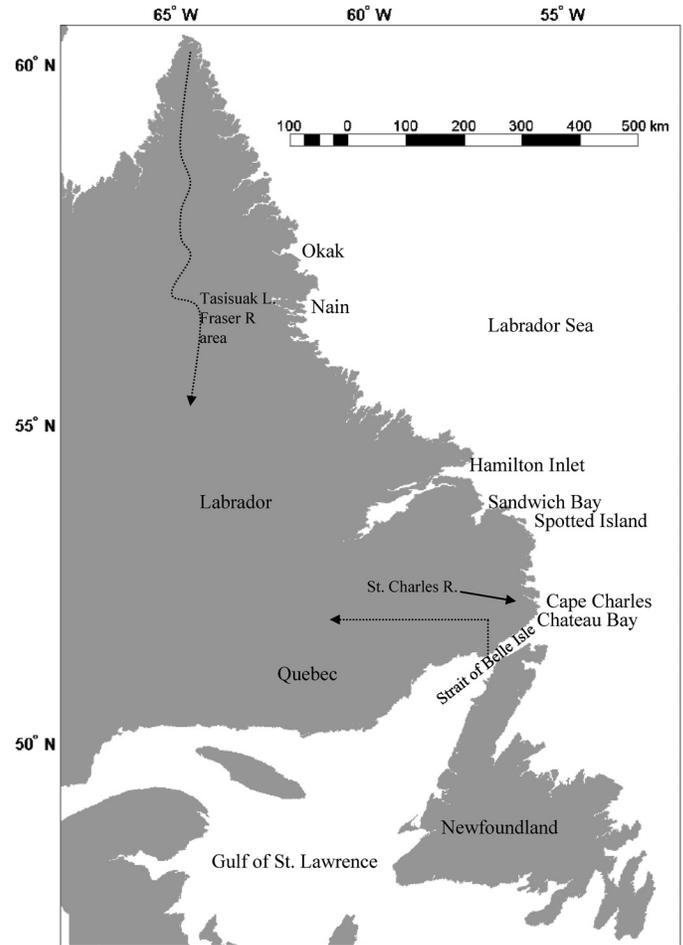


FIG. 1. Map of study area and place names.

and Europeans along the coast continued (CO 194/27, fos. 251, 340). One of the prominent merchants trading at Chateau Bay was Captain Nicholas Darby, who had at least four posts between Forteau and St. Lewis Inlet. Darby had retreated to Forteau after a fight with Inuit at Cape Charles in August 1767, abandoning a large salmon-fishing station at the St. Charles River (that had swivel guns installed on an overlooking hill as defence against the Inuit), and a sealing outpost at Cape Charles. Several Inuit were killed in this fight, as well as three of Darby's men, and three Inuit women and six children were captured (Cartwright, 1792; Lysaght, 1971; Taylor, 1983).

These figures (three women and six children) are from Palliser's records (CO 194/28:25), but other details of this skirmish vary according to source. For instance, Cartwright (1792, 30 March 1770) recorded only that three "servants of Cape Charles" were killed, referring to Darby's men. Their killing is confirmed by the 1770 confession made to Haven and Drachardt by Segluinak and Ikkiunak, two Inuit men who also admitted to having stolen two boats at that time (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 16 July 1770; Privy Council, 1927:1364). Haven (Rollman, n.d.a) simply recorded "many of them [Inuit] having been shot in an affray which happened between them and the English." Another Moravian

record states that three Europeans were killed, two boats stolen, and 20 Inuit killed (Anonymous, 1833:74–75). More recent sources have followed the latter source in quoting 20 Inuit killed, and nine women and children captured (Jannasch, 1958:84; Anick, 1976:63; Whiteley, 2000). Taylor (1983:6) states that the skirmish resulted in the deaths of 20 Inuit on one day and four others on the following day, and that nine women and children were captured. Relevant here, however, is that it was this 1767 incident that resulted in the capture of Mikak and her son Tutauk. Along with other captured women and children, they were taken to York Fort, where they remained for the winter.

During Mikak's lengthy stay at York Fort, she began to learn English, while Captain Francis Lucas, who was second-in-command, learned something of Inuktitut. In the autumn of 1768, Lucas brought the Inuit to St. John's. There, Palliser directed Lucas to bring some of them to England in hopes of establishing better communications with the Inuit and increasing the trade in oil and whale bone, "which are become very considerable articles of commerce" (CO 194/28, fo. 25). Following a short stay in St. John's, Mikak and her six-year-old son Tutauk set sail for England, along with a 13-year-old orphaned boy named Karpik, who sailed in another vessel (Rollman, n.d.b, 1871; Moravian Mission, 1962b, 17 July 1770; Whiteley, 1969:159; Taylor, 1983:5). Some secondary sources variously state that only Mikak and a boy Karpik were brought to England, omitting Mikak's son Tutauk (Plischke, 1960:103); or, that only Mikak and "her small son" were brought to England, omitting Karpik (Jannasch, 1958:84); and, that Mikak's "son remained in England to be educated as a Moravian missionary," when it was Karpik who remained in England, not Tutauk (Savours, 1963:338).

The remaining six Inuit appear to have stayed in St. John's that winter, but little is known of their time there (Taylor, 1983:6). That at least one woman and child from this group eventually made it back to Labrador is suggested by a Moravian diary entry from 1770 that reads, "I also saw the woman and her daughter who were left in Newfoundland. She is a good simple Creature who likes to hear of our Saviour" (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 17 July 1770).

Mikak's time in England was relatively well documented by a number of contemporary observers that included Moravians, members of British society, and government officials. As Taylor (1983) observed, she impressed the English tremendously and seems to have been a charismatic and intelligent woman, aware of her impression on people, and sensitive to its impact. Her ability to speak some English led to connections with well-known personalities of the time. She became reacquainted with an old friend from Chateau Bay, the Moravian missionary Jens Haven, who was in London petitioning for the right to establish a mission in Labrador. She also met with Governor Hugh Palliser, the famous portraitist John Russell, the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Bathurst, and others. The Earl of Bathurst has left us an interesting and faceted account of Mikak that merits quoting in full:

There is so much to be said in relation to the Esquimaux lady, that I shan't be able to go through it. She has an admirable understanding. She has been twice with the princess, who is as fond of her as I am. Twice she has dined with me, and tho' I had very good dinners, she would eat nothing but Salmon...The Princess of Wales [Augusta, the dowager Princess of Wales, mother of George III] ordered me to bring her to Carlton House and there would have something handsome made up for her in her own country fashion. I was to undertake it, with the assistance of the sea-officer who brought her over, and with whom she lives. I got red and white leather for her boots, black velvet for under breeches, and white shag for upper. All these she would make up herself, not suffering any man to touch her. We then got a cloth which was white on the outside and blue within. This was finely laced with gold lace, and a pike before which came down to her knees, with a gold fringe. Behind there was a large cape which might come over the head, but was for another use, viz. to carry a child in. They can bring the child round to give it suck, and then clap it behind upon their back. From the shoulders down to the ground there was a tail, not unlike a fishes [sic] tail. This is what distinguishes the woman from the man. We added fine embroidery upon breast and tail, and she was much pleased with it. I carried her to Carlton House. She would go in a chair, that with curtains drawn she might not be seen. She loves pictures and music extremely, but thinks it indecent to see the pictures of naked men and women.

When she was coming away from the Princess, she talked with the officer, who understands her language, and is perhaps the only man in England who does; for it is the Greenland, not the Indian language. She seemed uneasy. The Princess enquired what the matter was. She said she wanted to go home and change her dress, for she could not dine at my house in that dress with company, and be seen by servants. She could not bear to be laughed at. All women here wore petticoats. Upon this the Princess took her into another room, put on her a head-dress, a damask petticoat, and a mantle, and she came out very well satisfied, and dined at my house. The ladies with me had some difficulty to make her shew her own dress.

What you have been told is true as to the Esquimaux, which makes it the more extraordinary that this woman should discover such marks of sense. She has her son with her, who is extremely like her, and about eight years old. Another boy is just come over, who was brought in another ship, but taken prisoner at the same time. They are all to be sent back in May, and it is hoped they may be assistant in making some Treaty with those people, and open a trade for whale fishing.

(Letter from Earl of Bathurst to the Reverend Joshua Parry, Parry collection, Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge, quoted from Savours, 1963:337).

Joseph Banks, the botanist and zoologist who had spent part of the summer of 1766 at Chateau Bay collecting plant and animal specimens, was disappointed when his researches took him away from England at the time of Mikak's arrival (he was aboard the *Endeavour* with Captain James Cook). He had seen no Inuit while in Labrador and was keen and curious to meet a representative of these people. Banks commissioned a portrait of Mikak and Tutauk that was painted in his absence by John Russell. The portrait (Fig. 2) shows young Tutauk peeking out from behind his mother's left elbow, although at least one source (Plischke, 1960:103) has incorrectly identified the child as Karpik. Mikak is shown wearing a traditional *amauti* with under-arm inserts, banded decoration on the cuffs, and a front v-shaped insert. She has faint horizontal tattoo lines across each cheek and above each eyebrow, and vertical lines from lower lip to chin. The pendant strands of white, red, and black trade beads hanging from shaped brass ear pieces and the brass headband epitomize Labrador Inuit styles (cf. Karklins, 1992; Hood, 2008:236). The gold-and-pearl bracelet she wears was given to her by the Duke of Gloucester, and she holds a gold George III coronation pin.

Joseph Banks eventually gave this portrait to the anatomist and anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, his friend and colleague at the Georg-August University of Göttingen and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Blumenbach had expressed an interest in obtaining copies of Banks' various ethnographical portraits, specifically asking for a copy of the Mikak portrait in December 1796. Banks sent several pictures to Blumenbach in April 1797, including the original Russell portrait of Mikak and Tutauk, as well as a pair of watercolour copies of portraits of Caubvick and Attuoick, whose experiences are described in the next section (Dawson, 1958:113–115, 203; Lysaght, 1971:84).

While in London, Mikak lived with Francis Lucas. Jens Haven visited her there several times with the intention of obtaining her help in petitioning for the establishment of a mission among the Inuit. Lucas had little liking for the Moravians, and Haven had to show written orders from Governor Palliser in order to visit. Lucas seems to have been jealous of Mikak's interaction with the Moravians and the other influential people she was meeting, yet mindful of the social doors she opened for him (Taylor, 1983, 1984). The Moravians, for their part, referred to Lucas as a "fleshly" (Taylor, 1983:8) and unsavoury opportunist, and from their accounts, we learn that Mikak also came to mistrust him. A quote from Taylor (1983:8) illustrates the interrelationship between Lucas, Mikak, the Moravians, and Palliser:

Mikak and Lucas were invited to the residence of Governor Palliser. On that occasion, the Governor asked Haven, who was also present, to tell Mikak that "she should get to know about the Lord." Haven tried to put off the request until a later time, suggesting that for the moment such a discussion could only lead to problems. He probably anticipated interference from Lucas, who had tried to tell Mikak that there was a God, but had



FIG. 2. Mikak and her son Tutauk. Painted by John Russell, 1769, for Joseph Banks. Reproduced with permission, 2007. © The Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Germany. Photo by H. Haase.

done so amid "much lightheartedness" and apparently, with little success.

Fully aware that Mikak "did not understand Lucas at all in this matter," Palliser was curious whether or not Haven would be more successful and urged him to try. Haven finally gave in and was encouraged when Mikak not only understood him quite well, but promised, "I shall certainly get to know the Lord because I want to get to the eternal joy." Then Mikak asked whether this was the message that Lucas had been trying to tell her. After Lucas owned that it was, she turned on him with this sharp and spirited attack: "Oh, you miserable person! You know God and you live worse than the Inuit. I do not believe that you know God."...When [Palliser] learned what Mikak had said, the Governor added to Lucas's discomfiture by saying: "There you have it. A heathen woman can judge well who is a child of God and who is not. From the fruit you recognize the tree."

Mikak had further meetings with the Brethren and espoused the Moravian cause wherever she went in London. Shortly before her departure from England she learned of the success of Haven's petition.

Mikak and Tutauk sailed from London in the summer of 1769, again in the company of Francis Lucas. Karpik stayed behind under the care of the Moravians, to be educated at the Moravian school in Fulneck, Yorkshire, in hopes that he might return to Labrador and "be of use to the Mission."

Sadly, he died of smallpox shortly after Mikak's departure, and she learned of his death a year later (PA, 1790–96, Vol. 2:170–172). A brief document about Karpik's life—written in Inuktitut, probably by Drachardt, as a sort of study primer—forms part of the microfilmed Moravian papers at Library and Archives Canada (Relation, 1769).

Mikak left London with Haven's promise that the Brethren would return to Labrador, and charged with the continuing task of promoting the Moravians' cause, this time among her own people. Mikak and Tutauk were safely delivered to Labrador, and in November 1769, Lucas wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough, "I am arrived from the coast of Labrador where the Indians were landed in the 55th degree of north latitude by Capt. Chapman of the Nautilus sloop, but we had not the good fortune to see any of the natives" (CO, 194/28:91).

We can hardly imagine the effect this journey must have had on Mikak, and that of her return upon her people, who undoubtedly expected never to see her again. It is remarkable indeed that she and Tutauk succeeded in returning to their homeland without succumbing to European diseases, especially smallpox. Although not the first Inuit to be taken to Europe from Labrador, they were quite possibly the first to ever return.

Mikak's homecoming by no means marked the end of her ties with England. She single-handedly lobbied among her people for acceptance of the Moravian's future presence. When Jens Haven and Christen Drachardt returned to Labrador in July 1770, in an initial reconnaissance to find a site for the mission, the first Inuit they met inquired whether what Mikak had told them was true, that the Moravians intended to live in Labrador. "We told them it was at which they rejoiced greatly," wrote Haven (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 15 July 1770). Among these Inuit was Mikak's father, Nerkingoak. He "made a terrible outcry as he approached us [then] came on board. He had an Officer's breast plate on and a pair of English Wash leather Gloves, in other respects he was dressed like another Esquimaux" (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 16 July 1770). The Moravians learned from Nerkingoak that he had given his daughter a new name, Nutarrak, signifying "changed or new born," because he found her so different upon her return from Europe. They also learned that Mikak was camped nearby and had a new husband named Tuglavina (variant name spellings include Tuglavinia and Tugluina; cf. also Taylor, 2000).

Mikak and her family arrived the next day. To meet her old friends, she wore the "rich Esquimaux Habit which the Princess Dowager of Wales got made for her in London of fine White Cloth laced with Gold and embroidered with many gold Stars & a Golden Medal of the King hanging at her Breast. Her Cloaths were quite clean and neat. She could use some English words very properly, as How do you do Sir, very well Sir, I thank you Sir. She was welcomed and invited on board with many English Complements and she knew very well how to return them" (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 17 July 1770).

Mikak expressed her pleasure at seeing the Moravians again, for she had effectively prepared the way for them. They remained cautious, however, and demanded evidence of Inuit approval, even going so far as to admonish, "I must tell you that if your Country People attempt to Steal, Murder or do us any other mischief Our Captain, whom you see here, will not let it pass unpunished but will make use of his Guns in his and our defence" (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 17 July 1770). Mikak showed strength of character and a negotiator's skill when she countered that "she was not pleased that we had such bad thoughts of her Country People, whom she assured us loved us and would rejoice at our living among them and their behaviour would be such as to give us no cause to alter our determination to come and settle here another year." To the accusations that there were known thieves and murderers among the Inuit, she was quick to point out that the same existed among the English (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 17 July 1770).

A pilot was needed to bring the ship through unknown coastal waters from their landfall somewhere between Nain and Hopedale to Hamilton Inlet, where the Board of Trade had granted the Moravians 100 000 acres of land the previous year (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 18 July 1770; Privy Council, 1 March 1927; Hiller, 2001). Mikak and Tuglavina agreed to the task rather than voyaging southwards to trade at Chateau Bay, as planned. During this coastal journey, Haven made several observations concerning Mikak, such as "her husband is very fond of her and extremely cautious not to leave her alone with the Europeans," and that "Mikack now Nutarrak...appears as a great Lady among [the Inuit]" (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 17 July 1770).

Mikak facilitated many meetings between the missionaries and her people during this trip. The Brethren preached to large numbers of Inuit in her tent, which had been a gift from Governor Palliser. She aided the Moravian cause by telling the Inuit how well she had been treated in England and by openly expressing her interest in the Moravian teachings. On board ship, Br. Drachardt preached to Mikak, Tuglavina, and Tutauk on a daily basis. Among the Moravians, Drachardt was the avowed and determined proselytizer, while Haven was less inclined to preach than to interact with the Inuit over everyday affairs, and to handle the duties of mapping and sailing. (A third Moravian was in charge of trading with Inuit, which was done on board ship.) Opportunities for preaching to the Inuit arose wherever the ship landed, as did several chances to challenge the often displayed performances of the local *angakok*, or Inuit shaman. At one point in the voyage, Mikak expressed fear of one of these individuals, stating that she wished to stay with the Moravians until they had reached Esquimaux Bay (today's Hamilton Inlet). Before reaching the great bay, Mikak received permission to bring aboard her stepson from her former marriage, who had no one to care for him, and "who appeared in a wretched condition being lousy scal'd headed and dirty. He was directly stripped of his cloaths and...the woman [Mikak] with all her finery cleansed him from his vermin, on which she had a delicious repast (namely, she ate

the lice)” (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 27 July 1770; Taylor, 1983:12).

When the Inuit who “live at the entrance of Esquimaux Bay” were finally reached, Mikak “put on a fine silk gown and every thing suitable according to the dress of an English lady and begged I would protect her from any insults, which she was afraid the [Inuit] might offer to her” (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 29 July 1770). This interesting passage suggests that Mikak may have donned her European clothing less for reasons of vanity, since she was quite afraid of being jeered at, than as a gesture of respect and diplomacy on behalf of the new visitors. Clearly, she was conscious of judgement by her own people, yet willing to brave belittlement on behalf of the Moravians, a quality that went unappreciated. She again allowed Drachardt to use her tent so that he could preach indoors to the roughly 300 Inuit who lived in this harbour, and the next day the Moravians used her small boat to reconnoitre the area for a suitable place for the mission station (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 28 July 1770).

On 4 August, the Moravians prepared to return to England for the winter. Mikak gave Haven five fox skins to deliver to friends in England; two for the Dowager Princess of Wales, one for the Duke of Gloucester, and two for Governor Palliser. She and Tuglavina reconfirmed to Haven that the Inuit wished them to live in Labrador: “They assured me that they would explain it to, and remind their Country people both at their hunting and in winter of what they had heard from us, and the promises they had made.” The next day Tuglavina helped to pilot the *Jersey* out of the islands but was anxious to return to his camp, “lest any one should in his absence run away with his wife” (Moravian Mission, 1962b, 4–5 Aug 1770).

The following year, in 1771, the Moravians returned to the Nain area, where they intended to build their mission, possibly because it would draw Inuit farther from the south. The Inuit contested the site’s suitability, cautioning that “they [the Inuit] could not earn their living here, some said they did not stay in their houses here above 2 months in the Year and that they went from hence to the Continent, where they build themselves little Houses in the Woods, make great Fire, & in the Day time hunt Rain-Deer, Bears & Wolfes” (ND, 6 Nov. 1772).

Fourteen Moravians came to Nain in 1771, including Jens Haven and his new bride, as well as other veterans of the Labrador coast such as Christen Drachardt and Andreas Schloezer, all under the leadership of the surgeon Christoph Brasen (Rollman, 2002:8). As before, Mikak was their necessary link with the area and its inhabitants. Although Haven and Drachardt could communicate in Inuktitut, it is uncertain and even unlikely that they could have integrated themselves quite as readily without Mikak’s efforts as interlocutor and ambassador. Upon reaching the northern coast in early August of 1771, the Moravians immediately inquired about Mikak’s whereabouts. When the two parties met, Mikak was dressed in her “fine embroidered gold Dress.” Unappreciative of the gesture, the diarist noted that “it looks very silly, when one compares her with the

other Esquimaux” (ND, 25 Aug. 1771). The Moravians had brought presents in the name of the Royal Family for Mikak in return for the fox skins she had sent the previous year; Mikak’s ties with English ruling families, however distant, had undoubtedly served the Moravians well.

Once the building of the mission at Nain had begun, relations between the Moravians and Mikak and Tuglavina began to shift. The earliest signs of discontent, as recorded in the *Nain Diary*, came when Tuglavina could not trade six whale “fins” for a sail, which he may have considered his due after his efforts on the mission’s behalf (ND, 3–25 Aug. 1771, 11 Sept. 1771; the term “fin” may refer to baleen).

Over the next two years, Tuglavina and Mikak continued to follow a traditional Inuit way of life, traveling inland for caribou hunting in late summer to the upper reaches of the Tasisuak Lake/Fraser River drainage, and moving in the cold months to encampments at Kangartlorsoak, and especially Nuchasusatok, in the outer islands of the Nain archipelago, where seals, sea birds, and other marine resources could be hunted.

For many Inuit, traditional Inuit settlement patterns in the Nain area shifted somewhat during these years because of the dual pull of remaining near the mission station for its supplies and apparent securities, and maintaining traditional resource harvest patterns. The Moravians faced a parallel dilemma, wishing that Inuit would remain close to the fold but not so close that they had to be their arbiters and caregivers. Nor did they want the Inuit to live far from the mission, fearing lapses into traditional practices that included exchanging spouses and practicing shamanic rituals for healing or increasing the harvest. Yet they wished the Inuit to remain self-sufficient and economically viable and especially not to become dependent on mission foods (ND, 1771–74).

The early spring of 1773 marked a tipping point in Mikak’s relations with the Moravians. She initially expressed great joy that the Moravians had made it through their first winter in good health. When she rounded the cape into Nain Bay on 11 April, after a winter on the outer islands at Kangartlorsoak, she had looked for the smoke of their chimneys as a sign that they were well (ND, 1773). She learned of the death of the Dowager Princess of Wales the next day and stated that she had no more desire to go to England. Her husband and his brother Segullia, a man the Moravians considered a “sorcerer” and charlatan, had the previous year perturbed the Moravians by stating that they wished to go to England—possibly inspired by trade possibilities (ND, 1773). Letters from Nain to London brought the intended trip to the attention of the Board of Trade and the British Moravian Church, both of which discouraged it. Moravian Church leader James Hutton wrote a vehement letter to Lord Dartmouth, pointing out that such visits were chiefly for wealth accumulation and could only lead to dissolution. His harsh remarks about Mikak were likely inspired by information about Mikak’s previous visit to England, accounts of Cartwright’s Inuit, and possibly other information received about Mikak and Tuglavina in letters from the

Nain mission. An excerpt from Hutton's letter shows that Mikak had undergone a transformation in Moravian minds, from a necessary ambassador of good will into a handy example of the perils of attempting to bridge cultures:

Mikak the Eskimaux Woman who had been taken so much notice of in England, wanted to return hither with her new Husband & son in order to get a new Boat, etc.

As Government had repeatedly expressed their Dislike to these savage Apparitions in England, on account of the staring, gaping & rude behaviour of many people towards the Savages, offensive to their peculiar Turn for Modesty & Humanity, and preventive of every respectfull Idea of the British Nation which it were to be wished the Savages might have, and as Lord Hillsborough had mentioned it to us, our Missionaries prevented the Return of Mikak to England.

Those Eskimaux who had heard of the fine Presents Mikak had received in England were envious of her Riches & she was obliged to hide them in Holes and Corners. [H]er presents are now spoild & good for nothing; & she Herself is far from being happier by what She received in England. She is prouder, more wretched and miserable than she was before, less contented with the Station she must however submit to & less fit to enjoy for the future, what other Eskimaux call Enjoyment of Life.

We can not but look on such voyages as highly undesirable, not only on account of the scandalous Immorality they become Witnesses of & subject to, not only on account of the Expense which is not provided for, but on account of their being spoil'd for that State of Life to which God has called Them.

If the Presents given to some do not equal those given to others, if these are less than those given before to Mikak, whatever is given is lost & becomes a Means of Ill-Will instead of a better Impression of the English Nation & of Jealousy, Envy & possibly Murther at home.

The Scandalous Life Mikak led, at least for a great part of the time, after she came into European hands, ought not to make in her mind any favourable Idea of the Religion of that Nation where she had lived. She must have much to unlearn, and may probably be one of the latest to embrace Christianity in earnest.

(Dartmouth fonds:2358, Letter of James Hutton,
5 Jan. 1773)

The unravelling of Mikak's relationship with the Moravians was largely due to events and perceptions beyond her control, and it was determined to a great extent by the actions of Tuglavina, even after he had left her.

Mikak was unwell in early 1773, her legs swelled by scurvy but still "cheerful in her way" (ND, 12 April 1773). Late in April, however, she came to Nain accompanied by her father Nerkingoak and other family members with whom Tuglavina had recently feuded (Letters, 4 Nov. 1772; ND, 12

April 1773). She was feeling "much grieved at her husband's bad treatment of her," for Tuglavina had stolen Nochasok, Mikak's sister and the wife of a man named Pualo, had left Mikak, and gone northwards (ND, 23 April 1773; Taylor, 1984:20). Tuglavina appears to have been an Inuk feared by many, who severely challenged his own people, transgressed on a grand scale every edict set by the Moravians, but was nevertheless allowed back into their fold time and time again. Mikak's "sins" over the years were minor compared to his, yet she became tarred by the same brush, fading from the Moravians' sphere of interest while Tuglavina was actively wooed by them. To the Moravians, Tuglavina, as a leading male and a powerful transgressor, may have been the ideal foil: if they could change his behaviour and bring him into the church, then others would follow. He was accepted as a Candidate for Baptism in 1781 (ND, 15 Jan 1781), managed to be baptised at Chateau Bay by a Presbyterian minister around 1783, and was accepted into the Moravian congregation in 1783 (PA, 1790-96, Vol. 1:251; Taylor, 2000). Mikak, on the other hand, faced rejection on these fronts until the end of her life.

After stealing Pualo's wife for a month, Tuglavina returned to Nain. When Haven and Brasen visited him, they also found Mikak in his tent, looking very downcast. The Brethren admonished him for his treatment of Mikak and for taking another man's wife, and shortly thereafter, Tuglavina and Mikak left together for Kangartlorsoak. She returned to Nain by the end of July, quite ill of a "dropsical Disorder" and came under the care of the Moravians (ND, 12 May, 24 July 1773; Moravian Mission, 1962c:64).

At this time, the mission station received a visit from Lieutenant Roger Curtis, who was under orders of Governor Shuldham to observe the state of the mission and map the coast between Nain and Chateau Bay. While at Nain, Curtis described Mikak as follows:

The missionaries frequently call upon her to corroborate their representations of the Power and Grandeur of our kingdom, and in this particular she is found to be very serviceable. She has a very sickly appearance, and is troubled with a dropsical complaint, which is most probably the consequence of the changes in her manner of living, which her being carried from her own country inevitably occasioned. She has lost nothing of any value, that was given her in England. I saw the coronation medal that was presented to her by the Princess Dowager, the bracelets which the Duke of Gloucester gave her, and several other trinkets. The missionaries told me that when she was informed of the Princess's death, her grief was excessive, and she seems to retain great gratitude for all those who were civil to her during the term she was in England. She is not very happy with her present husband, because it is her misfortune to have no children by him, and for that reason he considers her rather as a burthen than a blessing to him.

(Moravian Mission, 1962a:64).

In the spring of 1774, the *Nain Diary* relates, both Mikak and Tuglavina wished to be baptized. Mikak had a second son or stepson by this time, but documents contain very little information about the child. The Moravians refer to him as “her” son, implying that the father may not have been Tuglavina, who had again abandoned Mikak for Pualo’s wife, Nochasok, on 1 May 1774, and then again “by force and violence” on 29 September 1775 (ND; also Taylor, 1984:21–22). After each incident, the Moravians determined that they would have nothing further to do with him. Upon Tuglavina’s September departure, Mikak took Tutauk, who was also known as Palliser in honour of her friendship with the former governor, and presumably also her other son, and entered into a partnership with Pualo that lasted until his death in about 1784.

Over the next several years Mikak and Pualo passed through Nain several times, often in company with Tuglavina and his family, and continued to live a traditional lifestyle that involved hunting for caribou in the interior, moving to Nuchasusatok for the winter, and traveling south to trade during the summer (a choice for which the Moravians judged Mikak severely). In the winter of 1779–80, she and Pualo, along with Tuglavina and family and several others, decided to remain in the interior rather than move to their usual winter camp near the ice edge. They had a surfeit of caribou meat stored under the snow that they thought would last them until spring. The group’s plans were reversed, however, when wolves routed most of the cached meat and Tuglavina became dangerously ill. An Inuk from the camp reached Nain with this news in late January, and in early February two sleds left the mission to fetch the families. This journey inland is well known to Labrador researchers through the account of Brother Turner, who traveled with Samuel, Nerkingoak (probably Mikak’s father), and two other Inuit to rescue the stranded party (ND, Jan.–Feb. 1780; also Taylor, 1969).

The following winter, Mikak and Pualo planned to camp at their winter place at Nuchasusatok, but the Moravians convinced them to remain at Nain, despite concerns that they would starve because the mission was far from good sealing places. The Brethren’s reason was that they wished to “see won for our Saviour” Mikak’s two sons Tutauk/Palliser and Nerkingoak (ND, 2 Nov. 1780. This source contains a second possible name for the younger boy: Manumina). Mikak took the opportunity to express her wish that her entire family become Candidates for Baptism, and she impressed the Brethren with her reasoning:

Mikak, who always speaks for her husband, gave us to understand, that her whole family were desirous to obtain the knowledge of our Saviour, which was the reason, why they wintered here; they desire also to be among the Candidates for Baptism. After she had talked a good while, she was asked, whether she believed in her own mind, that she was quite corrupt and good for nothing. She said, after a little pause, “I do not know myself, and therefore I do not know it.” We were much

pleased with this her upright answer; for else the Esqx. like to speak what they think will please us.

(ND, 13 Nov. 1780)

A few weeks later, Pualo, Palliser, and others were chosen as Candidates for Baptism, and they were baptised in January 1781, but, for reasons not explained in the *Nain Diary*, Mikak was not included. Shortly thereafter, Tuglavina also requested and received baptism. In keeping with Moravian practices of giving Christian names upon baptism, Pualo received the name Abraham and Tutauk/Palliser was given the name Jonathan.

Many Inuit at Nain suffered from famine in the winter of 1780–81, and by February, Mikak and Pualo had moved to the outer islands, to the “North Islands towards the sea, about 7 leagues away” (ND, 21 March 1781). Their move from the mission was undoubtedly spurred by Mikak’s rejection for baptism, for after this she began to distance herself from the mission. In 1782, she and Pualo formed part of a large group of Inuit who caused the Moravians great anguish when they traveled to Chateau Bay to trade and live along the southern coast. While there, Mikak and Pualo purchased a large boat on credit, while Tuglavina and Pualo each received a gun, shot, and powder, and possibly also swords and fox traps (Letters, 7 Oct. 1783). The Moravians were concerned about Inuit trips to the south partly because they violated government edicts of 1770 and 1771, but also because they meant loss of souls (and trade). In the south, they feared, the Inuit would inevitably practice shamanism, receive alcohol and more firearms, and be subject to European diseases such as smallpox and venereal disease (ND, 4 Dec. 1782; PA, 1790–96, Vol. 1:50).

Upon their brief return to Nain a year later, Pualo approached the Moravians on behalf of Mikak, asking that she might soon be baptized “in order to be received more kindly when she goes to the South.” At this the Moravians recoiled, writing that he “has lost all Grace which was to be received in him some time ago; and all his thoughts are taken up with the Europeans that live in the South,” and rejected the request absolutely (ND, 23 Jan. 1783).

More than 180 Inuit, including Mikak and Pualo and some from north of Nain, traveled to Chateau Bay in the summer of 1783. Many remained there for a year, and some for two years, while others lived at Spotted Islands. Those who returned to Nain confirmed the Moravians’ predictions of disaster: several Inuit had died, including five of the 19 baptized Inuit who had gone south; Nerkingoak, Mikak’s father, had ordered the death of a woman in order that she might keep her dead brother company; Pualo shot a young man by the name of Sirkoak because he had partnered with Mikak, but Sirkoak survived after receiving treatment when he reached Nain; Pualo may have died of an infection at this time; two Inuit men were shot dead “for the sake of their wives” by Tuglavina and another Inuk called Adlucock; one woman hanged herself; and many wives were stolen (ND, 6 Sept. 1784; Cartwright, 1792, 2 Aug. 1785).

For many years thereafter, the Moravians struggled with a continuing exodus of Inuit southward. Many Inuit turned their backs on the church and were “grown so wild.” Tutauk/Palliser, by this time in his twenties, rejected his baptismal name for his other European name: “Mikak’s Son, who as a Child had been with his Mother in London & was presented to their Majesties, and named Palliser after the Governor of Newfoundland at that time, now always goes by that Name among the Esquimaux and will not be called otherwise though he was baptized Jonathan” (Letters, 25 Aug. 1790).

Little more is learned about Mikak’s life after her rejection for baptism and her first trips to the south in the early 1780s. For many years she continued to trade in this manner, probably still traveling south in 1790. She may have spent only brief periods in Nain while occasionally en route to her main winter camp at Nuchasusatok (PA, 1790–96, Vol. 1:90; ND, 27 Oct. 1785).

When Mikak returned to Nain for the last time in 1795, at about age 55, she was ill. She died on 1 October—after finally being baptized—and was buried in Nain. She received the rare distinction of being remembered and in effect commemorated by the Moravians in an epitaph dedicated to her life in the Moravian Periodical Accounts, which reads as follows:

About the time that the Brethren were consulting how to begin a mission on the coast of Labrador...a skirmish took place in 1768, between the English and some Esquimaux, who came, as was supposed, with hostile intentions, to annoy the former. Some were killed, but a woman called Mikak, with her son, and a boy of the name Karpik, were taken prisoners and brought to England. Sir Hugh Palliser, then Governor of Newfoundland, presented Karpik to the Brethren, by whom he was sent to Fulneck in Yorkshire, to be instructed, hoping that if it pleased God to convert his heart, he might be of use in the Mission, on his return to Labrador. However, after showing very promising dispositions, he fell sick of the small-pox, and departed this life in the faith of Christ, under the care of that venerable Missionary, Christian Lawrence Drachart. Mikak was introduced to many persons of high rank in London, and returned, loaded with presents, in 1770, where she rendered essential services to the Missionaries on their first arrival, in 1771. She was then married to the noted Tuglavina, now William, and accompanied the Brethren to the place where they first settled. She even became an attentive hearer of the Gospel, expressed a desire to be converted, and was admitted to the class of candidates for baptism in 1782. But in 1783, she went with others to the South, where she mostly resided. Thus she lost the advantage of hearing the gospel, and indeed seemed indifferent about it. The last ten days of her life, she spent at Nain. Immediately on her arrival, being very ill, she sent to Brother Burghardt, to request assistance and advice. He found her extremely weak, hardly able to speak, and apparently without hopes of

recovery. However, after giving her some medicine, he took occasion to speak seriously with her concerning the state of her soul, advising her to turn as a repenting sinner to the Lord Jesus Christ, who will surely receive poor prodigals if with all their hearts they confess their deviations. He also reminded her of the promises she made formerly, to devote her whole heart to him. She assented to the truths of all he said, and exclaimed; “Ah, I have behaved very bad, and am grieved on that account, but what shall I do! I cannot find Jesus again!” Brother Burghardt encouraged her not to desist from crying to Him for mercy, for he came to seek and save the lost, and would not cast her out. In the following days she seemed to receive these admonitions with eagerness, and declared, that she had not forgotten what she had heard of her saviour in former days, nor what she had promised him, when she became a candidate for baptism. She departed this life, October 1st, 1795, and was buried in our burying ground. We trust in our Saviour’s mercy, that he has also found this poor straying sheep.

(PA, 1790–96, Vol. 2:170–172)

Mikak’s place in history extends beyond that of many indigenous individuals who figured in European records. Because she lived a relatively long life, as did her son Tutauk after her, there is also a body of oral history, much of it still unrecorded, that adds to the 18th-century documentation. Two oral accounts about Mikak’s life illustrate well the mutability of the historical record over time while still holding true to an *urtext*. In the first, we find several transformations from the written documents, among them that Mikak’s name and her epic journey are forgotten, while the gifts that she received in England are transformed into buttons and a crown given to her son by the Queen:

They took this Eskimo Woman and her baby to teach her right from wrong. They wanted to see if the Eskimos could be civilized. They took them away somewhere, I don’t remember now where it was they took them. They had to give them a name so they called them “Palliser,” which was the last name of the ship’s captain. This is the story that I heard of how the Pallisers got their name.

This Eskimo woman and her baby stayed away a long time. I heard that before they took them back home that the Queen give the baby some gold buttons to put on his coat when he got big. She also gave him a crown and many other things before he come home. It wasn’t so very long ago that Joe Palliser had that same stuff, ‘till once his house burned down and it got burned except for the crown, so I heard, oh, not so very many years ago, no more than twenty years ago.

(Fitzhugh, 1999:324, quoting Edna Campbell, Them Days 3:1:56).

A second oral account also contains transformations and may actually be a compilation of several historic events, but the reference to the white fabric with gold trim matches well with Haven's description of Mikak's coat, while the information that the "gold drops" were given away gives the garment an extended life in both oral history and quite possibly in fact:

Captain came to Rigolet on a schooner. Queen Victoria [Charlotte] had wished to see Eskimos from Labrador. So he made the old man drunk and got two women and a little boy on board and carried them to England, where they stayed all winter. They did not like living in England. They found it all too sweet when they had been used to seals and fish. One of the women died but the little boy and his mother came back all right. I remember seeing a very pretty dickie, a present from the Queen to the woman. It was made of white cloth all trimmed with little gold hangings all around the lower edge. I remember seeing them, the shape about this size. They found it too pretty to wear. She never took it with her. I don't know what became of it. My mother had two of the little gold drops someone gave her. There are some Pallisers still living yet.

(Fitzhugh, 1999:325 quoting Margaret Campbell Baikie, *Memories*, pg. 51; square brackets in original).

One of the last historical records we have of Mikak and her son dates to his old age. Palliser lived for many years after Mikak's passing and had children of his own. His descendants continue to live in Labrador and have the surname Palliser. An early 19th century account by Methodist missionary Reverend Thomas Hickson describes his meeting with Inuit in the area of Cullingham's Tickle, Hamilton Inlet. Hickson met several Inuit who had once lived among the Moravians and who still remembered something of the scriptures and could read. Among them was Palliser, who continued to live a traditional Labrador Inuit lifestyle after having renounced his Moravian teachings many years before. This brief account, which inevitably passes Christian judgement on traditional ways, gives us a final glimpse of Mikak's famous coat from Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales:

I found that two of them, father and son, had each of them two concubines. It was not difficult to convince them of the evil of their doings, and though it was generally supposed that the senior adulterer would have parted with his life rather than give up either of his concubines, the Lord applied what was spoken to his conscience, which caused him to tremble exceedingly, and he expressed a willingness to act in any way that I should direct. This person was taken by Captain Palliser to England about forty-five years ago, with his mother, who had a gown presented to her by the queen. This gown, richly trimmed with gold, and very fresh, was

worn by one of the women. The man bears the name of the above-mentioned captain who took him.

(Young, 1931:32).

Captain George Cartwright and the Inuit

Had Mikak traveled southward to Chateau Bay in 1770, as was her plan the year the Moravians returned to Labrador to find a mission site, she might have met Francis Lucas again. He was sailing the coast in search of her, wishing to bring her to live at Captain George Cartwright's merchant establishment at St. Lewis Inlet. Lucas had left the navy and was in partnership with Cartwright (1739–1819) and the well-established firm of Coghlan and Perkins, which operated out of Bristol and Fogo Island (Cartwright, 1792; Stopp, 2008). Cartwright had taken over the abandoned buildings of Nicholas Darby at the mouth of the St. Charles River and at Cape Charles, and he wished to have Inuit in residence in order to open lucrative trade contacts to the north. Had Lucas found Mikak, however, we would never have heard of Caubvick, Attuiock, and the other Inuit who later traveled to England.

George Cartwright (1792) kept a journal of his years in Labrador, which contains many descriptions of his encounters with Innu and especially Inuit. One of Cartwright's goals, which he shared with acquaintances Hugh Palliser and Joseph Banks and his brother John Cartwright, was to befriend the Inuit and to end their persecution at the hands of Europeans. Cartwright saw Lucas, who could speak some Inuktitut, as one way of achieving this. When Lucas failed to find Mikak in 1770, he returned to Cape Charles with another group of Inuit from the area of "Auchboktoke," either Hamilton Inlet or farther north at Hopedale (Cartwright, 1792, 5 Oct. 1770). This group lived alongside Cartwright's establishment for a year before traveling to England, and in that time an amicable and mutually supportive relationship developed between the two parties. Cartwright, for instance, gave Attuiock, one of the Inuit men, a house to live in when he complained that his own was too drafty, and in return Cartwright received a steady supply of seal meat to feed his various dogs throughout his first long Labrador winter (Cartwright, 1792, Dec. 1770).

Cartwright's own version of how the Inuit came to live with him is probably closer to the truth than that recorded by Samuel Robertson. Following a voyage to what many 19th century travelers called Labrador (which rarely took them farther than the Quebec North Shore), Robertson recorded that "Cartwright...first seized, by surprise, two females on an island, and kept them under his eye for several months, teaching them English and learning from them the Esquimaux language: in the fall, he carried them to England, introduced them into company, and even at Court" (Robertson, 1843:44). Robertson's account contains elements of the 1767 seizure of Mikak; it is probably based on local lore and may be a mix of several stories of captured Inuit.

Of speculative interest is whether Mikak ever met Cartwright. It is very likely that she traded at Cartwright's Sandwich Bay post during her trips to the south between 1782 and 1786, but there is no record of a meeting, a point that has caused some confusion in accounts of Mikak's and Caubvick's lives (Pearson, 1978:9; McAleese, 1989:184). It is quite likely, however, that Mikak was well acquainted with, or related to, the Inuit who came to live with Cartwright. She never again met Lucas, who was lost at sea in the late autumn of 1770 with the company's ship *Enterprise* while en route from Fogo to Oporto with a cargo of dry fish (Cartwright, 1792, 26 June 1771).

In October 1772, Cartwright took some of the Inuit who lived with him to England. The travelers included Attuiock and his youngest wife Ickongoque, with Ickeuna her daughter who was under four years of age; Tooklavinia, who was Attuiock's youngest brother (not to be confused with Mikak's Tuglavina), and Caubvick, Tooklavinia's wife.

In Cartwright's journal, 10 pages are given over to the group's visit to England (Cartwright, 1792, "End of second voyage"). Like Mikak, they were introduced to many well-known members of society and dined in many great houses in London. A significant difference from Mikak's visit is that Cartwright's London lodgings were opened to the public for viewing of the Inuit on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

This time, moreover, Joseph Banks was in London and had several enjoyable visits with the Inuit. The *Lloyds Evening Post* for early January 1773 recorded that "They shew great pleasure in the visits of these Gentlemen [Banks and his colleague Daniel Solander], as they generally carry with them some presents..., behave to them with politeness and respect, and ask them such questions only, concerning their country and nation.... These ingenious gentlemen, who are inquisitive to mark the discriminations of the human character in every part of the world, could not help taking notice of the intelligent countenance of the Priest [Attuiock], and of the easy carriage and civility of manners of the whole family; while by too many of their numerous visitors they are held in contempt" (Lysaght, 1971:86).

After a week of being overwhelmed by the sights, sounds, and smells of London, and being himself one of the sights, Cartwright recorded that Attuiock one evening, "sat down by the fire side, leaned his head forward, fixed his eyes on the ground in a stupid stare; and continued in that posture for a considerable time. At length, tossing up his head, and fixing his eyes on the cieling [sic], he declared, 'Oh! I am tired; here are too many houses; too much smoke; too many people; Labrador is very good; seals are plentiful there; I wish I was back again'" (Cartwright, 1792, 14 Dec. 1772).

Cartwright recorded that he was often puzzled by the Inuit's lack of reaction to structures that Europeans considered marvels of architecture and of engineering, such as London Bridge and St. Paul's Cathedral. He eventually determined that they could not believe that such things were constructed by humans. When he asked them how they would describe these sights to their people, "they replied with a look of the utmost expression, they should neither mention it, nor many

other things which they had seen, lest they should be called liars" (Cartwright, 1792, 14 Dec. 1772).

In February of 1773, Cartwright took the Inuit away from the city for six weeks, to his father's house at Marnham, Nottinghamshire, in the countryside of north-central England. He noted a marked improvement in their health and dispositions. The women enjoyed visiting friends and family, and Caubvick "attained to great perfection" the art of dancing. The Inuit observed of the English countryside that, "the land is all made," noting correctly that there was little natural landscape to be seen there.

Cartwright's sister, Catherine, had many opportunities to meet the Inuit during their stay at Marnham, and she recorded a perceptive character description of them in her diary, which was partially transcribed by a 20th century descendant (Cartwright, 1909). Catherine's entry serves as a rare insight on the group's dynamics and individual personalities:

All the Indians have bright black eyes and dark complexions. Cauboic is very handsome, with an uncommon degree of sense, sweetness, sprightliness, and sensibility, and of ease and gentility in all her actions and motions, & on our farther acquaintance, I found in her untutored soul native modesty, worth, and honour, with a peculiar quickness of apprehension, innocent vivacity, and affectionate temper, and engaging manner. Tooklavinia, her husband, is sensible, good-tempered, honest, disinterested, & agreeable to everybody but his wife, who hates and fears him to excess, nor has he much love for her, tho he ran away with her even against her own consent. But from what I was able to judge, he would be fonder of her, if she could reconcile herself to him. Ettinyak has handsome features, and a countenance remarkably sensible and penetrating. Econgohé, his wife, is a plain little un-genteel woman, but very shrewd & ingenious, this woman has a selfish and unpleasing temper. Ikkyuma is a striking likeness of her father in feature, countenance and complexion, & already shews an amazing fine understanding, she is very pretty, every soul doats upon her.

(Cartwright, 1909:126)

The visit to England ended in tragedy. In May 1773, just before Cartwright's ship was scheduled to embark on a voyage from Plymouth to Labrador, Caubvick came down with a mild case of smallpox. By July the vessel was still in port because Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna, and Tooklavinia had caught smallpox one after the other and had died. Caubvick, remarkably, was recovering. Cartwright wrote to Joseph Banks at this time, horribly saddened by the loss of his friends, and asked for copies of the sketches and paintings that had been made (Dawson, 1958:203), but we do not know what became of this request. Caubvick was strong enough to travel by mid-July. In mid-August, while at sea, Cartwright wrote this about her:

Caubvick's hair falling off, and being matted with the smallpox, I had much difficulty to prevail on her to permit me to cut it off, and shave her head.... I assured her that the smell of the hair would communicate the infection to the rest of her country folks on her return, yet I was not able to prevail on her to consent to its being thrown overboard. She angrily snatched it from me, locked it up in one of her trunks, and never would permit me to get sight of it afterwards; flying into a violent passion of anger and grief whenever I mentioned the subject, which I did almost every day, in hopes of succeeding at last.

(Cartwright, 1792, 8 August 1773)

When Caubvick and Cartwright finally arrived at Cape Charles in late August, they were met by several hundred Inuit who had been trading at Chateau Bay. Their collective grief upon hearing of the deaths of their relations was intense and overwhelming for Cartwright. Of all the great disappointments and tragedies that he experienced while in Labrador, this is one of the few moments in the journal when he expressed deep emotions. He told the Inuit of the illness that had struck and showed them the marks that Caubvick bore. He wrote, "They often looked very attentively at her, but during the whole time, they never spoke one word to her, nor she to them" (Cartwright, 1792, 31 August 1773). Not long thereafter, however, Caubvick was reconciled with her people and adopted into a family.

In England, the deaths of the Inuit sounded political alarms. Governor Shuldham wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth in September 1773: "The other woman very luckily arrived safe to clear up any doubts or suspicions the people of that country might have had of the fate of their friends" (CO 194/31, f. 88).

We hear of Caubvick only once more, in a journal entry made six years later. Cartwright wrote that in 1777 William Phippard, an independent trader who was also one of the earliest Englishmen to overwinter in Groswater Bay, had found a medal on an island there amongst Inuit corpses. Cartwright recognized it as one that had been given to Caubvick by one of his brothers. From this evidence, he presumed that she had transmitted smallpox to her people and had perhaps died of it herself (Cartwright, 1792, 28 March 1779).

Two months after landing Caubvick in 1773, Cartwright returned to England, bringing with him another Inuk. Nooziliack was a 12-year-old boy who was to learn English and act as interpreter for a trip Cartwright had planned to northern Labrador. Immediately upon arriving in London, Cartwright had Nooziliack inoculated against smallpox by the physician Daniel Sutton. Edward Jenner, however, had not yet discovered the cow pox vaccine as a non-fatal way of developing immunity in humans against smallpox (1796). For many decades, Europeans had inoculated against smallpox through scratches on the skin, into which powder from the scabs of smallpox was placed. There was no way of estimating correct amounts, and the mortality rate of this

method was high (McIntyre and Houston, 1999). Nooziliack, too, died of smallpox three days after receiving the inoculation (Cartwright, 1792, 15 Dec. 1773).

By the time Cartwright left Labrador forever, in 1786, fewer and fewer Inuit were traveling south of Groswater Bay. Fear of European attacks was still a factor, but European stations had also spread northwards, and trade goods could be had at these small northerly stations as well as at the Moravian missions. Cartwright very nearly brought one more Inuit woman to England. A few months before leaving Labrador, at the age of 48, he wrote:

I had no wife and was in great want of one.... Eketcheak, one of the [Inuit] men, last winter married a second wife; a young girl about sixteen years of age: I took a fancy to her and desired that he would spare her for me.... I then communicated my wishes to the young lady, but she no sooner understood what they were, then she began to knit her brows, and the instant I had concluded my speech, in which I expatiated on the pleasure, elegance, and affluence which she would experience as my wife, to what she enjoyed in her present state, she contemptuously replied, "You are an old fellow, and I will have nothing to say to you."

(Cartwright, 1792, 19 July 1786)

This account of Cartwright's Inuit could not be complete without consideration of a number of portraits that were produced at the time of their visit to England. Six of these portraits can definitely be ascribed to the 1772–73 visit and are of historiographic value because they can be linked to reliable documentation. One other portrait may have been produced at this time, but its subject and full provenance are uncertain.

Perhaps the most ethnographically informative and best known of the portraits is the pair of full-figure pastel drawings of Attuioick and Caubvick (Fig. 3). These drawings, commissioned by Joseph Banks, were produced in the winter of 1773 by Nathaniel Dance, known for his portrait of James Cook. Each is a remarkably well-executed work, valuable for its detailed representation of clothing style, hair style, ornamentation, and of the harpoon held by Attuioick, while also seemingly true to bodily proportions and facial features. These portraits remained in the possession of Banks's wife, Lady Dorothy Banks (née Knatchbull), upon his death in 1820 and are still in the possession of her descendants.

Smaller portraits of the head and upper torso of Caubvick and Attuioick were copied from Dance's work in 1792 (Fig. 4). These were sent to Banks' good friend Blumenbach and today hang at the Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Georg-August University, Göttingen, along with Mikak's portrait by Russell. The back of Caubvick's portrait carries the following handwritten note: "An Esquimaux woman brought from Cape Charles on the coast of Labrador by Cartwright a. 1773. Her name was Caubvick which in her language signified wolverine. This copy was



FIG. 3. Full-figure drawings of Attuiock (left) and Caubvick (right) by Nathaniel Dance, 1772–73, for Joseph Banks. Copied from Lysaght, 1971: Figs. 21a and b. In the possession of the Knatchbull family and reproduced with permission, 2007.

made by Mr. Hünneinan 1792 from Nath. Dance's original drawings in the possession of Lady Banks." The back of Attuiock's portrait carries a similar note: "An Esquimeaux man who was brought over from Cape Charles on the coast of Labrador by Capt'n Cartwright a. 1773. He was a priest in his country, his name Ettuiack. The original drawing in the possession of Lady Banks was made by Nath Dance a. 1773. This copy by Mr. Hünneinan 1792."

Another portrait of an Inuit woman surfaced during research of previously unknown papers written by George Cartwright (Stopp, 2008). Presented here as Fig. 5, it is a full-figure depiction of a young Inuit woman wearing traditional garb heavily decorated with red, white, blue, and black beads. The artist and subject are unknown, but a few deductions can nevertheless be made: The woman's headband, the beaded and brass lappets hanging from her hair, and especially the looping pattern of beadwork on the front of the *amauti*, are a close match with details in the Dance portrait of Caubvick. The careful rendering of the alternating bars of coloured beads on the front of the *amauti*, in the ear pieces, and along the tops of the leggings (which are red to convey the deep reddish-brown of tanned hide), are details that suggest that the artist had seen this woman as opposed to copying from the Dance portrait.

A sixth portrait of the entire group of Inuit is briefly referred to by Cartwright in a 1790 letter to Joseph Banks, as "the picture, which you had taken of the Indians" (Lysaght 1971:275). Cartwright hoped to publish the image in his journal but was later deterred by cost. While writing *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766*, Lysaght (1971:87) unsuccessfully searched for this piece, which, as Cartwright's quote suggested, was of the entire group of Inuit. Its existence remained uncertain until recently, when it was located by the author in the Hunterian Collection at



FIG. 4. Busts of Attuiock (left), Caubvick (right) copied by Hünneinan, 1792, from the Nathaniel Dance full-figure drawings for Joseph Banks as a gift for J.F. Blumenbach. Reproduced with permission, 2007. © Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Germany. Photo by H. Haase.

the Royal College of Surgeons of England (RCS). A group portrait, it is a simple but extremely striking half-length pencil drawing by an unknown artist of all five Inuit, even of wide-eyed little Ickeuna who is on her mother, Ickongoque's, back (Fig. 6). Its chief importance lies in the fact that it gives us further representation of individuals who are tied to well-documented source material. Its location in the Hunterian Collection suggests that Banks may have given it to his colleague, the famous surgeon and anatomist John Hunter, who played host to the Inuit during their time in London. The woman left of centre and facing forward resembles Caubvick and can be identified from the pattern of beading on her *amauti* as shown in the Dance portrait. Ickongoque's *amauti* shows similar looping beadwork across the chest and around the upper arms, but her facial features are distinct from Caubvick's, and we know that Ickeuna is her child (see above). Both women wear strands of beads attached to brass pieces that hang from hair knots in front of the ears, as well as the brass hairband also seen on Mikak, all traits characteristic of Labrador Inuit women at this time (cf. Barrington, 1774:383; Karklins, 1992:195). The man in the centre appears to be Attuiock, also identifiable from the Dance portrait by the pattern of trumpet beading or lead drops around the upper arms of his parka and the vertical decorative strips (possibly beadwork) on his chest, although in the group portrait his face has a fuller shape than in the Dance portrait. By elimination, Tooklavina is in profile to the left of the group, with a heavy chin and less beading on his parka.

A final portrait in the Hunterian collection, "A Labrador Woman" by an unknown artist and of an unknown subject, shows the head and torso of an Inuit woman turned slightly towards her right (Fig. 7). The subject has variously been identified as Mikak, Caubvick, and Ickongoque (see discussions in Lysaght, 1971:256; Pearson, 1978:9). The headband and the beaded lappets hanging from hair knots in front of each ear link her with the other portraits of Labrador Inuit women. The *amauti* worn by the Hunterian woman bears no beadwork and shows traditional features similar to those in Mikak's portrait (Fig. 2), such as contrasting underarm



FIG. 5. An amateur full-figure watercolour of an Inuit woman, probably Caubvick, artist unknown. In the papers of Frances Dorothy Cartwright. In the possession of the Cartwright family and reproduced with permission, 2007.

inserts, the v-shaped panel or gusset at the front, and decorative inset bands of darker fur on each cuff. If one allows for the possibility that this is a portrait of Ickongoque (as suggested by Pearson, 1978), or even a fourth portrayal of Caubvick, then the unbeaded *amauti* may represent a second set of clothing, different from that shown in the group portrait. This is not an unlikely possibility, since intricately beaded outfits would not have served well on board ship or as everyday wear. Interestingly, conservation of the Hunterian oil painting in 2003 revealed faint traces of vertically radiating tattoos from the lower lip that had been painted over (RCS), resembling traits shown on the Mikak portrait. The Hunterian Collection catalogue, however, currently identifies this portrait as Caubvick (RCS), adding the information that in the early 19th century the painting was identified as Mikak on the basis of personal knowledge of a member of the Royal College of Surgeons “who had seen and knew the Woman and her history.” His statement is, however, most notable for the fact that it shows that the accounts of Mikak and Caubvick had already become intertwined within living memory of their visits: “Her name was Mecock; she had a son called Tucock: Her Husband was killed in taking her. She had the small Pox while in England, and carried the infection back to Labrador which proved destructive to above three hundred persons. The infection was conveyed back in her Hair, which was cut off and preserved” (Clift, 1816, quoted in RCS; also in Pearson, 1978).

CONCLUSIONS

Other 18th century Labrador Inuit made journeys similar to those just related, but we know next to nothing of their circumstances. The Fogo-based merchant Jeremiah Coghlan, for instance, brought an Inuit man to England at the same time as Cartwright, during the winter of 1772–73 (Cartwright, 1792, 3 Sept. 1773). Labrador Inuit were also kidnapped by whalers and fishers for the slave trade, as happened to Tweegock, one of George Cartwright’s servants who in 1778 was taken by Boston privateer John Grimes along with other Inuit working for Cartwright (Cartwright, 1792, 27 Aug. 1778). The histories of the Labrador Inuit presented here fall midway between the earliest accounts, as described at the start of this paper, and those of the 19th century, when whaling and exploration had opened the Arctic to a fascinated public and Inuit were brought to European and American centres for reasons that were chiefly voyeuristic (cf. for instance Savours, 1963; Rowley, 1986; Wright, 1989; Lutz, 2005).

The written accounts, along with the portraits of the Labrador Inuit, comprise an unusually detailed body of documentation. From these sources, we are able to identify individual players and their responses to European contact and gain insights into the relationships between various parties, both among the Inuit and cross-culturally between Europeans and Inuit. Mikak’s roles as prisoner, mother, courageous traveler, consort, diplomat, negotiator, facilitator of the Moravian mission, and successful trader, among others, provide a particularly striking example of the complexity of Labrador Inuit relationships in a changing world. The oral accounts of Mikak show characteristic shifts from the documented information, while also revealing how Inuit came to perceive and remember early contacts with Europeans. That Mikak is remembered through an oral tradition is a mark of her significance to Inuit social history. We have only a small sampling of oral accounts of Mikak, but they merit dedicated collection before the oral record disappears altogether.

Contact, the impacts of colonial development, and Inuit agency and resilience are perhaps the most apparent historical themes in these accounts. The deaths by smallpox of the majority of Inuit described here are entirely representative of one of the terrible effects of contact. The Labrador Inuit experience during this time of growing colonial presence included increasing access to European goods, with the settlement of traders along the coast south of Hamilton Inlet from 1773 to the 1780s and missionary-traders in Nain by 1771. Inuit in Labrador had already begun to obtain European goods two centuries before from Basques in the Strait of Belle Isle, from explorers seeking the Northwest Passage in northern Labrador, and from Dutch whalers and traders in northern Labrador in the 17th century (cf. Kaplan, 1985). The wish to obtain more items of metal such as iron tools and brass kettles, as well as beads and other goods, led to many changes in former life ways. Seasonally and ecologically determined settlement patterns increasingly came to include trading and pilfering trade stations as part of a



FIG. 6. Pencil drawing of Inuit group brought to England by George Cartwright, l-r: Tooklavinia, Caubvick, Attuiock, Icongoque, Ickeuna. Artist unknown, 1773. Reproduced with permission, 2007. © The Hunterian Museum at The Royal College of Surgeons of England – RCSSC/HDB/2/2/180.

traditional pattern of resource extraction. Inuit presence as far south as the St. Lawrence by the 1600s shows that Inuit seasonal movement had integrated the acquisition of European goods, as much through trade as through pilfering, with traditional resource-based settlement shifts (Stopp, 2002).

With the increased settlement of Europeans in Hamilton Inlet and southern Labrador, hunting strategies and resource extraction priorities changed for many Inuit. The establishment of mission stations in the North, as well as the acquisition and especially control of European goods, became aspects of Inuit life that led to massive changes in material culture and the social fabric.

A key issue that concerns the study of Labrador Inuit contact with Europeans is identifying the nature and extent of culture change (cf. for instance Taylor, 1977; Jordan, 1978; Kaplan, 1985; Brice Bennett, 1990). One of the impacts of contact was the development of influential Inuit traders who brokered the movement of trade goods between Inuit and Europeans. These individuals achieved status within Inuit society that was based upon their ability to serve as conduits. Moravian documents identify several men in this regard, including Tuglavina, Segullia, and others. Archaeological sites in Hamilton Inlet from the 18th century typify the phenomenon of the interregional trader through communal houses, with multiple lamp stands (representing multiple wives or families) and quantities of metal implements, glass, ceramics, and other trade items of European manufacture. These items were intended for trade with more northerly Inuit in exchange for baleen, ivory, whale bone, and seal skins. These structures differ from earlier Thule houses in size and internal arrangement and suggest wealth development and the shift to larger households as nearly autonomous settlements (Jordan, 1978; Kaplan, 1985:58–62).

The Inuit who traveled to England very likely held the acquisition of European goods, and concomitant status, as their grail. They would have assessed the costs and benefits of their relations with Europeans such as Cartwright, noted that these were less conflict-laden than those with the French along the Strait of Belle Isle during previous decades, and made decisions within the framework of their relationships with Europeans as to how to obtain European material items. In Mikak, we find a clear example of someone who achieved status and herself became a prized commodity because of her journey to England. The visible benefits of this experience were her items of European manufacture such as the jewellery, elaborate clothing, a large canvas tent, but also her direct connections to people whom the Inuit knew to be influential. The powerful shaman Tuglavina aligned himself with her upon her return; she became his link with the Moravians and with perceived routes to material wealth; while the Moravians, in turn, depended upon her as a link to future congregations. It would have become clear to Mikak over time that there were few, if any, material benefits to be gained from the Moravians. Their rejection of her bid to enter the church was also a rejection of her position within Inuit society, of her efforts on their behalf, and possibly of future trade advantages. Mikak's response to travel to Chateau Bay in the early 1780s, along with other Inuit who had become disillusioned with the Moravians' ability to improve their livelihoods, reflects the fluidity of social roles and the agency that Inuit were still able to exercise despite strong pressures by Europeans. At Chateau Bay, they obtained goods not offered by the missionaries, such as shallops, guns, and traps. For Mikak, the initiative would have served as a means of retaining, or perhaps regaining, her status among Inuit, for at Chateau Bay she probably



FIG. 7. “A Labrador Woman.” Artist unknown, date unknown. Reproduced with permission, 2007. © The Hunterian Museum at The Royal College of Surgeons of England – RCSSC/P 243.

served as a translator and mediator between the Inuit and Europeans. She may even have known some of the traders. She and Pualo acquired items coveted by Inuit and brought goods northwards to trade in their new shallop. Likewise, Cartwright’s Inuk, Attuiock, already a shaman, may have sought further prestige by aligning himself with one of the coast’s biggest European traders. He was one of the earliest Inuit in Labrador to receive a firearm (from Cartwright in 1771), and the trip to England was effectively another way of increasing access to Europeans and their material goods (Cartwright 1792, 27 Feb. 1771; Moravians began to offer firearms in 1785 in order to stem the southward movement of souls [Taylor, 1977]).

Taken to its conclusion, the true impact of associations with Europeans was ultimately disastrous for many because of disease and social unrest. From all accounts, however, the Inuit travelers described here showed courage and a sense of adventure when they boarded vessels bound for an unknown place. In this respect, they support what is known from earlier accounts, including the early 18th century French documents (i.e., RAPQ), that Labrador Inuit were aggressive and opportunistic and ably exploited all resources and situations that were of interest to them (Kaplan, 1984:64). Their

histories allow us to consider Inuit resilience as portrayed in the experiences of a few. Although Attuiock and the others missed Labrador deeply, they seemingly continued to participate fully in their travels with George Cartwright, enjoying country sports, dancing, and socializing. Mikak, similarly, had a socially active and connected life while in London, and she continued to nourish those ties and memories upon her return to Labrador. Perhaps historical accounts mask the despair of dislocation felt by the Inuit—Attuiock’s lament could not have been singular—but there are also indicators that these journeys did not lead to the spiritual or psychological dissolution that might arise from culture shock. News of Mikak’s journey to England, and especially of her return to Labrador with gifts from the land of valued goods such as cloth and metals, probably spread quickly through the Inuit communities of Labrador. Attuiock and the others in Cartwright’s group would have been intrigued by the potential of such a venture and made the journey as aware, willing, and active players. So also with Tuglavina and Segullia, who wished to accompany Mikak on a second trip to England. Even young Karpik, before his death of smallpox in England, illustrated resilience and purposiveness when he asked Jens Haven for a hat and coat embroidered with gold. Haven responded that such things were useless and that he should rather focus on his religious studies, and Karpik responded: “Poor clothes...will not teach me [of God]: my countrymen, who are clad meanly enough, die and know nothing of God...of whom you say so much. The king wears fine clothes, and why then should not I?” When Haven told Karpik that he had no money to buy such finery, the boy replied, “Then go to the king...and get some money from him” (Petroni, 1988:59).

Given the many examples of Inuit initiative found in early accounts, why would Tuglavina, and later Mikak, have chosen to return to Nain in the 1790s and ask to be accepted into the church? One explanation may be that the 1790s marked the end of Inuit interregional traders, at least in southern Labrador. Once Europeans occupied Hamilton Inlet, it was only a matter of time before they also moved to more northerly harbours. By 1790, a small crew of traders belonging to the firm of Marcoux from Chateau Bay built a post at Makkovik, “to where most of the Eskimeaux between Hopedale and Hamilton Inlet went to trade” (PA, letter from Hopedale, 7 Oct. 1771). Marcoux, along with George Cartwright’s partner, Robert Collingham, also had plans to open another post at Kaipokok, just south of Hopedale (PA, letter from Hopedale, 7 Oct. 1771; Stopp, 2008:32). Within a short time, traders with cheaper goods had begun to populate the coast north of Hamilton Inlet. They not only challenged the Moravian trade, but also brought an end to Inuit entrepreneurs. Returning to Nain, rather than resuming former traditional lifestyles, was perhaps a sign of old age for Mikak and Tuglavina, but it also signifies agency, opportunistic decision making, and skillful alignment with developing political and economic forces, not necessarily assimilation or loss of Inuit identity. The evidence of Inuit decision making shows that Inuit

retained an independence despite many and varied contacts with Europeans; there is little evidence that European edicts, aggressions, and missionizing placed them on a unilinear trajectory of integration or assimilation.

The portraits provide an added dimension to this body of historical material. They were, first and foremost, commissioned by Linnaean-influenced scientists who shared a keen interest in classification of all living things, including humans. Thus, Hunter, Banks, Blumenbach, and their associates wished to have images that precisely portrayed physiognomy and clothing and that could serve as reliable ethnographic records. This resulted in depictions of seven individuals that can be considered excellent portrayals, adding likenesses to an already detailed historical record.

The varied historiography about these Inuit has given us insights into the perspectives of different players, Inuit and European alike. We catch glimpses of private concerns (Mikak's anxiety about her appearance, and Attuiock's homesickness) and quite public ones (Mikak's role as a cultural mediator between the Moravian Church and her people; the Moravian Church's displeasure at the idea that Mikak, Tuglavina, and Segullia wished to return to Britain). These accounts give shape to individuals and shift understanding of historical events from "culture group" to individual agents and players, but ultimately the information creates a multi-faceted history that can contribute on several levels, from broad and general themes, such as historic agency or culture change; to more regionally specific themes, such as the impacts of European goods on Labrador Inuit; through to the level of individual experience.

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