

# The Naming of Bermuda

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There have been many changes to and confusions surrounding the naming of Bermuda and the name *Bermuda* itself. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one finds the *Isle of Devils* and the variants *Bermuda Isles* and *Somers Islands*. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one sees the use of *Bermuda Islands* and *The Bermudas* to an equal degree, while recently *Bermuda* has predominated. Throughout history, there has been confusion over whether Bermuda was one or several islands; in addition, analogy to such names as Barbados, Barbuda, the Bahamas, and even the Virginias has added to the confusion. The name given to Bermuda in other European languages reflects the same confusion as has been present in English. At present, *Bermuda* is used as the official designation for the country; however, *Bermuda Islands* can still be found on maps and tourist literature published in Bermuda.

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During the last few decades, Bermuda has been referred to by its official name of *Bermuda*, although one can also find *The Bermuda Islands*, particularly on some maps published in Bermuda. One such map (Horsfield, 1996), which is easily available and most frequently given to tourists, is entitled "The Bermuda Islands," but in its caption one can read "The second edition of our Bermuda Map...." In addition, in an inset entitled "Walking Bermuda," it states "The best walk in Bermuda would have to take in the Railway Trail...." In a similar manner, if one turns to the *National Geographic Atlas of the World* (1981), the description on page 112 states: "**Bermuda.** Some 150 coral isles (53 sq. km; 20 sq. mi.) in the western Atlantic—20 of them inhabited...." However, a small map of Bermuda on page 118 is entitled "Bermuda Islands;" also, an information insert on this map reads: "Bermuda, a mid-Atlantic island group, is not part of the West Indies but is traditionally included on West Indies maps." One can see that even though *Bermuda* is official, the designation *The Bermuda Islands* also is commonly used. However, a map (1996) produced by the Bermuda Department of Tourism is entitled "Bermuda. Handy Reference Map." On this map, only *Bermuda* is used, with no mention of the term *Bermuda Islands*. It is obvious that government agencies are careful about using only the name *Bermuda*.

In the past, Bermuda has had quite a number of different names and was known by several variations of the name *Bermuda*. For instance, up until recently, one would find the name *Bermudas* or *The Bermudas*. Asking locally, one receives the assurance that *Bermudas* is not used, only

*Bermuda*. On asking about *Bermuda Islands*, people are less certain and say that perhaps the term could or even should be used; after all, there are many islands. However, one can infer—and observe—that the term actually is not in everyday spoken use.

Bermuda consists of seven main islands that are connected by causeways and bridges; there is also agreement that 20 islands are inhabited. However, there is a great deal of confusion over the total number of islands. *Collier's Encyclopedia* (1992) asserts that there are "about 130 coral islands," the *National Geographic Atlas* gives 150; the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1992) says "7 main and about 150 smaller islands and groups of rocks." The on-line *Encyclopaedia Britannica* maintains that there are "7 main islands and about 170 additional (named) islets and rocks." The *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* (1967) says that Bermuda is an "isolierte Gruppe von 350 kleinen Inseln... ['an isolated group of 350 small islands...'];" the *Duden Lexikon* (1969) gives "360 Koralleninseln ['360 coral islands'];" the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (1958. Vol. 8, 310-311) goes even higher with "390 islas menores é islotes... ['390 small islands and barren islets']." Finally, the *Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies* (1822; reprint 1970) says that "there are more than 400 in number." To sum up, we can read in *Bermuda Gardens and Houses* (1996) that "Bermuda is not a single island, although it is usually referred to in the singular, but a cluster of more than three hundred, one for every day of the year, they say" (Shorto 1996, 8). By adding "they say," one can infer the conjectural nature of the high number of islets. Perhaps Blagg in his *Bermuda Atlas and Gazetteer* gives the best summary of this problem,

Bermuda is not one isle but as many as several hundred; folklore alleges 365, one for each day of the year. That inflated number was promoted, it seems, for the awe it inspired in eager listeners—no doubt new arrivals. In her book *The Islands of Bermuda*, Terry Tucker counted the isles and found only 131, but her list excluded many of the smaller rocks and crags found dotting the near-shore and springing from Bermuda's wide, coral rim. Perhaps by adding them the total would reach the apocryphal number. (Blagg 1997, 6)

The largest island, which has a larger land mass than all the other islands combined, is eighteen miles in length and one mile wide on average; it is *Great Bermuda Island*, or simply *Bermuda Island*, also known as *The Main Island*, or *The Main* for short. As well, it is sometimes referred to as *The Great Island* or *The Continent* (Blagg 1997, 7; Valentine 1996, 14).

It is generally acknowledged that Juan Bermúdez, also known as Juan de Bermúdez, discovered Bermuda and that the name *Bermuda* is derived from his surname. However, there has been a great deal of confusion as to the date of this discovery. Roberto Barreiro-Meiro (1970, 1-7) lists no

fewer than ten different dates that he has found in various encyclopedias and histories (1497, 1502, 1503, before 1512, 1513, 1515, 1520, 1522, 1527, and 1557). On a map of the Atlantic printed in 1511, Peter Martyr Anghiera shows *la bermuda*.<sup>1</sup> Since the map was drawn up before it was printed in Martyr's work, the discovery of Bermuda must have occurred in 1510 or before. Yet, many short summaries of the history of Bermuda say that Bermúdez did not arrive in Bermuda until 1515 (e.g., Palmer 1988, 1), and some even give 1522 (*Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies* 1822; 1970). Thus, there would be the mystery of how Bermúdez named Bermuda four, or even eleven, years before he saw it. Other accounts mention 1503 or 1502 as the date of the Bermúdez visit (e.g., for 1503, Kennedy 1971, 18; for 1502, *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* 1958). The most recent account of the discovery reads as follows:

According to an ancient account written by the Spanish historian, Gonzales Ferdinando d'Oviedo, the islands of Bermuda were named for his countryman, Juan de Bermudez. On a voyage from Spain to Cuba in 1515 with a cargo of hogs, Bermudez—a daring seaman and explorer—braved passage through reefs of the shunned and uninhabited isle and anchored his ship within cannon range of its Cedar-clad hills. It may be that the Spaniard had earlier visited the archipelago, for the islands are labeled *Las Bermudas* on a chart published in 1511 by Peter Martyr Anglerius [*sic*; should be Anghiera] which bears an inscription indicating their discovery in 1503. (Blagg 1997, 1)

Blagg is wrong in saying that the name on the Peter Martyr map is *Las Bermudas*; the name that actually appears on this map is *la bermuda* [not capitalized] (See Kretschmer 1892; 1991, Tafel X, No. 2.). Furthermore, Blagg confuses the account of the journey of 1515; it was Oviedo who made it and the original sources give no indication of Bermúdez on this trip (see Berreiro-Meiro). The Oviedo mentioned by Blagg was Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1478-1557), who later wrote a major history of the discovery of the West Indies and the Americas.<sup>2</sup>

In a short monograph, published in 1970, Barreiro-Meiro, by going back to the sources, resolved many of the errors that have crept into the historical accounts of Bermúdez and Bermuda—errors which have been copied from one account to another. Barreiro-Meiro gives details of the life of Bermúdez and his various voyages. Thus, Barreiro-Meiro concludes that Bermúdez was born in 1449 or 1450 and that he was a resident of the small town of Palos, near the port of Huelva in southwestern Spain. The date and place of his death can not be determined. Between 1495 and 1519, Bermúdez made an astounding eleven attested voyages between Spain and the New World. He sailed after Columbus who was on his second voyage to the New World.<sup>3</sup> They

met on Hispaniola in 1495 and for the return trip in 1496, Columbus made Bermúdez captain of the *Santa Cruz*. Bermúdez took part in Columbus's third voyage when he was again captain of the *Santa Cruz*. In 1503-1504, Bermúdez sailed on the *Trinidad* with a load of clothing to Hispaniola; and in 1505, Bermúdez appears as captain of the caravelle *La Garza*, 'The Heron,' a ship that had also partaken in Columbus's third voyage. This ship now formed part of a five-ship fleet to the New World. On this 1505 expedition, Bermúdez has the dubious distinction of bringing the first shipload of sixteen black slaves to the Americas. Barreiro-Meiro (1970, 9) concludes that it must have been on this voyage that Bermúdez discovered Bermuda since it is the only voyage on which he was captain of *La Garza*. Obviously derived from Bermúdez's ship on this journey, *La Garza* was also a name for Bermuda given on some charts of the sixteenth century.

Subsequent to the Martyr map of 1511, throughout the 16th century, mapmakers indicated the island group as *La bermuda*, *la bermuda*, *La Bermuda* or, on some French language maps from Venice, as *La bermude* (Jacopo Gastaldi 1546; see Johnson 1974) or *La Bermude* (Bolognino Zalterius 1556; see Johnson 1974, 59). A metathesis to *La Bremuda* crept into the Italian mapmaking tradition when Giacomo Gastaldi published his atlas in 1548 (*Geographica*, map "Tierra Nova;" see Palmer 1988, 14, Plate XLII); G. Ruscelli published an enlarged version of Gastaldi's map in 1561 (*Geografica di Claudio Tolomeo*, map "Tierra Nueva;" see Palmer 1988, Plate XL). Here again, we see the toponym as *La Bremuda*. Another early Italian mapmaker, Oliva da Messina (Portinaro 1987, 122, Plate LXVII), seems to have had a different interpretation of the name. On his map, Bermuda is written as "la bel muda." *Muda* in Italian means "moulting, moulting season," but also "a cage for moulting birds" and by extension, "a place of retirement or concealment." Perhaps it was the latter meaning that the mapmaker inferred, via some form of folk etymology.

In the sixteenth century, as mentioned earlier, the island group was at times also referred to on a few Spanish charts as *Garza* (Blagg 1997, 1)<sup>4</sup> as well as *Isles* or *Isle of Devils* (or in Spanish, *Los Diablos*). Jean Kennedy, in her book, *Isle of Devils*, states that Captain Diego Ramirez was forced onto the reefs of Bermuda in December 1603 (1971, 21), and she continues:

Ramirez' vivid account of the 'attack' of the cahows is the first intimation we have as to the reason why these islands were called 'Isles of Devils.' The cahows, being a migratory bird, were not nesting at the time of the visits of the other mariners and so left no record. But since the island had this bad name before the sojourn of Ramirez it follows that others had been frightened off by the same nocturnal noises and spread the story by word of mouth. (Kennedy 1971, 24)

Another explanation is given by Lewes Hughes in 1615:<sup>5</sup>

It may be that som are afraid to com hither, because of the strange reports that haue gone of these Ilands; as that they are the Ilands of diuels, and heere are strange apparitions of diuels, and fearefull thundering and lightening, as though Heauen and earth did meete together: beleeuue me my beloved here are no such things (thankes be to God)... God has terrified and kept all people of the world from coming into these Ilands to inhabit them, as appeareth by diuerse signes of shipwrack, in diuers places about the Ilands; and this, as I take it, is the cause that such reports haue gone of these Ilands; and that all nauigators and marines haue been carefull to auoid and shunne them, as they would shunne the diuell himselfe....”

Both the name *Garza* and the *Isle of Devils* drop out of use by the beginning of the seventeenth century. One of the last uses of *the Isle of Devils* can be observed in 1610. In this year, a thirteen stanza poem was published in England written by R. Rich, one of the soldiers at Jamestown, Virginia. It was entitled “Newes from Virginia ... with the manner of their distresse in the Iland of Deuils (otherwise called Bermoothawes)...” (Kennedy, 1971, 278–282; Appendix III). Also published in 1610 was Silvester Jourdan’s *A discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise called the Ile of Diuels*; a second edition of this came out in 1613 with a new title *A Plaine Description of the Barmudas now called the Sommer Ilands*. This change in name is a reflection of the following event.

Throughout the sixteenth century, Bermuda saw only occasional visitors, mainly shipwrecked sailors who were fortunate enough to live and tell of their disaster. However, the island or rather islands remained unsettled. This was to change with an expedition in 1609 to relieve the new Jamestown settlement in Virginia, started there in 1607. A small fleet of nine ships set out from England. During a violent storm the flagship, the *Sea Venture*, was separated from the rest of the fleet and was wrecked on the reefs of Bermuda on July 28, 1609. Fortunately no one was lost at sea and about 150 people struggled ashore. Among these were the admiral Sir George Somers, and the newly appointed governor of Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates, who was on his way to relieve John Smith. Also among the shipwrecked was John Rolfe who was later to marry Pocahontas. During their nine-month stay, they built two ships, the *Patience* and the *Deliverance*, with which they then sailed on to Virginia. Somers returned shortly to Bermuda to gather more food for the Jamestown colony. A few weeks after his return to Bermuda, Somers suddenly died, perhaps of food poisoning, although the cause of his death is reported as a “surfeit of eating pig”— wild hogs were abundant on Bermuda at that time. Reports of favorable conditions on the island were carried back to England and a new company was formed, known as the

Bermuda or Somers Islands Company. This company sent the first settlers in 1612 and administered the island until 1685. During their stay on the islands the people shipwrecked with Somers named the island *Virginiola*, in honor of Queen Elizabeth who at that point had been dead for only six years (Blagg 1997, 2). It seems also an obvious choice since they had been on their way to Virginia. After Somers' death, the islands were named *The Somers Islands* in his honor and to commemorate his leadership in getting the people off the islands again by building relief ships. However, the name *Bermuda*, or one of its variants, never dropped out of use as an alternate name.<sup>6</sup>

From the early seventeenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century, one finds the toponym *Somers Islands* in several variations on maps: *Sommer Isles* (1626); *The Summer IIs* (1624); *Summers Ilands* (1625); *Summer Islands* (1720); *Sommers islands* (1752); *Summer islands* (1763); *Summer's Islands* (1775); *Summer Islands* (1816); *Summers islands* (1851); and *Somers' Islands* (1860). So, by 1860 a mapmaker finally thought of returning to the name of the person after whom the islands were originally named. With no fixed spelling rules in the sixteenth century, one can understand variants in the spelling of Somers; yet it is interesting that in all the letters that have survived from the early part of the seventeenth century from Bermuda, the name Somers never is given with a final 's.' Thus, one finds for example the following names on letters in *The Rich Papers. Letters from Bermuda 1615-1646*: *Sommer Ilands*, 20 November 1615 (page 5); *Somer Ilands*, 14th July 1616 (page 8); *Summer Ilands*, 19th of Maie 1617 (page 13); Mr. Hughes from *Sumer Ilands*, 1618 (page 108). It is apparent that the variation in spelling carried on beyond the seventeenth century. It seems also that the personal name was confused right from the beginning with the name for the season. This is an obvious confusion since the islands had a reputation for balmy, salubrious weather—a tourist guide from 1875 calls the islands “a convenient, picturesque and salubrious winter resort” (Valentine 1996). In order to attract settlers, the Bermuda Company, and later in order to attract tourists, the British government, found this confusion convenient and did not endeavor to clear it up. It is transparent how the name was understood when one looks at map titles given in Latin or French. Thus we have John Speed's map of 1626 which has a title in Latin, “Mappa Aestivarum<sup>7</sup> Insularum alias Bermudas dictarum...” as well as a direct translation of the Latin title into English “A Map of the Sommer Ilands once called the Bermudas...” (John Speed. *A Mapp of the Sommer Islands engraved by Abraham Goos*. Are to be sold by George Humble in Pops-head against the Exchainge. Ano 1626; Palmer 1988, 25). — This map became the standard map of the seventeenth century with many editions,<sup>8</sup> and was copied by many with the same Latin title; for instance, it was copied by Blaeu [1630; Palmer 1988, Plate III], Jansson [1647; Palmer 1988, Plate XI] and Ogilby [1670; Palmer 1988, Plate XXI]. What seems like a poor copy of Speed's map is found as a map (page 919) in the first

English edition of Mercator in 1635, entitled "Mappa Aestivarum insularum alias Bermudas dictarum;" the map has a further title on the side: "A Description of the Summer Islands" (Palmer 1988, Plate XVIII).<sup>9</sup> A different Latin inscription is found on a map by Morden [1670-1680; Palmer 1988, Plate XXXVII]; the map itself is also clearly of a different provenance than Speed's map. Here the Latin title is "Aestivarum insulae al' Barmudas;" there is no English title.<sup>10</sup> Some maps of the eighteenth century show a straight translation of 'Summer' into French; in 1739 we find *I. Bermudes ou I d'Esté*<sup>11</sup> (Matthias Seutter. "America." Portinaro 1987, 232, Plate CXIII—Seutter was a German mapmaker; all the names on the map are in Latin, except for a few items in French); and in 1757, *Insul: Bermuda sive d'Eté* (T. Lotter. "America Septentrionalis." Portinaro 1987, 236, Plate CXX—Lotter was German mapmaker; all the names on the map are in Latin, except for "d'Eté").

A strange strand running through some maps in the eighteenth century is the fact that they give the toponym as *Bermudos* with an '-os' ending. In 1696, there appeared a map by Philip Lea, entitled *The Principall Islands in America, belonging to the English Empire viz. Iamaica, Barbados, Antegoa, St. Christophers & Bermudos*. Sold by Philip Lea at the Atlas and Hercules in Cheapside (Palmer 1988, 16). A slightly revised version appeared soon thereafter [London 1696-1700] (Palmer 1988, Plate XIII), *New map of the English Empire in the Ocean of America or West Indies*. Sold by Chr. Browne at the Globe near the west end of St. Pauls Church London. I. Harris sculp. On this map in the top left corner, we find a map of Barbados, and directly underneath, on the same page, we find a map of *Bermudos*. It is clear that a confusion error with -os crept in, induced by the proximity to Barbados. This is particularly clear since the next map of Bermuda published by Lea in c. 1700 now says *Bermudas* (Palmer 1988, Plate XIV), although the map published is no longer together with Barbados but with Antegoa [Antigua].<sup>12</sup> A map by Herman Moll follows with the name *Bermudos* in 1717 (*A Map of ye Island of Bermudos*, together with one sheet with Carolina; Palmer 1988, Plate XIX). This map appeared in two atlases, in *Atlas Geographicus London*. Nutt, 1711-1717 and in Bowles' *Atlas Minor*, containing 65 maps by H. Moll, London. The latter work was repeatedly revised and is reissued in 1729, 1732, 1736 and 1763. Of these, we have only seen the 1729 version and here the name *Bermudos* has been kept (Palmer 1988, Plate XX). We suspect all occurrences of *Bermudos* can be traced back to the error made by Lea on his 1696 map.

One further spelling variation should be mentioned. This is *Barmuda/Barmudas*. This could be a contamination with the first syllable of the islands of Barbados and Barbuda.<sup>13</sup> Barbuda is now one of the two islands of the state of Antigua and Barbuda; it is 63 square miles and has about 1,200 inhabitants. Barbados is 166 square miles and now has 258,000 inhabitants. However, strangely enough, in looking at maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even maps of the entire world on

one sheet, one will find both Barbados and Barbuda. The latter was obviously of importance, perhaps because it was a Caribbean island lying further to the east and as such served as a navigation guide. Indeed, it vies with other islands as one of the possible sites for the first landing of Columbus in the New World. Also, the use of *Bar-* instead of *Ber-* can probably be traced to the non-standard spelling of seventeenth century English, with no doubt also a dialect variation in pronunciation—the same variation that gives us ‘person’ and ‘parson;’ ‘vermin’ and ‘varmint;’ ‘clerk’ and its British pronunciation [klok], even though spelled ‘clerk’ (also the surname Clark[e]); ‘Berk(e)ley,’ British pronunciation [bɔklij], also with the variant spelling of Barclay/Bark(e)ley; and ‘Berkshire’ and its British pronunciation [bɔkʃə]. An example of an early use of *Barmudas* is in Jourdan’s booklet of 1610. Also, two children born on Bermuda during the stay of the Somers’ shipwrecked party were called *Barmudas* for a boy and *Barmuda* for a girl (Jourdan 1610, 17). This spelling also occurs occasionally on maps in the seventeenth century: *La Barmuda* on an anonymous map of 1650 from Venice (“America,” Portinaro 1987, 175; Plate LXXXIII), or *Isle Bermudes*, on Louis Hennepin’s map of 1697 (Johnson, 1974, 156-157).<sup>14</sup> Of course, there are other aberrant spellings that occur in correspondence, some of which has been published. One can cite for example “Bermoothawes” (Kennedy 1971, 278).

An examination of the maps of the seventeenth century shows that with the introduction of the name *The Somers Islands* we also now start to find Bermuda appearing as a plural, either as *Bermudas* or as *Bermuda Islands*. Sometimes the mapmaker is not so sure and calls it *The Iland of Bermudas*, taking *Bermudas* as a singular. While in the seventeenth century the singular *la bermude*, or *La Bermuda*, still tends to dominate on maps, in the eighteenth century the opposite is the case. The map of John Speed, first published in 1626 had in its title (as we said earlier) “A Map of the Sommer Ilands once called the Bermudas.” This map was based on a map drawn in 1622 by Norwood, who had first-hand knowledge of the islands. This map was repeatedly revised and reprinted, such as in 1631, 1646, 1662, 1676, and 1680. The atlas entitled *The English Pilot*, first published in 1689,<sup>15</sup> has in it a map by John Thornton, entitled “The Iland of Bermudas.” The map was issued many times without change in the further editions of this atlas, the last edition being in 1794. Two editions were issued in Dublin, the first in 1749 by George Grierson and the second in 1767 by Boulter Grierson (Palmer 1988, 13 and 28).

Foreign language maps in the eighteenth century have the name mainly in the plural. Thus in French one finds many examples of *Les Bermudes*, *I. Bermudes* or *Isles Bermudes*; in Italian, one finds *Le Bermudi* and *Le Isole Bermude*. Although in English *The Bermudas* (the article with the plural) was already seen in publications in the seventeenth century, it

makes its first appearance on maps in 1775 and is used to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

An analogy with *The Bahamas* might seem obvious since *Bermuda* and the *Bahamas* often appear in the same part of an atlas and, certainly from the point of view of England or Europe, were geographically close and psychologically linked. However, an analogical influence is not so self-evident after all, since the Bahamas were known as the *Lucayan Islands* as well as the *Bahama Islands*. The use of the name *The Bahamas* seems to be only a later development and has only become standard since the adoption of the official name *Commonwealth of the Bahamas* at independence in 1973. On the other hand, the early use of *Bermudas*, or rather *Barmudas*, in the seventeenth century could reflect the use of the *Virginias*, particularly since the Bermuda Company of the seventeenth century was an offshoot of the company that undertook the settlement of Virginia.

The twentieth century until 1968 saw mainly the use of *Bermuda Islands* on maps, with similar terms on foreign language maps, for instance *Bermuda Inseln* in German. Since the ratification of the new constitution in 1968, however, the term *Bermuda* prevails. Yet *Bermuda Islands* has not been lost entirely and one even sees *Bermudas* occasionally in print. Thus, one reads in the *Encyclopedia Americana* (1994) an entry which seems like a throwback to the nineteenth century, for the name *Somers Islands* has not been used since then: "Bermuda ... is a small group of islands in the Atlantic Ocean.... The Bermudas are also called the Somers Islands...." *Collier's Encyclopedia* (1992) does it similarly: "Bermuda ... about 130 coral islands.... They are also known as the Bermudas or as the Somers Islands." *Le Grand Larousse Universel* (1991; Volume 2: 1194) "Bermudes, en angl. Bermuda ... Les Bermudes, découvertes vers 1515...." At least here we have an acknowledgment that French is different from English in preserving a plural. Just like French, German maintains a plural, *Bermudainseln* (*Das Farbige Dudenlexikon in 3 Bänden*, 1976).<sup>16</sup>

The naming of Bermuda has undergone various phases and along the way, there have been misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the names. It seems that oral usage at this time does not quite reflect encyclopedia entries and names on maps. It can be assumed that with time and with further toponymic interest oral usage will be reflected in all written publications. As it is, the recent publication of Blagg's detailed *Bermuda Atlas and Gazetteer* will surely guide the way for future toponymic studies on Bermuda.

#### Notes

1. See *Die Historischen Karten zur Entdeckung Amerikas*. Atlas nach Konrad Kretschmer. Frankfurt: Umschau, 1892; reprint 1991; Tafel X,

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No.2: Karte aus der ersten Ausgabe des *Decus Oceani* des Petrus Martyr, 1511.

2. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés. *Historia general y natural de las Indias islas y tierra-firme de mar Océano...* / Prologo de J. Natalico Gonzalez; notas de José Amador de los Rios. 14 volumes. Asunción de Paraguay: Editorial Guaranía, 1944–1945.

3. Barreiro-Meiro also points out that assertions that Bermúdez was on Columbus's first voyage are false. Bermúdez often appears on lists of people who sailed on the *Pinta*; but Barreiro-Meiro says that this is a misreading of the sources which probably crept into accounts on Bermúdez since the early 19th century based on the work of Martín Fernández de Narrete (Barreiro-Meiro 1970, 7).

4. On some maps however, an island named *Garça* appears in the Atlantic Ocean, half-way between Bermuda and the Azores. Thus, *Y. de garça* on Ortelius 1564 (Portinaro 1987, 92, Plate XL), and *Ya. de garca* on Ortelius 1570-87 (Portinaro 1987, 98, Plate XLIV).

5. *A Letter sent into England from the Summer Ilands*. Written by Mr. Lewes Hughes, Preacher of Gods Word there. Printed at London 1 B. for William Welby, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Swanne in Paules Church-yard. 1615. Reprint Amsterdam & New York: Da Capo Press, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., 1971.

6. It is generally accepted fact that these various reports of the shipwreck in Bermuda influenced in part Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Practically all popular and school editions of *The Tempest* mention this fact in their introduction to this work, for example: *The Tempest*, ed. by Frank Kermode. The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. First edition 1901 and repeated editions since then. Introduction, xxvi–xxx; *The Tempest*, ed. by George Lyman Kittredge. New York: John Wiley & Sons; First edition 1937, Second 1966. Introduction, xii–xiii; *The Tempest*, ed. by Northrop Frye. The Pelican Shakespeare. Baltimore: Penguin Books. 1959 (repeatedly reprinted). Introduction, 24. *Bermuda*, with its variant spelling *Bermoothes*, is only mentioned once in *The Tempest* (Act I, Scene II, Line 229): "From the still-vex'd Bermoothes, there she's hid."

7. Latin *aestas* noun, 'summer;' *aestivus* adjective, 'summery;' *aestivarum* is genitive plural of adjective *aestivus* 'summery.'

8. The full title in English of a Speed map of 1662 (Palmer 1988, Plate XXV) is "A Mapp of the Sommer Ilands once called the Bermudas lying at the mouth of the bay of Mexico in the latitude of 32 degr. 25 mi, Distant from England viz. from London toward the West south west 3300 miles And from Roanoack in Virginia toward the east south east 500 miles exactlie 500 surveyed." All Speed maps have an exact translation of this title into Latin as well. One can see that the fact that Virginia, and

specifically Roanoack [Ronoke], are mentioned here, and often appear on the same map, reinforces the reality of the psychological connection between Virginia and Bermuda.

9. The map appeared on page 919 in *Historia Mundi or Mercators Atlas ... enlarged with new maps ...* by Jodocus Hondy Englished by W[m.] S [altonstall] London Printed for Michael Sparke, and Samuel Cartwright 1635. Reissued 1637.

10. The full map title is “Aestivarum al’ Barmudas Lat 32<sup>D</sup> 25<sup>M</sup> 3300 miles from London 500 from Roanoak in Virginia by R. Morden,” in *Morden’s Geography Rectified or a Description of the World*. London. Printed for Robert Morden and Thomas Cockerill at the Atlas in Cornhill, and at the Three Legs in the Poultry, over against the Stocks-Market 1680.

11. The word *été* is French for ‘summer;’ *este* is an older form.

12. In *Hydrographica Universalis or the Sea Coasts of the known parts of the World ...* Sold by Philip Lea at the Atlas and Hercules in Cheapside, near Friday Street end London [c. 1700].

13. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the confusion on maps between the names for Barbuda and Barbados was finally resolved. Thus, *borbado* [Barbuda]; *barbado* [Barbados]: Oliva da Messina, 1616 (Portinaro 1987, 146, Plate LXVII); *Barbade* [Barbuda], *La Barbaude* [Barbados]: Giovanni de Rossi, 1687 (Portinaro, 1987, 194, Plate XCVI); *Barbada* [Barbuda], *Barbudos* [Barbados]: Louis Renard 1703 (Portinaro 1987, 210, Plate CV); *Barbade* [Barbuda], *la Barboude* [Barbados]: Johann Baptiste Homann 1720 (Portinaro 1987, 218, Plate CIX); I. *Barbada* [Barbuda], *Barbada I.* [Barbados]: Johann Baptiste Homann 1725 (Portinaro 1987, 226, Plate CXV); same in T. Lotter 1757 (Portinaro 1987, 236, Plate CXX); *la Barboude* [Barbuda], *la Barbade* [Barbados]: le sieur Janvier 1780 (Portinaro 1987, 288, Plate CLX).

14. “Carte d’un tres [sic] grand Pays entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale dediée a [sic] Gulliaume [sic] III<sup>E</sup> Roy de la Grand [sic] Bretagne,” in Adrian Johnson. *America Explored*. New York: Viking Press, 1974, 156–157.

15. *The English Pilot ...* London, Printed for William Fisher, at the Postern on Tower Hill, and John Thornton at the Plat in the Minories. 1689

16. There is still considerable variation in how these are treated in European languages. Närhi’s 1994 guide, based on recognized standardizing authorities for French, German, Swedish, Finnish and Saame (Lapp), as well as United Nations sources, lists Bermuda as singular in English, German, Finnish, and Saame, as plural in French and as either in German (*Bermuda, die Bermudas*). The Bahamas is given as plural in English, French, German, and Swedish, but as singular in

Finnish and Saame. Barbados has an '-s' ending in English, German, Swedish, Finnish, and Saame, but does not in French and is clearly singular in that language (*la Barbade*). Barbuda is singular in all six of these languages.

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### Meetings

September 8 to 16, 1999 XXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS), in Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Contact: Fernando R. Tato Plaza, Instituto de Lingua Galega, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Email: [fgftrato@uscmail.usc.es](mailto:fgftrato@uscmail.usc.es) Fax: 34-81-54.71.14

December 27 to 30, 1999 Annual meeting of the American Name Society, in Chicago, Illinois. Contact: Professor Grant W. Smith, Deadlines of abstracts: March 5 for Modern Language Association sessions; September 1 for ANS sessions.

January 6 to 9, 2000 American Name Society and the Linguistic Society of America, in Chicago, Illinois. Contact Professor Donald M. Lance, Department of English, 107 Tate Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri 65221. Email: [engdl@showme.missouri.edu](mailto:engdl@showme.missouri.edu)