The Algonquian origin of the name Eskimo has been acknowledged by all but a very few Americanists. As used to-day, Eskimo is a general term including speakers of both Inupik (Eastern Eskimo) and Yupik (Western Eskimo) languages. It has been generally assumed that the name was originally used in reference to speakers of Inupik, the eastern subdivision within the general category of languages now called Eskimo. A reanalysis of historical source material suggests that this may not be the case, and that the name Eskimo may have originally referred to neither Inupik- nor Yupik-speakers, but to a local group of Algonquian Indians.

Perhaps the earliest published appearance of the name Eskimo is found in Haykluyt's (1877.88) 1584 "Discourse on Western Planting", indicating that the term was already known to European navigators in the late 16th century. In putting forward the economic advantages of colonization, Haykluyt suggested the following:

What should I speak of the customs of the great multitudes of course clothes, Welshe frise, and Irishe ruggs, that may be uttered in the more northerly parts of the land among the Esquimawes of the Graunde Bay, and amongst them of Canada, Saguynay, and Hochelaga, which are subject to sharpe and nippinge winters...

Although it has been usually taken for granted that the "Esquimawes" in this reference were Inuit (Birket-Smith 1929.2.58; Benveniste 1953.244) there is nothing in the quote itself which would support such an assumption. Certainly Haykluyt's suggestion that the "Esquimawes" would, like the natives of "Canada, Saguynay and Hochelaga", be good customers for those wishing to "utter" or trade warm European cloth goods would hint more of an Indian population. The tailored skin clothing of the Inuit has been often exalted as the ultimate in cold-weather protection and has shielded them from the "sharpe and nippinge winters" until very recent times. All that can be definitely stated about the "Esquimawes" referred to by Haykluyt is that they lived in the "Graunde Bay", which then indicated the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The "Esquimawes" of Haykluyt's time may be the same people referred to three decades later in the Relation of the Jesuit Pierre Biard (1616.69) who called them Excommunquos or Excommunici (Biard 1612.67) noting that they were commonly also known as the "Excommunicated". Thalbitzer (1914.293; 1950.564) has argued that the latter was the original form, and that Eskimo is derived therefore from European rather than Algonquian sources. This
argument was rejected by both Birket-Smith (1929:2.59) and Benveniste (1953.243) on ecclesiastical and historical grounds. While agreeing with the latter authors on this particular point, I would again suggest that they were not justified in assuming that the Excomminquois were Inuit.

Biard's remarks on the "Excomminquois" are too brief to justify any precise ethnic identification, although he does make a few interesting comments about their relationship with Europeans. At some time in the past the Excomminquois were said to have enjoyed very peaceful relations with the French, but this had apparently degenerated in Biard's time to "irreconcilable enmity" (Biard 1612.67). Biard was told that this state of constant warfare, which still inflicted great harm on "our people" (the French) every year, was started by "certain Basques" who tried to commit a "wicked outrage" (Biard 1616.69). As with Hayklyut's "Esquimawes" the most certain thing about the Excomminquois was their location, now described as the shores and rivers of the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

People referred to as "Esquimaux" appear in subsequent 17th century sources as the victims of raids conducted by Indians from the Gaspé region. These raids are mentioned often in the early accounts of the Jesuits, who were operating missions in the Gaspé region by 1629 (Lalemant 1660.61). In one of the earliest documented raids, which must have occurred around 1623, a ten year old "Esquimau" boy had been taken as a slave (La Place 1648.133). This captive was still living as a "menial" to a family of Gaspé Indians in Chaleur Bay thirteen years later. Indians from the Gaspé region also seem to have launched war parties against the "Esquimaux" in 1657 (Lalemant 1660.65) and again in 1661 (Lalemant 1663.221). Reports of these raids contain interesting details about the manner in which the Gaspesian Indians waged war, but like earlier sources they tell little more about the "Esquimaux" than their geographic location. At this time the "Esquimaux" were described by one Jesuit as being at the extreme northeastern end of New France, at about 52 degrees of latitude and 330 of longitude (Lalemant 1660.65).

A contemporary map employing the same system of co-ordinates (Bressani 1657) indicates that this was just opposite the west end of Anticosti Island.

In spite of the sparse data concerning these "Esquimaux" victims of the early 17th century Gaspesian raids, it is possible to infer something about ethnic identity from their location and their relationship to neighbouring people. According to a map of 1660 (Ducreux 1664.46) their nearest neighbours to the west were the Bersiamites. These people are described in a Jesuit account as "some allies of the Esquimaux" (Raguenau 1653.233). Like the "Esquimaux" the Bersiamites were also the victims of attacks from the Gaspesian Indians (Vimont 1646.35; Lalemant 1663.231). Since the Bersiamites were Algonquian Indians, it is unlikely that their "Esquimaux" allies, who shared an almost identical environment, were Inuit. Such an alliance would run counter to the general pattern of relations between Algonquian and Inuit people in early historic times.
It is not until Jesuits from Canada started working downriver from Tadoussac that missionary records make definitive statements about the cultural and linguistic identity of the "Esquimaux" inhabitants of the St. Lawrence Gulf. One of the first Jesuits to work in their immediate vicinity was Father Louis Nicholas, whose reconnaissance visit to Sept-Iles in 1673 took him further east along the north shore than any of his predecessors. There can be no doubt that in Nicholas' view the name "Esquimaux" indicated a local group of Algonquian-speaking Indians.

In a memorandum written in 1673 Nicholas stated that a missionary at Sept-Iles could expect to see only the Papinachois from "above" [upriver], but from "below" [downriver] he could expect the Oumamiwetch, who were "a nation of eskimeaux" and possibly even the "Esquimeaux" themselves (Nicholas 1673.57). According to Nicholas, who was a highly competent Algonquian linguist, all of these "nations" spoke "nearly the same tongue", the foundation of which he believed to be Montagnais. However, he noted that this dialect was very different from that of the people who came to Tadoussac.

Other records of this period suggest that some of the "Esquimaux" were converting to Christianity and leaving their former homeland for the Tadoussac region. The Jesuit missionary Francois de Crespieul, who lived among the Montagnais from 1671 to 1703, reported that he was joined by a family of "Esquimaux" while his party was travelling up the Saguenay, beyond Lake St. John (Crespieul 1672.77). He claimed they were Christian converts who had fled from their fellow countrymen to escape from being strangled for having received baptism. About five years later the same missionary reported that the "Esquimaux", among other tribes, were delighted with his new chapel at Chicoutimi (Crespieul 1677.245).

Frank Speck (1931.561) has argued that these references to fugitive "Esquimaux" in the Saguenay are evidence of an extensive Inuit occupation in the interior of southeastern Labrador. However, in the Jesuits' Second Register of Tadoussac, covering the period 1669-96, Crespieul has left many references to baptisms, marriages and burials of the people he called "Esquimaux".10 On the basis of these references Burgess (1949.25) has concluded that the "Esquimaux" of Crespieul were "a people of Algonkian culture". Since Crespieul was not the only priest to make entries in the Tadoussac Register, the use of the term "Esquimaux" for these Algonquian Indians was probably commonplace among the Jesuits of this period. Many of the "Esquimaux" cognomens in the Register display Montagnais forms (Burgess 1949.24), which is consistent with Louis Nicholas' observations on the Montagnais affinities of the "Esquimaux" language. At any rate, all are clearly Algonquian names; none show any Inupik features.

Further evidence that the "Esquimaux" of this period were Algonquian-speaking Indians is provided by a manuscript entitled "Prieres en Algonkin, Montagnaix, Abanaki, Aesquimaux" (Crespieul 1676). This manuscript, which has been attributed to Crespieul, contains a few
prayers in the "Aesquimaux" language (Confiteur and Ave Maria). These are definitely in an Algonquian and not an Inupik dialect.\textsuperscript{11}

It seems, therefore, that the missionaries working in the St. Lawrence region during the 17th century were speaking of an Algonquian Indian population, and not of Inuit, when they used the term "Esquimaux". In this matter they were probably following established usage, and it seems reasonable to suggest that Hayklyut's earlier mention of "Esquirmawes" in the Gulf of St. Lawrence points to the same people and not to an early occupation of Inuit, as has commonly been assumed. These suppositions are consistent with archaeological findings in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which so far reveal considerable evidence of Indian occupation but very little of early historic Inuit.\textsuperscript{12}

This usage of the name Eskimo, in all its early variants, may have been current for over a century before the term was used in its more recent sense as an appellation for Inuit. Until the late 17th century, long after "Esquimaux" was applied to Algonquian-speakers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Arctic explorers did not use any specific name to distinguish the Inuit they encountered in northern Labrador, Greenland, Baffin Island and Hudson Bay from other Amerindian populations. Instead, the Inuit were usually referred to by the same common terms applied to widespread native peoples at that time, such as "savage" (Prickett 1610) and "barbarian" (de Poincy 1658.201).

One of the earliest applications of "Esquimaux" to people who can be identified with reasonable certainty as Inuit occurs in the 1683 account of a sea voyage from Canada to Hudson Bay. It was recorded that the explorers Groseilliers and Radisson went ashore on the northern coast of Labrador and traded with people whom they called the "sauvages nommes Esquimos" (Radisson 1683.8). Both the northerly location, which was given as 57° 30',\textsuperscript{13} and the fact that they traded for sealskins, make it highly likely that the explorers were dealing in this case with Inuit. Other French explorers (Jolliet 1964.16) and writers (Lahontan 1703.306) soon adopted the name "Esquimaux" for Inuit, though for many years the French used it only for the Inuit of Labrador, which had become known on maps as "Terre du Labrador ou des Esquimaux" (De l'Isle 1702).

The reason for the extension of the name Eskimo to Labrador Inuit at this time may have been related to population shifts in southeastern Labrador. The Algonquian "Esquimaux", who had long been subjected to attacks from more southerly Algonquian tribes, were probably displaced even further by the eastward expansion of French settlers and their Montagnais allies toward the end of the 17th century. By the time Fort Pontchartrain was founded at the mouth of the St. Paul River in 1702 there are no more references in the documentary sources to an indigenous population of Algonquian "Esquimaux". The commander of the Fort did, however, mention a "savage nation" who lived in the country with no knowledge of French (Courtemanche 1705). This group may have been Algonquian "Esquimaux" who had withdrawn into the northern interior. Such a
movement is further suggested by a map of the Jesuit missionary P.M. Laure (1733), which shows the "Esquimaux" living very far inland to the north of Lake Ashuanipi.\textsuperscript{14} The ultimate fate of the Algonquian "Esquimaux" following their withdrawal to the interior remains a subject for further research.

During the same period that the Algonquian "Esquimaux" seem to have been disappearing from the coasts of southeastern Labrador, Inuit from the Atlantic coast were making forays into the Strait of Belle Isle to obtain European boats and other materials (Jolliet 1694.196). These journeys occurred during the summer months, when Europeans were also most numerous in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and contact between roving Inuit and European fishing vessels had become commonplace. It seems reasonable to assume that the mariners of the period, informed by tradition and their sea charts that southeastern Labrador was inhabited by "Esquimaux", would apply that name to the native people they were encountering in increasing numbers - the Inuit.

The application of the name "Esquimaux" to Inuit people must have created some confusion among those in New France who had long since been using the same word for the Algonquian "Esquimaux". It was perhaps in an attempt to clear up this confusion that some French writers toward the end of the 17th century started distinguishing between "petits Eskimaux" and "grands Eskimaux". One of the first to make this distinction was le Clercq (1691.453) who said that those "Sauvages" who lived on the north shore at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River were called "petits Eskimaux" to distinguish them from the "grands", who lived at the Bay des Espanols where the Basques fished for cod. The latter place is the modern Bradore Bay, at the west end of the Strait of Belle Isle.

It seems reasonable to infer that the two groups distinguished by this new terminology were the traditional Algonquian inhabitants of the north shore and the Labrador Inuit, who were making summer excursions into the Belle Isle area. This inference is supported not only by the relative geographic location of the two groups, but also by the observation that it was the "Petits Eskimaux" who dreaded the Gasperian (le Clercq 1691.453), suggesting that these were the victims of the Micmac raids which had occurred earlier in the century. If the above inference is correct, the adjectives "petits" and "grands" probably referred to relative population size rather than somatic features of individuals.\textsuperscript{15} This distinction between "petits Eskimaux" and "grands Eskimaux" was apparently short-lived, probably outliving its usefulness when the "petits Eskimaux" dropped from public view.\textsuperscript{16}

Once the name Eskimo was applied to the Inuit of Labrador, it was not long until it was extended to closely related groups of Inuit in neighbouring areas. The earliest published references to Eskimo beyond the boundaries of Labrador occur in English sources from the west coast of Hudson Bay. Less than a decade after Radisson had applied the name "Esquimo" to the Labrador Inuit, Henry Kelsey
complained that his companion on a journey north of Churchill would not suffer him to speak aloud "in pretense ye Eskemoes would hear us" (Kelsey 1612.27). In 1717 James Knight also spoke of Eskimo to the north of Churchill (Knight 1932.115). By 1741 the name was also used for Inuit of Baffin Island, where Capt. Coats (1852.15) reported trading with "many Usquemows" at the Middle Savage Islands.

The existence of an Algonquian "Esquimaux" population during the early historic period raises questions about the etymology of the word Eskimo. Conventional wisdom now holds that the word is derived from an Algonquian word meaning "eaters of raw meat", which though not completely accurate as a description of Inuit would appear to be even less appropriate as a description of Algonquian Indians. Here it should be noted that the early proponents of the "raw meat" etymology were much more cautious than those who have accepted it in more recent times. For example, in suggesting at a very early date that the name Eskimo may have originated with the Abenaqui word esquimantsic, eaters of raw flesh, Charlevoix (1744.262) stated that the origin is not certain. Later authors have proposed other origins, such as the Cree wiyaskimowok, eaters of raw flesh, or the Cree ayaskimewok, those who do things in secret (Petitot 1876). One neglected claim that should probably be reconsidered is Thalbitzer's (1914.542) proposal that the true derivation of the word Eskimo comes from southern Algonquian groups and that its original meaning was not "raw-meat eater" but "living-meat eater" or "man-eater". Certainly a review of all the Algonquian terms resembling Eskimo in form and a reanalysis by someone with competence in Algonquian linguistics would be helpful at this time. Meanwhile, it is important to remember that the "raw meat" etymology is nothing more than an assumption.

By way of summary, a critical reappraisal of documentary and cartographic evidence suggests that the meaning of the name Eskimo has gone through a number of important changes during the past four centuries. In earliest historic sources the term seems to have referred to a group of Algonquian Indians inhabiting southeastern Labrador, within the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the late 17th century the application of the name was extended to also include the Inuit of Labrador, a group which were becoming more obvious to Europeans just as the original Algonquian "Esquimaux" were becoming less obvious. From the Inuit of Labrador, the name Eskimo was later extended to include other Inupik-speakers of the eastern Arctic. Finally it was extended even further to its present use as a general term for both Inupik- and Yupik-speakers. The fact that Eskimo once referred to a group of Algonquian Indians appears to have been long forgotten.

NOTES

1 I am grateful to Dr. Gordon Day and to David Pentland for helpful suggestions during the preparation of this paper.
This is the Danish spelling which has been adopted in many languages, including English, in preference to the older French spelling "Esquimaux".

Two of those who have disputed this origin are Thalbitzer (1950.564) and Richardson (1851:1.340).

Biard, who was one of the first Jesuit priests in North America, commenced his missionary work at Port Royal in Acadia.

Such raids may have ceased by the last quarter of the century, for the Recollet missionary Christien le Clercq, who arrived in Gaspesia in 1675, speaks of the wars which the Gaspesians formerly fought against the "Eskimaux" and other Indians along the banks of the St. Lawrence River (le Clercq 1691.2).

The Bressani map refers to the "Esquimaux" as "Eschimaldi"; a slightly later map entitled Tabula Novae Franciae Anno 1660 (Ducreux 1664.46) shows them in the same location but refers to them as the "Natio Esquimauxiorum". These obvious latinisms were probably derived from the French term.

Both groups are located in what appears to be the general vicinity of Sept-Iles.

During these raids it was common to take scalps (Vimont 1646.38) and, as in the raids on the "Esquimaux" to make slaves of the captives (LaPlace 1647.133; Lalemant 1660.69).

The Papinachois are considered to be a Montagnais group. As the "Papinachiouekhi", they were described a decade earlier as "good friends to the French and to the latter's allies" (Lalemant 1663.221). They are probably the Oupapinachouets shown on a 1660 map (Ducreux 1664.46) as occupying the Labrador interior west of Lake St. John and north of the St. Lawrence watershed.

This manuscript is located in the archives of the archdiocese of Québec; unfortunately the first Register does not seem to have been preserved (Burgesse 1949.24).

On the basis of a partial examination of the manuscript David Pentland (p.c.) has suggested that the "Abenaki" and "Aesquimaux" prayers, which seem to be in old Odawa, may have been added to the manuscript by somebody other than Crespieul at a later time. Thus, these two columns may be suspect as samples of these specific dialects. It still seems significant, however, that the person who labelled them, presumably a Jesuit, did consider the "Aesquimaux" to be another Algonquian language.

The archaeological evidence has been reviewed in another paper (Taylor 1977) and will not be discussed again here.
This must have been somewhere in the general region of Okak, a Moravian mission station founded almost a century later (1776).

The Laure map places the "Esquimaux" north of a group called the "Ouneskapiouetzs" who may, from their location north of Lake Ashuanipi, be equated with the Kuneskapi that Speck (1931.559) maintains are forerunners of the Naskapi.

The Inuit were said to exist "en grand nombre" (Jolliet 1693.169).

The "Little Eskimaux" continue to appear on some maps (Dunn 1776) published long after their disappearance from the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Though Inuit have traditionally eaten some raw meat, they have also cooked a good deal. Lafitau (1724.56) also proposed the idea that "Eskimaux" seemed to be formed from Abenaqui eskimantsic, which he translated "ceux qui mangent cru".

Thalbitzer's suggestion is consistent with the fact that the Algonquian "Esquimaux" were regarded by their neighbours as being "addicted" to cannibalism (Biard 1612.67). This opinion may have been expressed by Algonquian visitors who spoke with Biard at Port Royal. In this context, it is interesting that Eastern Cree informed Skinner (1911.79) that in ancient wars "it was customary for the victor to eat a piece of fat cut from the thigh of the slain enemy".