

VI.—*The Beothicks or Red Indians of Newfoundland.*

By the REV. GEORGE PATTERSON, D.D.

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INTRODUCTORY.

The history of the early intercourse of Europeans with the rude aborigines of America presents one of the darkest pictures on the page of time. Occasionally its blackness may be, in some measure, relieved by such events as the friendly dealings of Penn with the tribes inhabiting Pennsylvania, or the self-denying labours of Christian missionaries; yet these only serve to throw into deeper shade the oppression and cruelty, the robbery and murder, and the destructive consequences of European vices, which, to a greater or less extent, have characterized the early attempts of every nation in Europe to colonize this continent.

Perhaps no part of this history is sadder than that which concerns the doom of the Red Indians of Newfoundland. Here was a people described by all who met them as of good, if not superior, physique, and in the arts of uncivilized life showing much intelligence, numerous as compared with tribes on the neighbouring continent, in the midst of lavish abundance supplied to their hands by a bountiful Creator, a people too at their first intercourse with Europeans disposed to be friendly, yet goaded into a spirit of relentless hostility, and finally exterminated as noxious wild beasts, leaving neither name nor inheritance on the earth. Such a fact may well excite serious consideration and awaken deep emotions.

From the entire separation or bitter hostility between them and the whites, maintained during almost the whole time that the two were brought into contact, our knowledge of them is imperfect, and so it must remain, for they have no buried records for any future explorer to decipher, and it cannot be expected that any future collecting of their relics will add much to our information concerning them. In these circumstances I have thought it advisable to collect what is known of them, that it may be placed on record in the 'Transactions' of the society. In prosecuting this work I must acknowledge my obligations to the various histories and other works on Newfoundland which refer more or less fully to the aborigines.¹ Besides these I have availed myself of special articles by different writers in serial publications, and have gathered information from various other

¹ The principal are McGregor's "British America," Edinburgh and London, 1832; Anspach's "History of Newfoundland," 1827, p. 457, etc.; Chappell's "Voyage to Newfoundland," London, 1818, pp. 169-187; Bonnycastle's "Newfoundland in 1842," Vol. i, pp. 251-278; Jukes' "Excursions in Newfoundland," London; Pedley's "Newfoundland," London, 1833; Tocques' "Newfoundland as it was," London, 1878; also his "Wandering Thoughts," and especially Harvey's "Newfoundland," London and Boston, 1883.

sources, published and unpublished, which will be more particularly referred to in the sequel.

I may remark that Beothiks, sometimes spelled Bœothicks, was their own tribal name. Attempts have been made to determine the meaning and origin of the word; but as we have no real information on the subject, and the conclusions adopted are only inferences from its etymology, we think that none of them are reliable. Some of them, indeed, we regard as demonstrably false. Mr. J. P. Howley mentions an Eskimo word, *bethuc*, meaning forefoot of deer. We presume to think he might as well have mentioned the English word, boathook. Latham supposed that it meant good-night in their language. This was founded on a copy of Mary March's vocabulary, hereafter to be referred to, in which the word *betheok* appears for good-night. But on examination of the original, it is found that the word is *betheoate*, a form of the verb *baetha*, to go home, and meaning, I am going home. Gatschet, justly rejecting these interpretations, supposes that "it means not only Red Indian of Newfoundland, but is also the generic expression for Indian, and composes the word haddabothic, *body* (and belly), just as many other people call themselves by the term men." This appears to me far-fetched, and I believe that, like the name of other Indian tribes, such as Micmac, etc., though it must once have had a meaning, which was the occasion of its application to them, this has long since been lost, and that it had become merely their tribal designation.

The name Red Indians is supposed to have been given to them by Europeans from their practice of colouring their faces and utensils with red ochre. The name, however, I believe originated before the arrival of white men. It is the translation of the Micmac name for them, *Maquajik*, which means red men or red people.

II.

EARLY NOTICES.

Going back to the earliest notices of them, it is probably to them that Cabot refers when, according to Hakluyt, he says: "The inhabitants are painted with red ochre. They use the skins and furs of wild beasts for garments, which they hold in as high estimation as we do our finest clothes. In war they use bows and arrows, spears, darts, clubs and slings."

The first undoubted reference to them is in "Fabian's Chronicle" as follows: "In the fourteenth year of Henry VII, there were brought unto him three men taken in New Found Island by Cabot. They were clothed in the skins of beasts, and spoke such speech as no man could understand them, and in their demeanour were like brute beasts, whom the King kept for a time after, of the which, about two years ago, I saw two apparelled after the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster Palace, which I could not discern from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were."

What became of these men we are not informed. It is not quite certain that they were from Newfoundland. They might have been from Cape Breton or Nova Scotia.

It is almost certain, however, that it is the Beothiks that are brought under our notice in the voyage of Gaspard Cortereal in 1501. In that year he sailed with three vessels on a voyage of exploration, prosecuting the work which he had begun the year

before. I have shown in another place¹ that the principal scene of his explorations was the east coast of Newfoundland, and probably part of Labrador. On this expedition he captured fifty of the natives, men, women and children, intending them for slaves. Two of his vessels in which they were embarked reached Lisbon safely, but the one in which he sailed himself was never heard of. We have said in that place that it is quite possible that he and his crew fell a victim to the vengeance of the remaining members of the tribe. The unfortunates carried away were seen by Pasqualigo, the Venetian ambassador at Lisbon, who describes them as "of like colour, stature and aspect, and bearing the greatest resemblance to the gypsies." By those on board they were described in their own land as numerous, and in person well built, as living in wooden houses, clothing themselves in skins and furs, and using swords made out of a kind of stone, and pointing their arrows with the same material. Farther Pasqualigo tells us that "His Serene Highness contemplates deriving great advantage from the country, not only on account of the timber of which he has occasion, but of the inhabitants, who are admirably calculated for labour and the best slaves I have ever seen." Such was the treatment that these people received almost at their first meeting with Christian civilization, and we believe that it was the beginning of that bitter hostility between the two which, continued through subsequent generations, ended in the entire extermination of the weaker race.

For about three-quarters of a century we have no notices of them, except that of Jacques Cartier, who met them on his voyage in 1534, and thus describes them: "They are of good stature, but wild and unruly. They wear their hair tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pin in it, or any other such thing instead of a nail, and with them they bind certain birds' feathers. They are well clothed with beasts' skins, as well the men as the women, but the women go somewhat straighter and closer in their garments than the men do, with their waists girded."

According to Hakluyt, in the year 1536, an expedition, under Mr. Hore, with 120 souls, sailed for Newfoundland. That worthy author travelled 200 miles to see the last survivor of the expedition, who informed him that "after their arrival in Newfoundland, and having been there certain days at anchor, he saw a boat with savages rowing towards them to gaze upon the ship and our people. They manned their ship's boat in order to have taken them, but they fled to an island in the bay and escaped our men. They found a fire and a side of a bear on a wooden spit, also a boot garnished on the calf as it were with raw silk, also a great warm mitten."

During the remainder of the 16th century we have only two brief notices of this people. The first is by Martin Frobisher, in 1574. Having been driven by the ice on the coasts of Newfoundland, some of the natives came on board, and with one of them he sent five sailors on shore, whom he never saw again. On this account he seized one of the Indians and carried him to England, where he died shortly after his arrival.

The second is by Ed. Hayes, who wrote the narrative of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition in 1583. He says: "In the southern parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned these coasts, the same being frequented by Christians. But in the north are savages, altogether harmless."

In the year 1610 was made the first attempt at colonization on the island; a company

¹ "The Portuguese on the N. E. Coast of America," in 'Transactions of Royal Society of Canada,' 1890.

was formed under royal sanction, headed by several distinguished men, among whom the most noted was the great Bacon. To them a patent was issued granting a large part of the country, and they sent out a colony, under the charge of Mr. Guy, a merchant, and afterwards mayor, of Bristol, as governor. These landed at Mosquito Harbour on the north side of Conception Bay, and proceeded to erect huts. Mr. Guy explored the coast and had friendly intercourse with the natives, and during the short time that the colony lasted he treated them with such kindness as entirely to win their confidence, and to begin with them what promised to be a prosperous trade.

But the best early account of them is that given by Richard Whitbourne, who, besides making a number of voyages to this quarter, in 1615 received a commission from the British Admiralty to proceed to Newfoundland, to establish order among the fishing population, and to remedy abuses which had become prevalent among them. After his return, in 1622, he published a work entitled "A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland," in which he describes the Indians as follows:—

"The natural inhabitants of the country, as they are but few in number, so are they something rude and savage people, having neither knowledge of God, nor living under any kind of civil government. In their habits, customs and manners they resemble the Indians on the continent, from whence I suppose they came. They live altogether in the north and west part of the country, which is seldom frequented by the English. But the French and Biscaines (who resort thither yearly for the whale fishing and also for the codfish) report them to be an ingenious and tractable people (being well used). They are ready to assist them with great labour and patience in the killing, cutting and boiling of whales, and making the train oil, without expectation of other reward than a little bread or some such small hire."

A conclusion is added to the discourse in which he says: "It is well known that they are an ingenious and subtile¹ kind of people (as it hath often appeared in divers things), so likewise are they tractable, as hath been well approved, when they have been gently and politickly dealt withall: also they are a people that will seek to revenge any wrongs done to them, or their wolves, as hath often appeared. For they mark their wolves in the ears with several marks, as is used here in England on sheep and other beasts, which hath been likewise well approved; for the wolves in those parts are not so violent and devouring as wolves are in other countries.

"The natives of these parts have great store of red ochre, wherewith they use to colour their bodies, bows, arrows and canoes, in a painting manner, which canoes are their boats, that they use to go to sea in, which are built in shape like the wherries on the river Thames, with small timbers no thicker nor broader than hoops; and instead of boards they use the barks of birch trees, which they sew very artificially and close together, and then overlay the seams with turpentine (probably fir-balsam), as pitch is used on the seams of ships and boats. And in like manner they use to sew the barks of spruce and fir trees, round and deep in proportion, like a brass kettle, to boil their meat in, as it hath been well approved by divers men; but most especially to my certain knowledge, by three mariners of a ship of Tapson, in the county of Devon, which ship riding there at anchor near by me, at the harbour called Heart's Ease, on the north side of Trinity Bay, and being robbed in the night by the savages of their apparel and divers

¹ This word seems to be used not in its present sense, but in its original of skilful, clever or ingenious.

other provisions, did the next day seek after them, and happened to come suddenly where they had set up their tents and were feasting, having three such canoes by them and three pots of such rinds of trees, standing each of them on three stones, boiling with twelve fowls in each of them, every fowl as big as a widgeon and some so big as a duck. They had many such pots so sewed and fashioned like leather buckets that are used for quenching fire, and those were full of the yolks of eggs that they had taken and boiled hard, and so dried small as if it had been powder-sugar, which the savages used in their broth as sugar is often used in some meats.

“They had great store of the skins of deers, beavers, bears, seals, otters, and divers other fine skins, which were excellent and well dressed, as also great store of several sorts of flesh dried; and by shooting off a musket towards them they all ran away naked without any apparel, but only some of them had their hats on their heads, which were made of sealskins, in fashion like our hats, sewed handsomely, with narrow bands about them, set round with fine white shells. All their three canoes, their flesh, skins, yolks of eggs, targets, bows and arrows, and much fine ochre and divers other things they (*i.e.*, the vessel's crew) took and brought away and shared it among those that took it. They brought to me the best canoe, bows and arrows and divers of their skins, and many other artificial things worth the noting.”

The statement regarding the wolves is a very curious one, and will engage attention hereafter. The forming of dishes of bark or even of rushes, tight enough to hold water, in which they boiled their food, as here described, was common among the Micmacs and other American Indians. But the boiling was done by putting red-hot stones into the vessel. And it is said that it could be done more quickly in that way than in the ordinary manner.

He also asserts that Trinity Bay was avoided by vessels, partly from certain rocks, but partly because the natives resided in the neighborhood and “secretly came unto the bay and harbour in the night time, purposely to steal sails, lines, hatchets, hooks, knives and such like.” He also says that at that time they never came to the south of Trinity Bay.

We may just add the description given by De Laet in his “*Novus Orbis*”: “They are of medium stature, with black hair, broad face, large eyes. All the males are without beards. Both sexes stain not only their skin but their clothing with a certain red colour. They dwell in humble lodges formed of poles arranged in a circle and joined at the top. They very often change their dwelling places.”

Omitting for the present any discussion of their origin, migrations and ethnological relations, we may observe that at that time Newfoundland must have been a paradise for a race of hunters. Countless herds of caribou roamed through the interior, passing from north to south in autumn and returning in spring. Vast flocks of ptarmigan, as well as smaller game birds, were everywhere to be met with; wild geese bred on its lakes, sea-fowl in equal abundance thronged its coasts, while its rivers and countless lakes, as well as the sea washing its shores, swarmed with fish of every variety. Even now there are few better hunting-grounds than Newfoundland. What must it have been before the white man occupied its harbours, and when the sound of their firearms had not disturbed the vast solitudes of the interior. With the skill of the red man in capturing the denizens of the stream and forest, this people must have lived in a rude abundance. The great

want must have been of vegetable food. This would, however, be partly supplied in summer by the abundance of berries found everywhere.

What their numbers may have been we have scarcely any means of judging. The territory they occupied was as large as that occupied by the Micmacs in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. As compared with the extent of the island, they must have been few. But from the notices of their presence by the early voyagers, and the number of places where tokens of their occupancy have been found, I believe that they could not have been less numerous than that tribe, whose number was never great, probably not much exceeding four thousand.

These are all the early notices of the Beothiks we possess, and they give us little specific information regarding them. The descriptions would apply nearly as well to any of the tribes at that time inhabiting Northern America. It seems clear, however, that they were a people moderately tall and well formed physically, and that they appeared to the visitors as of quick intelligence. It is specially, however, to be noted that all these writers agree in describing them as mild and tractable. They at first received their visitors in a friendly manner, and were desirous of being on good terms with them. Certainly there does not appear anything more fierce in their disposition, than was to be found among any of the tribes on the mainland with which the English or French came in contact. On the contrary, these accounts rather seem to show that they were distinguished among the American aborigines for mildness and gentleness of disposition. On the other hand, Cortereal's carrying away more than fifty of them, men, women and children, into slavery; Cabot's capturing and carrying some to England; Mr. Hore's attempt, as described by himself, to do the same; Whitbourne's coolly appropriating their property, not to speak of the unrecorded deeds of the rude men who, under no restraints of law, came to trade and fish on the coast, indicate that from the first white men regarded them and theirs as their natural prey.

III.

HOSTILITIES.

Even at the time that Whitbourne wrote all friendly relations had not ceased. But when next we hear of them the two parties are on a footing of unrelenting hostility. The white men accused the natives of stealing their goods. Among all the American tribes at that time there was a sort of communism. To a certain extent a whole village shared in the produce of the chase, and the supplies of one were readily given to meet the wants of any in need. When they met white men they were ready to give them freely of what they possessed, but they expected the same liberality in return. Their views being misunderstood led to collision. Though we know that in general the Indian tribes were not given to thieving, yet cases of the crime would occur: and when we consider the value to them of articles of European manufacture, as nails, knives, hatchets, etc., we need not wonder that the temptation should sometimes prove too strong for them. By the rude hunters, trappers and fishermen the missing of some trifling article came to be regarded as sufficient excuse for shooting the first Indian they might meet. These men were the reckless of many nations; they were here beyond the control of law, there being

no administration of justice on the island, except what they set up themselves, and the rude aborigines they regarded as having no rights which white men were bound to respect. Their avarice, too, was excited by the skin dresses or the rich fur robes in which these poor creatures wrapt themselves at night, or even in which they laid their dead to rest, and they did not hesitate to take possession of them, even if this involved the shooting of the owners. And when such wrongs led to retaliation on the part of the injured red men, it only excited their enemies to a more determined effort to exterminate them as they would so many wolves. In this warfare what chance had the poor natives, with their bows and arrows, against the deadly firearms of the whites.

But another circumstance must be mentioned. In the year 1660 the French had established themselves at Placentia, and in subsequent years extended their authority along the southern coast. On the mainland they had secured the attachment to their interests of the various Algonkin tribes with whom they came in contact, but in this respect they were as unsuccessful with the Beothiks as they were with the Iroquois. Some misunderstanding having arisen between the French authorities and them, the former offered a reward for the heads or persons of certain of their chiefs.¹ A number of Micmacs had been brought over from Cape Breton or Nova Scotia. They are said to have been friendly to the Beothiks up to this time, but this offer excited their cupidity, and, according to tradition, there occurred a scene, thus described by Hon. A. W. Des Barres, formerly one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland: "Some of the Micmacs were tempted by the reward, and took off the heads of two of them. Before the heads were delivered to obtain the reward, they were by accident discovered concealed in the canoe which was to convey them, and recognized by some of the Red Indians as those of their friends. The Red Indians gave no intimation of the discovery to the perpetrators of the outrage, but consulted among themselves and determined on having revenge. They invited the Micmacs to a feast, and arranged their guests in such order that every Beothik had a Micmac by his side. At a preconcerted signal every Beothik slew his guest. They then retired quickly from those places bordering on the Micmac country. War of course ensued. Firearms were little known to the Indians at this time, but they soon came into more general use among such tribes as continued to hold intercourse with Europeans. This circumstance gave the Micmacs an undisputed ascendancy over the Beothiks, who were forced to betake themselves to the recesses of the interior and other parts of the island, alarmed, as well they might be, at every report of the firelock."²

I am inclined to believe, for reasons to be given hereafter, that the Micmacs and they were hereditary foes. If, however, they were on the first arrival of the latter in Newfoundland friendly, this state of things was soon superseded by one of mutual and relentless hostility. Jukes ("Excursions in Newfoundland") says that in 1770 a battle took place between the two tribes at the north end of Grand Pond. There must be a mistake about the date. It is more likely to be in 1670. He also says that the Beothiks called them Shonaks or Shawnaks, *i.e.*, "bad Indians." At all events, in the historic period the Micmacs were their most implacable foes, and members of the two tribes sel-

¹ This is told by M. Tocque, as well as by Judge Desbarres, in the speech to be quoted immediately. But they do not give their authority for the statement.

² Speech delivered at the meeting of the Beothic Society in the year 1827. The story, without the first incident of the Micmacs' treachery, was told by an old Micmac to Mr. Peyton.

dom met without bloodshed. It is also said that their relations with the Eskimos on the north were characterized by similar hostility. Till English settlement checked the advance of this people, they used to frequent the east coast. It is understood that when they met the Red Indians it was always as enemies. But Cartwright says that "they kept to their favourite element, the water, where their superior canoes and missile weapons for killing whales rendered them terrible enemies to encounter." The Red Indians hated them, speaking of them as dirty. With the Indians on the Labrador coast, whom they called Shawnomunes, they are said to have been on friendly terms, sometimes visiting and carrying on some trade with them.

Originally the Beothiks had established themselves on the coast. This is evident from the fact that the first voyagers met them there, but more especially from their kitchen middings which have been found at various places, and also from the graves sometimes found on islands off the coast. But now they were driven into the interior, and only visited the coast by stealth and at the risk of their lives. So much was this the case that Charlevoix, writing about the middle of the 18th century, says that there were no inhabitants in Newfoundland except the Eskimo, who, he says, came down along the coast in summer. The Beothiks had by that time been so driven into the interior or to the northern parts of the island, that the learned author was not aware of their existence.

So the Baron de La Hontan, who in his younger years had been governor of the French colony of Placentia Bay, does not mention the Beothiks in his "Voyages." About 1690 he wrote: "The Eskimo cross over to the island of Newfoundland every day at the streights of Belleisle, but they never come so far as Placentia for fear of meeting with other savages there. (*I.* 210, *Eng. translation of 1735.*) There are no settled savages on the island." From this it is evident that the Beothiks even at that time confined themselves to places at a distance from those resorted to by the whites.

But they were still in considerable numbers, as their works to be noticed presently show. Their principal resort was the region of the Exploits River, the largest on the island, having a course of 200 miles and emptying into the Bay of Exploits, a branch of Notre Dame Bay. An expansion of it known as Red Indian Lake, about 36 miles long, by from half a mile to three miles wide, situated from 70 to over 100 miles from the mouth, was their headquarters.

But the work of destruction continued. Northern furriers and fishermen continued to shoot down the Beothiks, sometimes in wantonness, sometimes in professed fear of them, sometimes in the spirit in which they would shoot a wolf, and sometimes in the spirit of the sportsman hunting beaver.

Mr. John Cartwright¹ says: "On the part of the English fishers their conduct is an inhumanity that sinks them far below the level of savages. The wantonness of their cruelties toward these poor wretches has frequently been almost incredible." And then he gives the following examples:—

¹ John Cartwright was at this time a lieutenant in the British navy, commanding H. M. Guernsey on this station. He visited that part of the country in 1768, and, as we shall see, made a trip to Red Indian Lake. He has left a small work still in MS. in the Legislative library at St. John's, entitled "Remarks on the situation of the Red Indians, natives of Newfoundland, with some account of their manner of living, together with such descriptions as are necessary to the explanation of the sketch of the country they inhabit taken on the spot in the year 1768." He was accompanied by his brother George, who has given similar information in his work, "Explorations in Labrador."

“One day a small family of Beothiks was surprised in their wigwams by a party of fishermen. On the appearance of their foes the Indians fled in consternation, all except one woman, who, being unable to follow her companions, gave herself up as a prisoner, endeavouring by signs, especially appealing to the indications of approaching motherhood, to implore mercy from her captors. Her gesticulations and entreaties were in vain. One of the wretches, by a well directed blow with his knife, ripped open the body of the unhappy woman, and in a few minutes she expired in agony at his feet. Not content with murder, the monsters proceeded to mutilate the body in a barbarous manner, and on their return boasted of what they had done, exhibiting in triumph the hands of their victim, which they had cut off and retained as a trophy.” Again, “some fishermen, as they doubled in their boat a point of land, discovered a single, defenceless woman, with an infant on her shoulders. One of them instantly discharged at her a very heavy load of swan shot, which lodged in her loins. Unable now to sustain her burden, she unwillingly put it down, and with difficulty crawled into the woods, holding her hand upon the mortal wound she had received, and without once taking her eyes off the helpless object she had left behind her. In this dreadful situation she beheld her child ravished from her by her murderers, who, seeing two Indians on a height at some distance, beat a hasty retreat to their boat.” This was in August, 1768, the very month in which Mr. Cartwright set out on his journey to the Red Indian Lake. The man brought the child to him, and telling what he had done, with as much insensibility as he would the killing of a beast of prey and the capture of its young, asked a reward, as if his conduct would be pleasing to the governor. This child was carried to England, and the next winter was exhibited in the western towns of that country for two pence a view.

Mr. George Cartwright says that “formerly a very beneficial barter was carried on in the neighbourhood of Bonavista by some of the inhabitants of that bay; that the whites used to carry out goods and leave them at a spot within reach of the Indians, who came and took them, leaving furs instead. But this was broken up by a white wretch lying in ambush, and, when a woman was seen helping herself, shooting her dead. Such was the state of feeling at this time that both brothers say they met men who told them that they would sooner kill an Indian than a deer. “For a period,” says Rev. Mr. Pilot, “of nearly two hundred years this same kind of barbarity continued, and it was considered meritorious to shoot a Red Indian. To go to ‘look for Indians’ came to be as much a phrase as to ‘look for partridges.’ They were harassed from post to post, from island to island, their hunting and fishing stations were unscrupulously seized by the invading English. They were shot down without the least provocation, or captured to be exposed as curiosities to the rabble at the fairs of the western towns of Christian England at twopence a-piece.”

This state of things continued till well into the present century. Not many years ago there were still living on the north-west coast men who had been in the habit of boasting of the number of “head of Indians” they had killed, the record of such being scored on their gunstocks. Tradition, seemingly well founded, has even preserved the name of one woman famed for her skill with the gun, which she employed on a seal in the harbour or a Red Indian lurking on the shore with about equal compunction. George Cartwright also mentions that when the whites came upon any collection of their provisions, canoes and implements, in consequence of the Indians being obliged to make a pre-

cipitate retreat, they were in the habit of destroying the whole, and that in consequence whole families had perished from famine. Need we wonder that there was excited in them the spirit of relentless retaliation ; that, driven from their fishing-grounds on the shores, their kinsmen shot down like wild beasts, and urged by hunger to visit the neighborhood of the whites, they not only stole but stealthily let fly their arrows at their inhuman foes. Still it must be noted that there is no such record of cruelties practised by them on the white settlers, as is found in almost all the cases of the settlement of white men among the Indians in America. Nor can we be surprised that when at length honest attempts were made for the restoration of friendship, they had acquired an utter distrust and abhorrence of the signs of civilization, and were animated by a spirit of inexorable revenge against all white men.

IV.

ATTEMPTS TO OPEN INTERCOURSE.

We come now to notice the well meant efforts on the part of the authorities and humane individuals to open intercourse with them and to promote their welfare. The British Government, upon representations made of the state of things described, was led to take the matter up. Doubtless under its instructions, proclamations were issued by successive governors for the protection of the natives. The first of these, issued by Capt. Palliser in the year 1760, is the first official document in which the natives are recognized, and seems to have been the model of subsequent ones. It sets forth that His Majesty has been informed that his subjects in Newfoundland "do treat the savages with the greatest inhumanity, and frequently destroy them without the least provocation or remorse. In order therefore to put a stop to such inhuman barbarity, and that the perpetrators of such atrocious crimes might be brought to due punishment, His Majesty enjoined and required all his subjects to live in amity and brotherly kindness with the native savages," and farther enjoined all magistrates to "apprehend persons guilty of murdering the native Indians and send them to England for trial."

In the same year in which the first proclamation was issued, one Capt. Scott and some others went from St. John's to Bay of Exploits, with the view of opening communication with them, whether by appointment of government or as a private adventure we are not informed. At all events, on arrival they built a residence much in the manner of a fort. Some days after a party of Indians appeared and halted near the place. Scott proceeded unarmed to them, contrary to the advice of his people, shook hands with them and mixed among them. An old man, who pretended friendship, put his arms round Scott's neck, when another treacherously stabbed him in the back. The warwhoop immediately sounded, a shower of arrows fell upon the English, which killed five of them, and the rest fled to their vessel, carrying off one of those who had been killed, with several arrows sticking in his body.

The next attempt to open intercourse with them was by Mr. John Cartwright. He was the first European, so far as known, who succeeded in reaching the Red Indian Lake. From his work we learn that the journey was undertaken "with a design to explore the unknown interior parts of Newfoundland, to examine into the practicability

of travelling from shore to shore across the body of the island, and to acquire a more certain knowledge of the settlements of the Red Indians, as well as to surprise, if possible, one or more of these savages for the purpose of effecting in time a friendly intercourse with them"—a tribe, as he observes, with whom, though the original native inhabitants of a country so long in our possession, we hold no intercourse whatever, "except, indeed, the unfriendly one of reciprocal injuries and murders." The expedition, though not a government one, seems to have been undertaken with the countenance of the governor. At Indian Point, on Notre Dame Bay, he met a young Beothik who had been captured when a boy, and was named William June from the month in which he was taken. He was the first of the tribe ever known to have lived among the whites. He is spoken of as "John Cousins' Indian boy." He gave the party information regarding the situation of the Red Indian Lake, which was the principal seat of the tribe, and also in part its configuration, describing a cove in which his father's camp was situated.¹

Cartwright's company consisted of himself and brother, Rev. Neville Stow, chaplain, and nine seamen of H. M. S. *Guernsey*, Mr. John Cousins and a servant. They started from Indian Point on Notre Dame Bay on the 24th August, 1768, and pulled a short distance up the River Exploits to a place named Start Rattle.² Here they left their boats and began their search along the banks of the river. Before long they came upon wigwams recently erected "and other apparatus." These were so numerous as to indicate that the Indians could not be very far off, and to excite high hopes of soon meeting them. As they advanced their attention was particularly struck by the extent of their fences for taking deer. We have already alluded to the vast herds of these animals, which then ranged the interior. The River Exploits lay right across their course, and in their spring and autumn migrations they crossed it in thousands. In order to capture them the Beothiks had made fences along its bank so high and strong that the largest deer could neither jump over nor force a way through them. These fences were made by felling the trees near the river's bank, without chopping the trunks quite asunder, taking care that they fell parallel with the stream, each being guided so as to fall on the last. Gaps were filled in by stakes or by branches interwoven. These fences were thus raised to the height of six, eight or even ten feet, according to the ground. In places where the trees grew too stunted, or were too scattered to be available for fences, they placed "sewels."³ These were made by attaching tassels of birch bark to thin sticks about six feet long, which were stuck into the ground ten or twelve yards apart, and so slanting that the rind might hang clear of its support, and thus fluttering with every breath of wind frighten and turn back these timid animals. The most favourable situation for taking them was where there was a beach of about twenty feet wide with a steep bank alongside. At such or other favourable points were placed half-moon breast works, from which to shoot the animals, or probably in other instances they speared them in the water from

¹ We know little more about this boy. A Mr. John Bland of Bonavista, in answer to some enquiries made by Admiral Waldegrave on his becoming governor in 1796, says that he became expert in all the branches of the Newfoundland business; that he was then dead long ago, that an old man informed him that he frequently made visits to his friends in the interior of the country. (Pedley, 184.)

² Rattle is used in Newfoundland to denote a rapid.

³ This word in Old English is defined to mean a "scarecrow," made of feathers tied to a string, hung up to prevent deer from breaking into a place. Virgil refers to the same practice (*Geor.* iii., 371) "*Puniceæve agitans pavidos formidine pennæ.*"

their canoes. These seem to me the most remarkable of the works of the Beothiks. This mode of capturing deer was practised among several tribes of the aborigines of this continent. But I have never known of its being practised on so large a scale. The fences described by John Cartwright extended for thirty miles along the river, and in addition George mentions that on the north side of the river they had erected lines of fences running back from the river, sometimes parallel with each other, or slightly diverging, and forming a narrow lane of some length, and then forming wing fences to the north-east and the north-west. Mr. Cormack, sixty years after, observed the same and remarked the skill with which they were laid out to guide the creatures to certain passes, such as the extreme ends of lakes which form branches of the river, or along the bottoms of valleys between high and rugged mountains, or to fords in the river. Mr. N. R. Neilson, a gentleman employed in lumbering on the Exploits River, mentioned the same to me, and says that some of the old fences have been repaired by the Micmacs. Farther Mr. Lloyd, who visited the district in 1874, observed the remains of an extensive structure of the same kind on the north side of Red Indian Lake. Mr. W. G. Bradshaw, employed about the same time on the geological survey of the island in that quarter, informs me that he observed the same; that wherever there were bogs the stakes remained standing. They were both informed by the Micmacs that this extended northeasterly all the way to Grand Pond,¹ a distance of thirty-five miles. The construction of such works in the circumstances of this people, even with the aid of all the iron axes we may suppose them to have stolen from the whites, must have required the labours of a large number of men, Mr. Cormack says some hundreds, and shows that they must have been a numerous tribe, as well as possessed of a spirit of perseverance and a capacity for harmonious and combined effort.

After six days' travel Cartwright and some of the party reached the lake. They found here a number of the native dwellings, but saw none of their occupants, and their supplies being reduced they returned to the coast. He, however, carefully examined their houses, canoes, etc., and has given us a very carefully written account of them, which, as not only the oldest but the best that we possess, we shall draw upon largely.² Their houses were of two kinds. The one called *meotick* was like the ordinary wigwams of the Micmacs and other neighbouring tribes, being a conical hut, formed by a row of poles stuck in the ground in a circle and meeting in a point at the top, and covered by birch rind laid sheet upon sheet like tiles. But one remarkable peculiarity he observed was that in a circle round the centre where the fire was placed were dug oblong hollows, which were lined with the tender branches of fir and pine, and which he supposed were their sleeping places. This kind of nest in the wigwam was almost peculiar to the *Beothiks*. But Lady Blake mentions that among a tribe at the foot of the Rocky Mountains named the Atnaks, whose lands are contiguous to the Thompson River, the women dig out holes on the ground, which they inlay with grass or branches, and which it is supposed are used as places of repose.

The other form of dwelling was the square-framed habitation, the *mammuteek*, as it

¹ In Newfoundland lakes of whatever size are called ponds.

² Mr. George Cartwright, in his "Journal of Transactions and Events on the Coast of Labrador," has given an account of the same journey and similar particulars about the Red Indians. We have added some items from his work.

was called. "It was about ten or twelve feet square, and substantially built of timber, nearly in the fashion of the English fishing houses, only that the studs were something apart, from which it was evident that they alone could not in that state form the shell as in the English buildings, where they are closely joined together. But within this and parallel to it, there was another frame of slighter workmanship, a sort of lattice work, rising to the roof. From the hair which adhered to the studs, the interval appeared to have been filled with deer skins, than which there could have been nothing better calculated for keeping out the cold. This was the construction of only three sides, the fourth being raised by trees well squared and placed horizontally one upon another, having their seams caulked with moss. The difference was probably owing to a deficiency of skins, and the rather so as this inferior side of the dwelling bore a southeast aspect, which required less shelter than any other. The lodgments of the rafters on the beams and the necessary joints were as neatly executed as in the houses commonly inhabited by our fishers. The roof was a low pyramid, encompassed at the distance of three feet from its vertex by a hoop tied to the rafters with thongs. Here the covering had terminated, and the space above the hoop had been left open as in the wigwams for a passage to the smoke, the fire place having been in the centre."

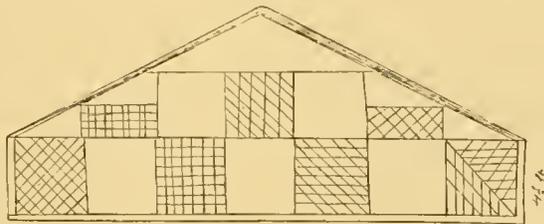


Fig. 1. Red Indian store house, as drawn by Shanandithit.

Such a form of residence is very unusual among the wandering Indian tribes of Northern America. The birch or skin-covered tent, so easily erected and so easily removed, is so admirably adapted for a nomad people that it is rare to find them adopting this more permanent form of dwelling. Whether the Beothiks had it originally or imitated the whites in its construction, it indicates progress toward a more settled condition of life. Besides these they had large store-houses said to have been from thirty to fifty feet long and nearly as wide. (Fig. 1.) In these they laid up their supplies for the winter. Besides the venison which we have mentioned, Mr. George Cartwright says that they found in them seal's flesh, birds and fish, and a kind of sausage, "consisting of the flesh and fat of seals, eggs and a variety of other rich matter stuffed into the entrails of seals. For want of salt and spices the composition had the *haut gout* to perfection." Shanandithit, a native woman to be noticed hereafter, made a sketch of the inside of one of these, representing it as hung round with "different kinds of animal food," dried salmon, dried meat, lobsters' tails dried, pieces of seal's fat on the skin, bladders filled with oil, etc. It is also said "that they had an ingenious way of keeping venison fresh." They first cut it into thin strips, and after having taken out the veins and sinews and washed away the blood, they packed it in alternate layers of meat and melted tallow in a casing of birch bark, which they bound up tightly, thus forming an hermetically sealed mass.¹

¹ This seems to be simply the pemmican of the West.

Of their canoes he gives an exact account. "The principle on which the Red Indian canoe is constructed is, perhaps, nowhere else to be met with. It has in a manner no bottom at all, the sides beginning at the very keel, and from thence running up in a straight line to the edge or gunwale. A transverse section of it at any part whatever makes an acute angle, only that it is not sharpened to a perfect angular point, but is somewhat rounded to take in the slight rod that serves by way of keel. This rod is the thickest in the middle (being in that part about the size of the handle of a common hatchet), tapering each way and terminating with the slender curved extremities of the canoe. The form of this keel will then, it is evident, be the same as the outline of the long section, which, when represented on paper, is nearly, if not exactly, the half of an ellipse longitudinally divided. Having thus drawn the keel, whose two ends become also similar stems to the canoe, the side may be easily completed after this manner. Perpendicular to the middle of the keel, and at two-thirds the height of its extremities, make a point. Between this central and the extreme points describe each way a catenarian arch with a free curve, and you will have the form of the side, as well as a section of the canoe. The coat or shell of the canoe is made of the largest and fairest sheets of birch rind that can be procured. Its form being nothing more than two sides joined together where the keel is to be introduced, it is very easily sewed together entire. The sewing is perfectly neat and performed with spruce roots split to the proper size. That along the gunwale is like our neatest basket work. The seams are payed over with a sort of gum, appearing to be a preparation of turpentine, oil and ochre, and which effectually resists the water. The sides are kept apart, and their proper distance preserved, by means of a thwart of about two fingers substance, whose ends are lodged on the rising points above mentioned in the middle of the gunwale. The extension used when this thwart is introduced lessens in some degree the strength of the canoe by drawing in still more its curling ends. It also fixes the extreme breadth in the middle, which is requisite in a vessel having similar stems, and intended for advancing with either of them foremost, and by bulging out its sides gives them a perceptible convexity much more beautiful than their first form. The gunwales are made with tapering sticks, two on each side, the thick ends of which meet on the rising points with the ends of the main thwart, and being moulded in the shape of the canoe, their small ends terminate with those of the keel rod on the extremities of each stem. On the outside of the proper gunwales, with which they exactly correspond, and connected with them by a few thongs, are also false gunwales fixed there for the same purpose as we use fenders. The inside is lined entirely with sticks two or three inches broad, cut flat and thin and placed length-ways, over which others again are crossed, that being bent in the middle extend up each side to the gunwale, where they are secured, serving as timbers. A short thwart near each end to preserve the canoe from twisting, or being bulged more open than proper, makes it complete. It may readily be conceived from its form and light fabric that being put into the water it would lie flat on one side, with the keel and gunwale both at the surface. But being ballasted with stones it settles to a proper depth in the water and then swims upright, when a covering of sods and moss being laid on the stones the Indians kneel on them and manuege the canoe with paddles. In fine weather they sometimes set a sail on a very slight mast fastened to the middle thwart. But this is a practice for which these

delicate and unsteady barks are by no means calculated. A canoe of fourteen feet long is about four feet wide in the middle.¹



Fig. 2. Red Indian Canoe, with a section midships, from a sketch by John Cartwright.

Mr. Cartwright has given us a small drawing of one of these canoes, which we reproduce. (Fig. 2.) Each tribe of Indians has its own pattern of canoe, as well as of snowshoes and other articles. The difference is generally a matter of fancy, but where it is important we will generally find that it has been adopted to suit the difference of circumstances. Thus among the Crees in the West, where their navigation is largely of rivers in which are many rapids, their canoes are constructed with a high prow, serving to prevent the taking in of water to which they would be liable in such cases. But among the Micmacs and other eastern tribes, where their navigation is principally on the even surface of rivers and harbours, their canoes have their gunwales continued straight or with a gentle sweep from end to end. The Beothik canoe resembled the Cree in having the prow rising upward, but it rose much higher and narrowed to a point, instead of curving backward, as with the latter. I have no doubt that this form would render it less liable to ship a sea, while the construction of the hull, when properly ballasted, would increase its capacity as a sailing craft among the rough waters of the Newfoundland coast. But the V shaped hull is something singular. So far as I am aware, nothing is to be found like it among the tribes in northern America. With them I believe the universal practice is to have their canoes with bottoms either flat or slightly convex. But from its greater depth this would take a greater hold of the water.

As to sails archæologists are disposed to regard the aborigines of America as ignorant of their use. I have seen it stated that the Peruvians were the only people of America who used them. To me it seems impossible to believe that tribes in whom the powers of observation were so carefully cultivated, who were so acquainted with the powers of nature around them, and who felt the force of the wind every day, should never have thought of employing this mode of propulsion. There is evidence that the Micmacs used a bush in their canoes for the purpose,² and Cartwright was not likely to be misinformed in his statement regarding the Beothiks using a mast and sail. At all events George Cartwright describes them as most expert in the management of their canoes. Their seamanship was evinced by their visiting Funk Island, a small and low-lying island forty miles from the nearest point of land. This island was long distinguished for the number of birds that frequented it. According to Mr. C. the Beothiks visited it once or twice a

¹ Mr. Cormack measured one and found it twenty-two feet long. A family in Notre Dame Bay who had a good deal to do with the Red Indians informed Mr. Lloyd that the thwarts could be taken out and the two sides brought together like a cocked hat. This would be for convenience in carrying them. Even according to Cartwright's description this is possible, but we think it very doubtful.

² Hence the proverb common in Nova Scotia, particularly among the young, "too much bush for a small canoe."

year, and returned with their canoes laden with their flesh and eggs. This is confirmed by the fact of their implements having been found there in recent times.¹

"Their bows," he says, "are of sycamore, which being scarce in this country, and the only wood it produces that is fit for this use, it thence becomes valuable. The sticks are not selected with any such nicety, some of them being knotty and of a very rude appearance, but under this simple rustic guise they carry very great perfection, and to those who examine them with due attention, admirable skill is shown in their construction. Except in the grasp the inside of them is cut flat, but so obliquely and with so much art, that the string will vibrate in a direction coinciding with the thicker edge of the bow. They are full five and a half feet long. The arrow is made of well seasoned pine, slender, light and perfectly straight, and about three feet long." Its head was made at this time of nails or other pieces of iron filched from the whites. It was let into a cleft on the top of the shaft and secured there by a thread of deer sinew. The stock was about three feet long. It was feathered with the pinions of the goose or the eagle. It is uncertain what wood he refers to as the sycamore, as that tree does not grow on the island, nor does the maple, except a dwarf species. Though he speaks of the roughness of their bows, one in the public museum is extremely well made. The string is a very fine piece of twisted deer skin. Mr. George Cartwright says: "They are excellent archers, as many of our fishermen have too fatally experienced."

Mr. C. gives an interesting account of their mode of life at that time. With the first frost and snow the deer commenced to travel southward, collecting together in large droves. If the frost continued they travelled on night and day without stopping to eat, more than snatching some browse or moss as they passed. In this event the Indians at their deer fences would in a very few days kill enough to supply themselves with venison the whole winter. If there came a thaw the deer lingered to feed, resuming progress when the frost returned. In this case the supply was longer in being collected, but was not less certain and abundant. Thus supplied they spent their winter on the banks of the Exploits or the Red Indian Lake, which is an expansion of that river, and Cartwright supposed that they made at least the first part of it a season of merriment.

In spring the deer begin their migration northward, but they are then in miserable condition, and travel slowly in small bands and staying to feed to recover flesh and strength. In spring therefore food became scarce, and the Beothiks moved down to the sea coast, and spent the summer among the islands and bays near the mouth of the River Exploits, extending from Cape Freels to Cape John. They had formerly gone much further, but with their reduced numbers they were now confined to that region. Between these bounds there were hundreds of islands, abounding in sea-fowl, ptarmigan,² hares and other game, besides their waters containing seals in great abundance. On the largest of these isles were deer, foxes, bears and otters. Besides hunting all these, they used to kill considerable quantities of salmon in the rivers. But the English, he says, have only left them possession of Charles's and another brook. During the egg season they were supposed to feed luxuriously, and by no means to want after the young have taken wing, for

¹ Here the Great Auk was found in abundance. Recent examination has shown that the natives in visiting the island had used its flesh for fuel.

² We have used the name generally employed, but the bird referred to is properly the willow grouse (*Lagopus albus*).

in archery they have an unerring hand. Besides providing for the present, they laid up supplies for the winter.

Their life here, however, as he describes it, was that of a hunted wild beast. "From the time of their coming down to the coast," he says, "they are obliged to observe all the vigilance of war. Few in numbers, and in dread of the firearms of the whites, their life is one of constant alarm. It being necessary to separate into small families to obtain subsistence, renders them an easy conquest to a single boat's crew. There is no codfishery, and consequently there are no inhabitants within the very exterior verge of these islands, but they are often visited by boats that carry the salmon-fishers, shipbuilders, sawyers, woodmen and furriers, as well as by such as row from isle to isle in quest of game. The Indians, from their secret haunts, let not a motion of all these people escape them. They are careful to post themselves where they can command a view of all approaches and secure an easy retreat. Their wigwams are frequently erected on a narrow isthmus, so that their canoes may be launched into the water on the safe side, wherever an enemy's boat appears.¹ Both day and night they keep an unintermitting lookout, so that to surprise them requires uncommon address and subtlety. Even to gain a sight of them is no small difficulty, as they seldom fail to discover the advances of the fishermen early enough to make their retreat without being perceived. This is known to everyone who has traversed these islands to any extent, as the traces of Indians are found wherever they land, and sometimes such fresh signs of them as show that they have not quitted the spot many minutes, and though these appearances may be observed every day, yet whole seasons sometimes elapse without any Indians being seen by them.² They cannot be too watchful, for surprises in their wigwams generally prove fatal, and upon sudden accidental meetings it has been the usual practice of the fishermen to destroy them unprovoked, while, terrified, they have attempted nothing but to make their escape."

As to their numbers at that time, the people in that quarter estimated them some at two hundred and others at three hundred. But Mr. Cartwright thought that they might amount to two hundred more. The reason why the residents estimated them so low was that they were so seldom seen, and that only between Cape Freels and Cape John. But he justly remarks that between these two boundaries is a distance of thirty leagues, in which there would be an island for every man, and nearly twenty capacious bays and inlets deeply indenting the land. It was no wonder therefore that they could conceal themselves. His principal reason, however, for his estimate was the number of dwellings he found on the Exploits River and at the lake, and he believed also that they were to be found on some of the neighbouring streams. But in the number of decaying wigwams he had painful evidence of the decrease in their numbers. At what he calls June's Cove, from its having been described by June, the Indian lad, as the site of his father's lodge, "there was a level space reaching within a quarter of a mile within the beach that was cleared of timber and covered with old marks of an Indian settlement now gone entirely to decay."

It may be mentioned that the child whose mother was killed, as mentioned on page 131, was supposed to have been about four years of age at the time of his capture. He

¹ This is confirmed by their remains having been found on such positions.

² George Cartwright says: "I met with wigwams upon several of these islands in which the fires were burning, yet I never saw an Indian."

received the name of John August from the month in which he was taken. Till his death he lived among the whites. Mr. Bland, in the letter already quoted, says: "He was taken when an infant. He fell from his mother's back, who was running off with her child when she was shot, and I have been told by those who were intimate with him that he has frequently expressed a wish to meet the murderer of his mother, that he might avenge her death." Mr. Tocque mentions that in 1842 he met an old man who had seen both him and June, when he was a boy at Catalina, and said that August went master of a fishing boat out of that place for several years. All that we know farther of him is contained in the following entry in the parish register of Trinity:

" 1788 October 29

" Interred John August, a native Indian of this island, a servant to Jeffrey G. Street."

Mr. Cartwright brought under the notice of the governor, Sir Hugh Palliser, the cruelties practised by the whites in the northeast part of the island upon this unfortunate people, but for a time no active measures were adopted to suppress them. And what cared the lawless trappers and fishermen of that region for proclamations, which were followed up by no practical measures. The relation between the two therefore continued as before till the arrival of Admiral Lord Gambier as governor in 1802. He interested himself in the matter, and among his first acts was the issuing of a proclamation offering a reward for the capture of a Red Indian. As a result a woman was brought to St. John's by a fisherman, of which we have the following record under date 17th September, 1803: "William Cull having brought an Indian woman from Gander Bay to this harbour, I have for his trouble, loss of time, etc., paid him the sum of fifty pounds. The said William Cull has also promised to convey the woman back to the spot from whence she was brought, and to use his endeavours to return her to her friends among the Indians, together with the few articles of clothing which have been given her." She is said to have been taken by Cull as she was paddling in a canoe towards a small island for birds' eggs. She was treated kindly in St. John's, and her appearance and conduct while there are thus described: "She appeared to be about fifty years of age, very docile, and evidently different from all the tribes of Indians or savages of which we have any knowledge. She was of a copper color, with black eyes and hair like the hair of a European. She showed a passionate fondness for children. Being introduced into a large assembly by Governor Gambier, never were astonishment and pleasure more strongly depicted in a human countenance than hers exhibited. After having walked through the room between the governor and the general, whose gold ornaments and feathers seemed to attract her attention in a particular manner, she squatted on the floor, holding fast a bundle in which were her fur clothes, which she would not suffer to be taken away from her. She was then placed in a situation from which she had a full view of the whole room, and on the instant lost her serious or melancholy deportment. She looked at the musicians as if she wished to be near them. A gentleman took her by the hand, pointing to them at the same time. She perfectly understood his meaning; went through the crowd, sat with them for a short time, and then expressed in her way a wish to retire. She was everywhere treated with the greatest kindness, and appeared to be sensible of it. Being allowed to take in the shops whatever took her fancy, she showed a decided preference

for bright colors, accepted what was given, but she would not for a moment leave hold of her bundle, keenly resenting any attempt to take it from her." ¹

Cull, as appears from the above record, was to return her to her friends. As a conciliatory present to them, there was entrusted to him a quantity of goods to the value of seventy-five dollars, consisting of fishing lines, handsaws, hatchets, nails, clasp-knives, blankets, women's shoes, etc. There is reason to believe that the entrusting a Beothik with such an amount of goods to the care of one of the north Newfoundland fishermen, one, too, reported to have shot several of the tribe, was simply entrusting the sheep to the care of the wolf. At all events the arrangements for her return to her people were not immediately carried out, and she remained with her captor all winter. All that is recorded of her afterward is contained in the following letter, dated Fogo, September 27, 1804:—

"SIR,—This is to inform you that I could get no men until the 28th day of August, when we proceeded with the Indian to the Bay of Exploits, and then went with her up the river as far as we possibly could, for want of more strength, and there let her remain ten days, and when I returned the rest of the Indians had carried her off in the country. I would not wish to have any more hand with the Indians unless you will send round and insure payment for a number of men to go in the country in winter. The people do not hold with civilizing the Indians, as they think that they will kill more than they did before.

WM. CULL.

The tone of this letter is rather suspicious, and many believed that instead of returning her to her friends he had murdered her for the sake of the goods sent with her.

In the year 1807 Admiral Holloway arrived as governor. Before leaving England he had formed a plan for holding intercourse with the natives, which he propounded to Lord Castlereagh in the following terms:—

"To have paintings representing the Indians and Europeans in a group, each in the usual dress of their country. The Indians bringing furs, etc., to traffic with the Europeans, who should be offering blankets, hatchets, etc., in exchange. The pictures to be taken by an officer commanding one of the schooners, to the place usually resorted to by the Indians, and left with a small quantity of European goods and trinkets, and when taken away by the Indians to be replaced by another supply."

The idea was not a bad one. It was exactly what was done, we believe successfully, with the natives of Australia. The plan was approved by the colonial minister; a picture was prepared and sent out with the admiral. In the following year (1808) it was entrusted, with a quantity of other articles, to Lieut. Spratt, who proceeded in an armed schooner to the Bay of Exploits. The picture is described as representing officers of the Royal Navy shaking hands with an Indian chief, a party of sailors laying parcels of goods at his feet, Indians, men and women, presenting furs to the officers, a European and Indian mother looking at their respective children of the same age, and a sailor courting an Indian girl. The expedition was entirely unsuccessful, and Lieut. Spratt, after searching for some time, was compelled by the advancing season to return to St. John's without having seen a single Red Indian, and bringing back the picture and the other goods.

¹ Anspach's "History of Newfoundland," p. 245.

In the following year (1809) the same officer was ordered to renew the search. Whether he did so, or if he did with what result, does not appear. In the following winter the governor engaged Wm. Cull and six others to go into the interior in search of the Indians. Accompanied by two Miamaes, they started on the 1st January, and proceeded up the river on the ice. On the fourth day, having travelled sixty miles, they discovered a building on the bank of the river, about forty or fifty feet long and nearly as wide. It was constructed of wood and covered with bark and skins of deer. In this building they found a quantity of about one hundred deer, some parts of which, from their extreme fatness, must have been obtained early in the fall. The fat venison was in junks entirely divested of bone, and stowed in boxes made of birch and spruce-rind, each box containing about two hundred weight. The tongues and hearts of the deer were stowed in the middle of the package. The bear venison, or that more recently killed, was in quarters and stowed in bulk, some part of it with the skin on. In this storehouse they saw three lids of tin teakettles, which Cull believed to be the same which had been sent back by him six years before with the Indian woman he had captured. They also found several marten, beaver and deer skins, dressed after the fashion of our own furriers. On the opposite bank of the river stood a second storehouse, considerably larger than the former, but they did not examine it, the ice being broken and the crossing in consequence dangerous. In exchange for some furs they left a variety of European goods. On their way to this storehouse they saw two of the natives, but unfortunately the latter discovered the party and retired. They also saw their fences for capturing deer, to which we have referred. They believed that the residences of the Indians could not be very distant from these magazines. But want of bread and some difference of opinion among the party prevented them from exploring farther.¹

The following winter (1810-11) afforded one of the most interesting, but one of the most melancholy, narratives connected with this unfortunate people. In summer, the new governor, Sir John T. Duckworth, desirous of carrying out the benevolent intentions of the British Government, issued a proclamation in which, besides enjoining all who might meet the Indians to treat them with kindness, he offered to any person who would establish intercourse with them on a firm and settled basis, the sum of £200 as a reward for the great service he would thereby have rendered to His Majesty and the cause of humanity. It was farther promised to such person that he should be honourably mentioned to His Majesty, and receive from the governor such countenance and further encouragement as it was in His Excellency's power to give. He also made arrangements for an expedition to endeavour to open communication with them. This was placed in charge of Lieut. Buchan, commander of His Majesty's schooner *Adonis*, who was commissioned to obtain the assistance of Cull and the others who had been employed the previous winter in exploring the country.

Mr. Buchan accordingly went in autumn to the entrance of the river Exploits and there anchored his vessel, which soon became fixed in the ice. On the 13th January (1811) he started for the interior with twenty-three men and a boy of his crew, and with Cull and two others as guides. They met with serious difficulties from the weather and the state of travelling, but pushed on, and on the 18th they saw signs, though not very fresh, of Indians, Indian paths, sites of wigwams and deer fences. On the 22nd, when

¹ The report of the expedition will be found in the appendix to Pedley's work, page 480.

they had travelled some sixty miles, they found a storehouse seemingly newly erected. It was of circular form and covered round with deer skins. Some carcasses were left a little way from it. A few miles further they reached the spot where Cull had found the two storehouses, but which were now removed.

The following day, having advanced a few miles farther, Lieut. Buchan came to the conclusion that it was impossible to proceed farther with the sledges. He therefore divided his party, leaving one-half with the stores, and taking four days' provisions with the rest renewed his journey. As they advanced the signs of the recent presence of those whom they were seeking became more apparent, and early on the morning of the 24th they came upon three wigwams, and having surrounded them the inhabitants were at once secured.

“On calling to them within and receiving no answer, the skins which covered the entrance being removed, we beheld a group of men, women and children lying in the utmost consternation. They were some minutes without motion or utterance. My grand object was now to remove their fears, which was soon accomplished by our shaking hands and showing every friendly disposition. The women embraced me for my attention to their children. From alarm they became curious, and examined our dress with great attention and surprise. They kindled a fire and presented us with venison steaks, and fat run into a solid cake, which they used with lean meat. Everything promised the utmost cordiality. Knives, handkerchiefs and other little articles were given to them and they offered skins. I had to regret their language not being known, and the presents at the distance of at least twelve miles caused me much embarrassment. I used my utmost means to make them sensible of my wish for some of them to accompany us to bring up things such as we wore. This they seemed perfectly to comprehend. Three hours and a half having been employed in conciliatory endeavours, and every appearance of the greatest amity existing between us, and considering a longer tarry useless without the means of convincing them further of our friendship, giving them to understand that we were going and indicating our intention to return, four of them signified that they would accompany us. Two of the marines observing this requested to be left behind in order to repair their snowshoes. Most of the party wished to be the individuals to remain. I was induced to comply with the first request, from a motive of showing the natives a mutual confidence. Cautioing the men to observe the utmost regularity of conduct, at 10.30 a.m., having again myself shook hands with all the natives, and expressed in the best way I could my intention to be with them in the morning, they expressed a satisfaction on seeing that two of us were going to remain, and we left them accompanied by four of them.”

They travelled on together for about six miles till they reached the place where Mr. Buchan's party had made their fire the night before, when one of the natives whom he regarded as a chief, with one of his men, refused to go further, and took his leave, directing the other two to go on with Mr. Buchan. They did so till they came near the place where the goods had been left, when one of them, seemingly panic-stricken, started to go back, beckoning to his companion to follow him. The latter, however, disregarded his efforts, and, though Mr. Buchan allowed him the opportunity to return, he refused to take advantage of it. About 3 p.m. they arrived at the depot. The Indian started at seeing so many more men, but this was only for a moment, and he soon became pleased with all he

saw. Mr. Buchan made him a few presents and showed him the articles that were to be taken up.

The next morning they set out on their return. The conduct of the Indian continued the same. But on reaching the site of the Indian encampment, to their astonishment they found it deserted. It was evident that the Indians had become alarmed by the return of their three countrymen, who probably told some tale of treachery. As there was no sign of violence, they still hoped for the safety of the marines. The Indian who had accompanied them seemed perplexed at the state of matters. Lieut. Buchan, giving him some presents, desired him to go after his people, trusting that his appearance and recital of the treatment he had received would not only be the means of liberating the men, but also of inducing the natives to return. He, however, refused to leave, and showed every disposition to conciliate his new friends.

Having left presents for the owners of the different wigwams, and attaching some to a red staff about six feet long, which the Indian had given them to understand belonged to the chief, they set out early the next morning to follow the party. The Indian accompanied them, sometimes running on before in a zig-zag direction, keeping his eyes to the ice as having a trace to guide him. When they had gone about two-thirds of a mile from the wigwams, he edged in suddenly, for an instant halted, then took to flight with a rapidity which baffled pursuit. The cause was too soon apparent. The bodies of the two unfortunate marines lay about a hundred yards apart, pierced with arrows in the back, and the heads carried away and no vestige of garments left.

Mr. Buchan thought it his first duty, instead of following them, to return to secure the safety of the men whom he had left where the goods had been placed. Arriving there, and considering the whole situation, that any attempt to secure the persons of any would only result in bloodshed, which would frustrate all future efforts at reconciliation, and also that the weather indicated a rapid thaw, which would render travelling by the river impracticable, he resolved to return to the coast. Setting out immediately, the party arrived safely at their vessel on the 30th.

After the party had recovered from the effects of their first journey, and due preparations having been made, Lieut. Buchan, on the 5th March, set out on a second, with thirty men and provisions for twenty-two days. After starting the weather proved stormy, but on the 13th they reached the circular store house previously mentioned. They found that the natives had been there since their former journey, they had taken all the prime venison away, and there were indications of their having removed deposits of other articles. What struck him most was that the skin covering of the store on the side fronting the river and the inland side were perforated with many arrows. From this he concluded that some of them had taken a station on the bank and had shot their arrows at the store to ascertain whether the white men might not be concealed within it. From the spirit thus manifested and the state of the weather, Lieut. Buchan concluded to abandon any farther pursuit. He accordingly returned to his vessel, and so ended this well-meant attempt to enter into friendly relations with the unfortunate Beothiks.¹

¹ Full particulars are given in a letter to Lord Liverpool in 1811, most of which appear in the appendix to Mr. Pedley's work, p. 482. Lieut. Buchan may in his circumstances be excused for his course in leaving his men unprotected among them. But in any case it was not to be expected that a people who knew the whites only through a century of murder and treachery, should at once have all their suspicions removed. In this case they saw in his party the very men that they knew to be the most active in shooting them, and is it any wonder that they distrusted a party led by such guides?

It was afterward ascertained that they had suspected that Capt. Buchan had gone to bring up a body of men to make them all prisoners. They had therefore resolved to break up their encampment and to alarm and join the rest of the tribe encamped around the lake. They went first to a point on the north side, where was a small encampment of sixteen souls—five men, four women, three boys and four girls. With these they proceeded across the lake to the south side, where now all that remained of the tribe were encamped. Probably the whole number would not exceed seventy souls, such was the destruction that had been going on. Here they raised the head of one of the marines which they had brought with them on a pole and danced round it for two hours. They remained here till spring, when they returned to their former residence and did the same with the head of the other marine which they had left behind them.¹

We hear no more of efforts on the part of government to enter into communication with them. Of the relation between them and the settlers we are safe in assuming that it continued of the same hostile character. We next hear of this people in the beginning of the year 1819, when a person of the name of Peyton, carrying on considerable salmon fisheries in the north of the island, having been greatly annoyed and having suffered considerable losses by the depredations of the natives, determined to go into the interior with the view of recovering his lost property and of establishing a system of trade by barter with them. In this journey he was accompanied by his father and eight men, all armed. One the 5th March, on Red Indian Lake, which was then frozen, they surprised three Indians at a little distance from their wigwams. One, who proved to be a woman was captured, or induced to stop, when a man, described as six feet high and of a noble and commanding figure, and who it was ascertained afterward was her husband, turned back and attempted to rescue her single-handed, when he was shot, and it is believed also the third of the party.² The woman was taken to Twillingate, where she was placed under the care of the Church of England clergyman of that place. She received the name of Mary March from the month in which she was taken, though her native name was Demasduit. A full account of her was prepared by Capt. Hercules Robinson, of H. M. S. *Favourite*, from recollection of conversations with the Rev. Mr. Leigh,³ which we give nearly in full. On the death of her husband he says:—"She did not fly, shed no tears (a savage never weeps), but after a few minutes' violent struggle of emotions, which were visible on her intelligent countenance, anguish and horror appeared to give place to fear, and she went to the murderer of her husband, clung to his arm, as if for protection, and strange to say a most devoted attachment appeared from that moment to have been produced toward him, which only ended with her life."⁴ To him alone she was

¹ This information regarding the movements of the Indians, with some to be given presently, was obtained from Shanandithit, a Red Indian woman, whose capture and life among the whites we shall have occasion to refer to at length. The man who accompanied Lieut. Buchan's party back to their supplies was her uncle.

² In a vocabulary drawn up by Mr. King, mostly from Mr. Cormack's papers, his name is given as Monosebasset, and he is said to have been 6 ft. 7½ in. high. When or by whom he was measured we are not informed. But there are traditions round the coast of such gigantic men among them. Allowing for exaggerations, there is reason to believe that they were generally a tall race of men.

³ The MS. of this is in the British Museum, but a copy is in the Legislative Library of Nova Scotia.

⁴ Chappell says that in like manner the woman captured by Cull was contented in the presence of females, but became outrageous if a man approached her except Cull, with whom she was gentle and affectionate. I believe the cause of this was the reaction of feeling from expecting to be killed, but instead treated with kindness.

gentleness, affection and obedience, and the last act of her life was to take a ring from her finger and beg that it might be sent to John Peyton." It may be stated here that it was afterward ascertained that she left two children behind her, one of them an infant, which is said to have died a few days after her capture.

"The tribe was in the neighbourhood of this disastrous meeting, and it was necessary that the Peytons should secure their retreat. They had a sleigh drawn by dogs in which she placed herself, when she understood that she was to accompany the party, and directed them by signs to cover her over, holding her legs out to have her moccasins laced, and here and subsequently by her helplessness, by the attention she appeared habitually to expect at the hand of others, and by her [un]acquaintance with any laborious employment, she seemed to have been accustomed to a treatment of female savages very different from that of all other tribes." We doubt Capt. R.'s interpretation of her conduct in this respect, but it was remarked by others that her dignified mien suggested the idea of her being a chief's wife, if not a chief in her own right.

"She was quite unlike an Eskimo in face and figure, tall and rather stout body, limbs very small and delicate, particularly her arms. Her hands and feet very small and beautifully formed, and of these she was very proud. Her complexion, a light copper colour, became nearly as fair as a European's after a course of washing and absence from smoke. Her hair was black," and others say very much like that of a European, "her eyes" black and "larger and more intelligent than those of an Eskimo, her teeth small, white and regular, her cheek bones rather high, but her countenance had a mild and pleasing expression. Her voice was sweet, low and musical.

"When brought to Fogo she was taken into the house of Mr. Leigh, the church missionary, where for some time she was ill at ease, and twice during the night attempted to escape to the woods, where she must have immediately perished in the snow. She was, however, carefully watched, and in a few weeks was tolerably reconciled to her situation, and appeared to enjoy the comforts of civilization, particularly the clothing. Her own were of dressed deer skins, tastefully trimmed with marten, but she would not put them on or part with them. She ate sparingly, disliked wine or spirits, was very fond of sleep, never getting up 'o breakfast before 9 o'clock. She lay rolled up in a ball in the middle of her bed. Her extreme personal delicacy and propriety were very remarkable, and appeared more an innate feeling than any exhibition of tact or conventional trick. Her power of mimicry was very remarkable and enabled her quickly to speak the language she heard, and before this she could express herself by signs and dumb motions that were curiously significant. She described the servants, blacksmiths, tailor, shoemaker, a man who wore spectacles, and other persons whom she could not name with a most happy minuteness of imitation."

"She would sometimes, though rarely, speak freely to Mr. Leigh, and talk of her tribe. They believe in a Great Spirit, but seem to have no religious ceremonies. Polygamy does not appear to be practised. Mr. Leigh is of opinion that they are about three hundred in number. I forget the data from which he calculates. They live in separate wigwams. Mary's consisted of sixteen. The number was discovered in rather a curious manner. She went frequently to her bedroom during the day, and when Mr. Leigh's housekeeper went up she always found her rolled in a ball apparently asleep. At last a quantity of blue cloth was missed, and from the great jealousy that Mary showed about

her trunk suspicion fell upon her. Her trunk was searched and the cloth found nicely converted into sixteen pairs of moccasins, which she had made in her bed. Two pairs of children's stockings were also found, made of a cotton nightcap. Mr. Leigh had lost one. But Mary answered angrily to all questions about her merchandise, "John Peyton," "John Peyton," meaning that he had given it to her. At last in the bottom of her trunk the tassel of the cap and the bit marked "J. L." were found. When looking steadfastly at Mr. Leigh, she pointed to her manufacture, said "yours," and ran into the woods. When brought back she was very sulky and remained so for several weeks.

"The poor captive had two children, and this was probably the tie that held her to her wigwam, for, though she appeared to enjoy St. John's when she was taken there, and her improved habits of life, she only "dragged a lengthened chain," and all her hopes and acts appeared to have a reference to her return. She hoarded clothes, trinkets and everything that was given her, and was fond of dividing them into sixteen.

"She was very obstinate, but was glad to be of any service in her power if not asked to assist. She was playful and was pleased with startling Mr. Leigh by stealing behind him softly. Her perception of anything ridiculous, with her general knowledge of character, showed much acuteness and sagacity. She particularly despised bachelors. When she was taken to St. John's, on entering the harbour she said to Messrs. Leigh and Peyton: "You go shore, Mr. Leigh. Mr. Peyton when go shore no *enamoose* (woman) ha ha, ha ha." She was indifferent to music, did not seem to perceive its force, liked exhibiting herself to strangers, and was very fond of putting on and taking off all the dresses, ribbands and ornaments which were given her.

"Mr. Leigh once drew on a bit of paper a boat and crew with a female figure in it going up a river, and stopping a moment at a wigwam, then described the boat freighted as before returning. Mary immediately applied the hieroglyphic and cried out: "No no; no, no." He then altered the drawing, taking the woman out and leaving her behind at the wigwam, when she cried very joyfully: "Yes, yes, good for Mary." A variety of representations more obscure than this she perceived with great quickness, and had much satisfaction in this mode of communication."

To the above Capt. R. appends the following note: "I have written these notes from the recollection of conversations with Mr. Leigh at Harbour Grace during several weeks, and I regret that I neglected to note them before many interesting particulars had escaped my memory."

As it is the above is the fullest description of a Beothik that we possess. Its truthfulness and consequent value are apparent on its face.

Demasduit, as here delineated, is a specimen, but a very favourable one, of a savage, or one brought up apart from civilization. In her self-will, her occasional pettishness and aversion to steady labour we have the faults of such, so like those of children. Her quickness of observation, her reading of character and her power of imitation are the gifts which, being most cultivated among them, become best developed. Her acquisitiveness, which was a feature also of the other females who lived with the whites, can scarcely be regarded as characteristic of the uncivilized, but I scarcely know whether it should be held as evidence of a capacity for civilization. But her modesty and propriety of behaviour, her gentleness and kindness, her gratitude for favours and her affection for her kindred present her in a very favourable light. Indeed, in such respects, she and others

of the tribe that have lived among the whites were very different from the idea we have of savages.

If the interpretation given of her use of the number sixteen be correct, which we see no reason to doubt, then it shows that they had to some extent the communal system of family life. We may add here that, according to all the information that has come down to us, the Beothiks were monogamists and their wives chaste. All the women of the tribe who lived among the whites have been marked by their modesty of demeanour. This has been a distinguishing feature of the Algonkin tribes, and it may indicate some ethnological affinity between them.

Demasduit was taken to St. John's, where she was treated with great kindness, and by her modest and gentle demeanour, as well as her intelligence, she drew much interest towards herself. A miniature of her was drawn by Lady Hamilton, said to be strikingly like her, of which a copy appears in Tocque's "Wandering Thoughts," p. 273, which we



Fig. 3. Portrait of Mary March.

reproduce (Fig. 3). She acquired considerable facility in the use of English, and sanguine hopes were entertained that through her means communication might be opened with her tribe. Her heart, too, was with them in her wigwam on the banks of the Red Indian Lake, where she had left brothers, sisters and children. When therefore the governor appointed Capt. Buchan to the charge of an expedition to take her back and to establish friendly relations with them, it seemed as if a brighter day for this people was dawning, and that they were at last to be introduced to the blessings of Christianity and civilization. It was not to be. She left St. John's with a bad cough, which developed into consumption, and at the mouth of the River Exploits she died on the 8th January, 1820.

This was too likely to increase the obstacles in the way of establishing peaceful intercourse with a race naturally become so suspicious. All that could be done in the way of conciliation was done. Capt. B. had the body wrapped in linen and placed in a coffin. This he left on the margin of a lake in the interior, where it was likely to be found by her people.

It was afterwards ascertained that all that remained of the tribe were that winter

encamped on the banks of the River Exploits. Their numbers had decreased during the few years preceding. Shanandithit drew a pencil sketch of a gun and a puff of smoke to indicate that the shooting was still going on. At this time, according to her statement, they were then reduced to four families—her father's, numbering five, her uncle's, seven, a third nine, and the fourth six, making twenty-seven in all, occupying three camps. They saw Capt. Buchan and his party pass up the river on the ice, but made no sign. They then went down to the seacoast near the mouth of the river, where they remained a month. After that they returned up the river, and saw the tracks of Capt. B.'s party returning. They then went by a circuitous route to the lake, and to the spot where Mary March's body had been left. They opened the coffin with hatchets and took out the clothes, etc., that had been left with her. It was allowed to remain suspended as they found it for one month. It was then placed on the ground, where it remained two months, when in spring they removed it to the house-tomb which they had built for her husband, and laid her by his side.

We hear of no farther contact of the whites with the Beothiks till the winter of 1823, when two men named C—— and A——, near Badger Bay, fell in with an Indian man and woman, who approached apparently soliciting food. The man was first killed, and the woman, who was afterward found to be his daughter, in despair remained calmly to be fired at, when she also was shot through the chest and immediately expired. This was told Mr. Cormack by the man who did the deed.

About a month after, and in the same neighborhood, a Red Indian family was fallen in with by a band of furriers, at the head of whom was Cull, already mentioned. They first saw an Indian man and woman. According to one account the former fled, but the latter approached Cull and his party, and afterward led them to a clump of bushes where her two daughters were, the one aged about twenty, whose native name was Shanandithit, to whom we have already referred. But according to another account as given in the journal of the Rev. W. Wilson, the party had gone two and two in different directions, when one of these bands saw an Indian on a distant hill, and supposing him to be one of their party, they fired a gun loaded only with powder to let their friends know of their whereabouts. A Red Indian generally fled at the report of a musket, but this man only quickened his pace, and came toward them in a threatening attitude and with a large club in his hand. They summoned him to surrender, but he came on with redoubled fury, and when nearly at the muzzle of their guns one of the men fired and he fell dead at their feet. He adds that the men were brought to trial, but there being no evidence against them they were acquitted. From this statement we cannot doubt that the Indian was shot, but it is very unlikely that one man armed only with a club should advance to attack two men armed with muskets. If he did it could only have been from his being in a state of desperation. Mr. Wilson has given the statement of those engaged in the affair, but circumstances now known leave little doubt that they came to solicit food. At all events the three women were captured, and were found to be all seemingly in a starving condition.

From Shanandithit it was afterward ascertained that famine and disease had been doing their deadly work among the feeble remnant of the Beothiks. Of the twenty-seven, three years before, three of the second family, one of the third and two of the fourth had died. They had long been too feeble to keep up their deer-fences, and at their old resorts

food had failed. Driven by hunger, some, perhaps the whole remnant, resolved to risk death at the hands of the whites by going down to the coast, if haply they might prolong life by gathering mussels or other food to be found there. Shanandithit's uncle and his family were among the first to go. But he and his daughter were the parties shot, as we have mentioned,¹ and the two remaining members of the family "afterwards died." Shanandithit's family followed, with the result, as we have seen, that one was killed and three captured. What became of the fifth we are not informed. This would leave only twelve remaining besides him. They are stated to have consisted of five men, four women, one lad and two children, and to have taken their course toward the lake. At all events none of them were ever seen or heard of more, and there cannot be a doubt that they all perished. Indeed, from the state approaching starvation at which they were at this time, it is not likely that any of them survived that spring.

Mr. Peyton brought the three women to St. John's, to receive the reward offered by government for bringing in a Red Indian. The Rev. W. Wilson, who met them and tried to converse with them, says in his journal of them :—

"They were first taken to Government House, and by order of His Excellency the Governor a comfortable room in the court-house was assigned to them as a place of residence, where they were treated with every possible kindness. The mother is far advanced in life, but seems in good health. Beds were provided for them, but they did not understand their use, and they slept on their deer-skins in the corner of the room. One of the daughters was ill, yet she would take no medicine. The doctor recommended phlebotomy, and a gentleman allowed a vein to be opened in his arm to show her that there was no intention to kill her, but this was to no purpose; for when she saw the lancet brought near her own arm both she and her companions got into a state of fury, so that the doctor had to desist. Her sister was in good health. If she had ever used red ochre about her person, there was then no sign of it on her face. Her complexion was swarthy, not unlike the Micmacs. Her features were handsome. She was a tall, fine figure, and stood nearly six feet high, and such a beautiful set of teeth I do not know that I ever saw in a human head. In her manner she was bland, affable and affectionate. I showed her my watch. She put it to her ear and was amused with its tick. A gentleman put a looking-glass before her and her grimaces were most extraordinary. But when a black lead-pencil was put into her hand and a piece of white paper laid upon the table she was in raptures. She made a few marks on the paper, apparently to try the pencil. Then in one flourish she drew a deer perfectly, and, what is more surprising, she began at the tip of the tail. This person, whose Indian name is Shanandithit, is thought to be the wife of the man who was shot.² The old woman was morose, and had the look and action of a savage. She would sit all day on the floor, with a deer-skin shawl on, and looked with dread or hatred upon everyone that entered the court-house." It may be added that she continued to show much the same spirit.

Under date June 24th, the same journal has the following references to them :—

¹ It is presumed that he was the same who accompanied Lieut. Buchan back to his supplies.

² It has since been said that he was her uncle. But from her statements it appears that her uncle was the man shot just shortly before. We judge this man to have been her father. He was plainly the head of the family.

“Saw the three Indian women in the street. The ladies had dressed them in English garb, but over their dress they all had on their, to them indispensable, deer-skin shawls. And Shanandithit, thinking the long front of her bonnet an unnecessary appendage, had torn it off, and in its place had decorated her forehead and her arms with tinsel and coloured paper.

“They took a few trinkets and a quantity of the fancy paper that is usually wrapped round pieces of linen. But their great selection was pots, kettles, hatchets, hammers, nails and other articles of ironmongery, with which they were loaded so that they could scarcely walk. It was painful to see the sick woman, who, notwithstanding her debility, was determined to have her share of these valuable treasures.”

It was found that the youngest daughter was in consumption. The mother also was unwell. It was therefore deemed prudent to hasten their return to their people. This work was entrusted to Mr. Peyton, who was furnished with a large number of presents, consisting of such articles as would be most likely to please them. These he was instructed to use as circumstances and his own discretion might render most suitable as “an incitement to these poor creatures to repose confidence in our people in that part of the coast they frequent.”

A vessel was sent to take the women to the place whence they came. The ship's boat took all their things ashore. Then the women went with great reluctance. But when they were landed and the boat was about to leave them, they cried, they screamed, and rushed into the water after the boat. The captain's orders were to put them ashore and leave them. But in the circumstances he felt that this would be cruel. He therefore determined to leave them with the people who had captured them. The sick daughter soon died and the mother did not long survive. Shanandithit stated that the reason they were all unwilling to go back to their own people was that they would be killed as traitors, having been among the whites, but probably they did not wish to go back to the state of misery in which they had left the remnant of the tribe.

In the year 1827 a “Bœothick Society” was formed in St. John's for the special purpose of holding communication with the remnant of the tribe, if still existent, and to do what was possible for their improvement. For this purpose an expedition was organized to traverse that portion of the island, which they had been known to occupy, and was placed under the charge of Mr. Cormack, who had crossed the island in 1822. He accordingly proceeded to the Bay of Exploits, and from his report laid before the Bœothick Society we shall transcribe those portions which bear upon the special object of his journey :—

“My party consisted of three Indians, an intelligent and able man of the Abenaki tribe from Canada, an elderly Mountaineer from Labrador, and an adventurous young Micmac, a native of this island, together with myself.”

“On the 31st October, 1827, we entered the country at the mouth of the River Exploits, on the north side, at the branch called the Northern Arm. We took a northwesterly direction, which led us to Hall's Bay, through an almost uninterrupted forest, and over a hilly country in eight days. This tract includes the interior country, extending from New Bay, Badger Bay, Seal Bay, etc., being minor bays branching from Notre Dame Bay, and well known to have been heretofore always the summer residences of the Red Indians.

“On the fourth day after our departure, at the east end of Badger Bay, Great Lake,

at a portage known by the name of the Indian path, we found traces made by the Red Indians evidently in the spring or summer of the preceding year. Their party had had two canoes, and here was a canoe rest, on which the daubs of red ochre and the roots of trees used to fasten or to tie it together appeared fresh. A canoe rest is simply a few beams supported horizontally about five feet from the ground by perpendicular posts. A party with two canoes when descending from the interior to the sea coast, through such a part of the country as this, where there are troublesome portages, leave one canoe resting bottom up on this kind of frame, to protect it from injury by the weather until their return. Among other things which lay strewn about here were a spear shaft eight feet in length, recently made and ochred, parts of old canoes, fragments of their skin dresses, etc. For some distance around the trunks of many of the birch and fir had been rinded, these people using the inner bark of the latter for food.¹ Some of the cuts in the trees with the axe were evidently made the preceding year. Besides these we were elated by other encouraging signs. The traces left by the Red Indians are so peculiar that we were confident those we saw here were made by them.

"This spot has been a favourable place of settlement with these people. It is situated at the commencement of a portage, which forms a communication by a path between the sea coast at Badger Bay, about eight miles to the northeast, and a chain of lakes extending westerly and southerly from hence and discharging their surplus waters into the River Exploits, about thirty miles from its mouth. A path also leads from this place to the lakes near New Bay to the eastward. Here are the remains of one of their villages, where the vestiges of eight or ten mammateeks or wigwams, each intended to contain from six to eighteen or twenty people, are distinctly seen close together. Besides these there are the remains of a number of summer wigwams. Every winter wigwam has close by it a small, square-mouthed or oblong pit dug in the earth about four feet deep, in which to preserve their stores, etc. Some of these pits were lined with birch rind. We discovered also in this village the remains of a vapour bath. The method used by the Beothiks to raise the steam was by pouring water on large stones made very hot for the purpose by burning a quantity of wood around them. After this process the ashes were removed, and a hemispherical frame work, closely covered with skins to exclude the external air, was fixed over these stones. The patient then crept in under the skins, taking with him a birch-rind bucket of water and a small bark dish with which to pour it on the stones, and to enable him to raise the steam at pleasure.²

"At Hall's Bay we got no useful information from the three (and three only) English families settled; indeed we could hardly have expected any. For these and such people have been the unchecked and ruthless destroyers of the tribe, the remnants of which we were in search of. After sleeping one night in a house we again struck into the country to the westward.

"In five days we were in the high lands south of White Bay and in sight of the high lands east of the Bay of Islands, on the west coast of Newfoundland. The country south and west of us was low and flat, consisting of marshes southerly more than thirty miles. We looked out for two days from the summits of the hills trying to discover the

¹ Doubtful.

² Lescaurbot describes the Micmacs as having the same process, and it is common among many tribes of America. Shanandithit explained that they used it principally with old people for the cure of rheumatism.

smoke from the camps of the Red Indians, but in vain, though these hills command a very extensive view of the country in every direction.

“We now determined to proceed toward the Red Indian Lake, sanguine that at that known rendezvous we should find the objects of our search.

“In about ten days we got a glimpse of this beautifully majestic and splendid sheet of water. The ravages of fire, which we saw in the woods for the last two days, indicated that man had been near. We looked down upon the lake, from the hills at the northern extremity, with feelings of anxiety and admiration. No canoe could be seen moving on its placid surface. We were the first Europeans who had seen it in its unfrozen state.¹ We approached the lake with hope and caution, but found, to our mortification, that the Red Indians had deserted it for some years past. My party had been so excited, so sanguine and so determined to obtain an interview of some kind with these people, that on discovering, from appearances everywhere around us, that the Red Indians, the terror of the Europeans as well as of the other Indian inhabitants of Newfoundland, no longer existed, the spirits of one and all of us were very deeply affected. The old Mountaineer was particularly overcome. There were everywhere indications that this had long been the central and undisturbed rendezvous of the tribe.

“We spent several melancholy days wandering on the borders of the east end of the lake, surveying the various remains of what we now contemplated to be a cruelly extirpated people. At several places by the margin of the lake are small clusters of summer and winter wigwams in ruins. There was one wooden building, constructed for drying and smoking venison in, still perfect, also a small log-house in a dilapidated condition, which we took to have been a storehouse. The wreck of a large, handsome birch-rind canoe, about twenty-two feet in length, comparatively new, and certainly very little used, lay thrown up among the bushes at the beach. The iron nails, of which there was no want, all remained in it. Had there been any survivors, nails being much prized by these people, such an article would likely have been taken out again. All the birch trees in the vicinity of the lake had been rinded and likewise many of the spruce fir.

“Their wooden repositories for the dead are in the most perfect state of preservation. These are of different construction, it would appear, according to the rank of the person entombed. In one of them, which resembled a hut ten feet by eight or nine and four or five feet high in the centre, floored with square poles, the roof covered with the rind of trees, and in every way well secured against the weather and the intrusion of wild beasts, the bodies of two full-grown persons were laid at length on the floor and wrapped round with deer-skins. One of these bodies appeared to be entombed not longer than five or six years. We thought there were children laid in here also. On first opening this building, by removing the posts which formed the ends, our curiosity was raised to the highest pitch; but what added to our surprise was the discovery of a white deal coffin containing a skeleton neatly shrouded in white muslin. After a long pause of conjecture how such a thing existed here, the idea of Mary March occurred to one of the party, and the whole mystery was at once explained.

“In this cemetery were deposited a variety of articles, in some instances the property, in others the representatives of the property and utensils and of the achievements of the

¹ The visit of Cartwright was at this time forgotten.

deceased. There were two small wooden images of a man and woman, no doubt meant to represent husband and wife; a small doll, which we supposed to represent a child (for Mary March had to leave her child here, which died two days after she was taken). Several small models of their canoes, two small models of boats, an iron axe, a bow and quiver of arrows, were placed by the side of Mary March's husband, and two fire-stones (radiated iron-pyrites, from which they produce fire by striking them together) lay at his head. There were also various kinds of culinary utensils, neatly made of birch-rind and ornamented, and many other things, of some of which we did not know the use or meaning.

"Another mode of sepulture which we saw here was, when the body of the deceased had been wrapped in birch-rind, it was, with his property, placed on a sort of scaffold about four feet and a-half from the ground. The scaffold was formed of four posts about seven feet high, fixed perpendicularly in the ground, to sustain a kind of crib, five and a-half feet in length by four in breadth, with a floor made of small square beams laid close together horizontally, and on which the body and property rested.

"A third mode was when the body, bent together and wrapped in birch-rind, was enclosed in a kind of box in the ground. The box was made of small square posts laid on each other horizontally, and notched at the corners to make them meet close. It was about four feet by three, and two and a-half feet deep and well lined with birch-rind to exclude the weather from the inside. The body lay on its right side.

"A fourth and the most common mode of burying among these people has been to wrap the body in birch-rind and cover it over with a heap of stones, on the surface of the earth in some retired spot. Sometimes the body, thus wrapped, is put a foot or two under the surface, and the spot covered with stones. In one place, where the ground was sandy and soft, they appeared to have been buried deeper and no stones placed over their graves.

"Our only and frail hope now left of seeing the Red Indians lay on the banks of the River Exploits on our return to the sea coast.

"Down this noble lake the steady perseverance and intrepidity of my Indians carried me on rafts in four days. We landed at various places on both banks of the river on our way down, but found no traces of the Red Indians, so recent as those seen at the portage at Badger Bay, Grand Lake, toward the beginning of our excursion.

"What arrests the attention most in gliding down the stream is the extent of the Indian fences to entrap deer. It was melancholy to contemplate the gigantic yet rude efforts of a whole primitive nation, in their anxiety to provide subsistence, forsaken and going to decay. There must have been hundreds of Red Indians, and that not many years ago, to have kept up these fences and pounds. As their numbers were lessened, so was their ability to keep them up for the purposes intended, and now the deer pass the whole line unmolested."

Though scarce a hope remained of finding a Red Indian, yet the Bœothick Institute placed the Indians who had accompanied Mr. Cormack on their establishment to be employed in farther efforts for that purpose, and in the following summer sent them on an exploratory journey to the northern parts of the island. They were to proceed in a schooner to Croke Harbour, and there putting themselves in communication with the French commandant, endeavour to obtain information as to the existence of Red Indians in that quarter. If they heard of such they were to proceed to and examine the spot.

If they received no intelligence of them to the north of that point they were to "proceed westwardly into the interior for about twenty miles, thence to take a southerly direction to White Bay; thence passing round the head of White Bay, and thence easterly and southerly in such directions as may appear the best for the object in view through the country toward the mouth of the River Exploits, being careful to examine particularly the whole of the lakes, rivers and country along the route now described, so that the party may be able to give the most unequivocal information that no part of the country have been left unsearched." They proceeded on their mission, but we have no particulars of their journey. The result however was, though there were rumours about the same time of some natives having been seen, to confirm the impression that they had entirely disappeared.

In 1829 Shanandithit died in St. Johns. She lived in Mr. Cormack's house till he left the island in that year, when she was taken into the house of the Attorney-General, Mr. Simms, where every attention was paid to her wants. But consumption, which had proved so fatal to others of her people, brought within the restraints of civilization, claimed her for its prey, and though she had the best medical attendance her strength declined. She was therefore removed to the hospital, where she died on the 6th June. Two days after she was buried in the Church of England graveyard,¹ and so closed one of the dark pages of the progress of man in the new world.

All subsequent explorations of the haunts of this people in the interior have only served to confirm the impression that with her they have passed away forever. Careful search has only found a few of their implements, the mouldering remains of their huts and deer fences and their untended graves. It has been supposed, indeed, that some remnant of them passed over to Labrador and became mixed with the Montagnais or other tribes of that region, and there have been reports of strange Indians having been seen on that coast. Of these appearances, however, the rumors have been very vague, and they are said to have taken place years after the disappearance of the Beothiks. There was nothing to connect them with that people, and nothing has been heard of them since. At all events when we consider what was involved in such a migration, that it would have required the transportation of their canoe or canoes by land and stream for over a hundred miles, and afterward a coast and sea voyage of still greater length, we must conclude that in their circumstances, when last met with, reduced to twelve, or at most thirteen, individuals, of whom not more than six were men, and all in a starving condition, it would be simply impossible. At all events from Newfoundland they have passed away forever. So entirely have they been exterminated that not even a trace of any remnant mixing with other races can be found.

¹ The following is the record in the parish register: "June 8, 1829, Nancy Shanandithit, æt. 23, South Side (very probably the last of the aborigines), F. Carrington, rector." It is remarkable that all the females of the Beothiks who have lived among the whites have died in consumption. A tendency of this kind has been manifested in other instances of savages changing their old modes of life for those of civilization. Dr. Hind mentions that the Montagnais and other tribes in Labrador, while in the cold, dry air of the interior are healthy enough, but when they come down to the coast with its damp, chilly atmosphere, they immediately become subject to influenza, which very commonly ends in consumption. In the Northwest, I was informed that before the cession of that territory the traders were in the habit of taking Indian women as servants, but that pulmonary disorders were apt to appear among them, which was attributed to the change from a life so much of which was spent in the open air to one in the confined air of the close dwellings of the whites. That this was the real cause appeared from the fact that on the same parties going to their own lodges, through which one would think all the winds of heaven would pass freely, they generally soon recovered.

V.—REMAINS.

We must now seek to gather such farther information about them as can be obtained from their remains, as found in cemeteries or on the sites of their old encampments, with any additions that can be had from tradition. As to the graves we have given Mr. Cormack's description of them as he found them at Red Indian Lake. He obtained there a number of articles of their manufacture which he took with him to Britain. These graves were modern, but recently others have been found on islands off the coast in situations almost inaccessible, and it is believed that in prehistoric times, before they were driven into the interior, they chose such positions as the last resting places of their dead. Perhaps the most interesting yet known was discovered in the year 1886 on Pilley's Island, near the entrance of Hall's Bay, an arm of Notre Dame Bay. For the following account of its contents I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Harvey, of St. John's:—It contained two skeletons. Of the one only the skull and a few bones of the leg remain. It is the skull of an adult Beothik and measures twenty-one inches in circumference and thirteen from ear to ear over the crown. Various stone implements were found alongside the bones, stone arrow heads and hatchets, etc.

The other skeleton is nearly perfect. It is that of a Red Indian boy, nine or ten years of age. (Plate XII.) There was with it a small wooden image, very rudely carved and having a covering of birch-rind. We might have supposed that this was a doll, but the fact of such being found in Mary March's grave, one for each of the occupants, indicates that it was a practice among them to bury such with their dead.

The strange peculiarity of the skeleton is the perfect preservation of the skin, which is wrapped like a shroud around the bony structure. It is dark red in colour and shows the bones underneath. The appearance is not unlike that of a mummy. The nails on toes and fingers are perfectly preserved. It lies on its left side, the arms along the sides, with the legs drawn up.

The body had been wrapped in deer-skin, which had been made to fit closely and was neatly sewed together. Attached to this was an ornamental fringe of deer-skin, having fastened to it some birds' claws and about thirty-two small pieces of bone of different shapes, all carved ingeniously. Several small models of canoes showing accurately the shape of those in use by the tribe, were near the skeleton; also small drinking-cups and vessels, all of birch-bark, and several pairs of small moccasins of deer-skin, the size of a boy's foot of the age of nine or ten. Beautifully-shaped and well-polished arrowheads of slate, a number of toy arrows of wood and a small bow lay around. Another interesting object was a small birch-rind basket, laced close, and containing a piece of dried salmon, the scales being visible, and several dried trout wrapped in separate parcels.

The skull is detached from the body, the vertebræ of the neck having crumbled to dust. How the skin has been preserved is a mystery. Probably this was owing to the dry character of the soil in which it was laid and the free circulation of the air around it, while moisture was excluded by the covering of birch-rind and the deer-skin wrappings. The remains were found in a slight hollow, and a rough wall of stone had been built around it. Over these walls had been placed bent hoops, formed of fir branches to support the outer covering of birch bark, which was sewed together with extreme neatness and would have kept all from the moisture of the atmosphere. This had not decayed.

As there was not a single article giving evidence of any intercourse with Europeans, as is found in later graves, we may conclude that this is prehistoric, possibly more than four hundred years old. It is plain that the deceased must have been the son of a chief or belonged to a family otherwise distinguished, for difference of rank and wealth were found even among this unfortunate people.

Another skull with other remains was found in circumstances so interesting that we shall give the account of the finder, the Rev. Mr. Blackmore, rural dean of Conception Bay. "They were found in the year 1847 on one of the islands forming the Lower Burgeo group, called 'Rencontre.' This island is uninhabited and considerably elevated; difficult also of access in rough weather. It is in a great measure covered with broken fragments of rocks which have fallen from the heights. About half way up the mountain (if I may so term it), and in a hollow formed by a large piece of fallen rock, with every opening carefully closed by small pieces of the broken rock, we found the bones of a human being wrapped closely round with birch rinds. On removing these rinds a quantity of gravel mixed with red ochre became visible, and on removing this we found oblong pieces of carved bone, together with flat, circular stones, some glass beads, two iron hatchet heads, so rusty that we could pick them to pieces, a bone spear head, the handle of a knife with part of the blade still in it, also some flints designed for arrowheads. All these articles were together, and had been placed apparently under or just before the head of the individual buried—all carefully enclosed in the rinds. The skull was that of a full grown male adult, with a very flat crown and large projection behind. The place of interment was singularly wild; high up in a cliff overlooking a little cove facing the open sea, and only accessible on this side in very smooth water. It was discovered by a boy while gathering brushwood. This boy seeing a piece of wood projecting from the rock, pulled at it to add it to his store, and so loosened the smaller rocks and found the cavity with its contents. The head of this stick, which was about four inches in diameter, was ornamented. There were four fragments of sticks, and they must, I imagine, have formed a canopy over the body."

From the implements here found it is evident that the burial took place after they had intercourse with whites, but so early that they still dwelt on the coast hunting the walrus and other inhabitants of the deep, still using their old implements, and there also depositing their dead. The articles found are in the museum of McGill College, Montreal. The most interesting of these are the pendants of walrus ivory and the pierced shells strung together. The first of these were neatly carved, and had holes at the top for suspension.

The pendants of carved bone or walrus ivory are characteristic of the Beothiks. Cartwright observed them in his visit to the Red Indian Lake in 1768. He says: "Some small figured bones neatly carved and having four prongs, the two middle ones being parallel and almost close together, while the outer ones spread like a swallow's tail, have fallen in my way, and from a thong fixed in their handle I have imagined them to be used as amulets." And they are very generally found in graves. As the result of the examination of but a few, nearly two hundred specimens are now in the public museum in St. John's. They all have a small hole at the upper end for suspension. One class are forked, some having two, others three prongs, and a few having two doubled. These are small, most being from one and a-half to two inches, and few exceeding three inches in length. A

number of these are notched or scalloped on the edges. (Plate IX, 1-6.) The majority, however, consist of flat pieces of bone about an eighth of an inch in thickness, from a quarter to seven-eighths of an inch in width at the smallest end to from seven-eighths to over an inch at the widest, and in length from two to four and a-half inches. These are all incised on both sides. But in no case could I see anything like an attempt to present an animal or any other object. The marking consists of lines and angles, forming designs, some of them intricate and showing considerable ingenuity. Scarce two are found alike, and some of the lines are extremely delicate, being not more than a tenth of an inch in length, and yet are cut the exact length and at the right distance from others to suit the design. It is difficult to understand what instruments they had by which they could do work so fine. (Plate IX, 7-13.)

Cartwright's idea that these were amulets has occurred to others. It was the view of a Micmac to whom the pendants from Rencontre were shown. He at once proclaimed the owner a great "witch," and able with such articles to strike his enemy dead. But it is plain that those in the boy's grave had been attached to the border of his robe, and seemed intended for ornaments. This is confirmed by the fact that Shanandithit has drawn a picture of a dancer as in his robe with such ornaments around its lower edge. (See fig. 4.) We cannot suppose that this was their ordinary every-day dress, but



Fig. 4. Indian Dancing Costume. (Fac-simile of drawing by Shanandithit.)

that it would be their dress for ceremonial occasions. This agrees with what we find in the South Seas. Rev. Dr. Geddie gave me what was called "a dancing dress" of the people of one of these islands, which consisted mainly of shells so strung together and suspended as to rattle with every motion of the body. With these are others with teeth like combs, and possibly they were used for that purpose. (Plate IX, 14, 15.) There are also rectangular blocks of walrus ivory, from an inch to an inch and a quarter the one way and from seven-eighths to an inch the other, and from a quarter to three eighths of an inch in thickness. (Plate IX, 16-18.) There are also small diamond-shaped pieces of bone, some about an inch in the longest diameter by five-eighths in the shortest, but most over two inches one way by about an inch the other, and from one-quarter to

five-eighths of an inch in thickness. Both these are incised on the one side like the pendants, with complicated designs and very delicate workmanship. (Plate IX, 19-21.)

The discs of shell strung together are of importance, as they undoubtedly represent the wampum characteristic of the American Indian. Similar ones about $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in diameter are in the public museum. But there are there also strings of much smaller ones, just like a string of beads. There is one 21 inches long and another 13 inches. The strings are of deer hide, and the discs are about $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch in diameter and about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in length. But driven into the interior this people seemed to have been scarce of shell and substituted bone. They seem to have formed them of cross sections of the leg or wing bones of birds; some are even of wood. There are imperfect strings where the discs are much smaller, being about one-eighth of an inch in diameter. (See Plate X.) Mr. Horatio Hale¹ has traced this back to the money of the Chinese, Japanese and other peoples of Eastern and Central Asia, which consists of round pieces of metal strung together by a cord through a hole in the centre. As people pushed forth to the islands of Polynesia they retained the idea, but having no metal, as a substitute they fashioned round discs of shell, which they strung together in the same manner. Strings of this kind were, and among the ruder tribes of the Pacific, I have no doubt, are yet used as a medium of exchange, or, in other words, as their money. The strings that I have described are in appearance exactly the same with some that I have seen brought from the South seas. (Plate X.) Thus the practice must have passed from island to island of the Pacific till it reached the American continent; then traversed it from West to East, till here we find it beyond the continent in our farthest island stretching forth toward the Old World. We should add that from these graves, as well as those seen by Mr. Cormack at the Red Indian Lake, it is plain that they strongly favoured hut or house burial, a practice world wide, manifested in very varied forms from the rude log huts of various Indian tribes and the barrows of Europe to the mounds of Ohio and the pyramids of Egypt. When they were driven into the interior they erected timber huts, probably this being necessary to protect the contents from wild beasts. But previously they seemed to have chosen remote or almost inaccessible islands, probably because from the absence of such creatures a canopy of birch bark might suffice as a covering.

We must, however, notice a remarkable resemblance between their mode of burial, particularly as exemplified in the boy's grave, and what is seen in some very ancient cemeteries in the East. The modern Warka, near Babylon, the ancient city of Nimrod, Erech (Gen. x, 10), and Mugheir, the ancient Ur of the Chaldees, were used as cemeteries, it is supposed, not only during the time of the early Chaldean supremacy, but during the Assyrian and even the later Babylonian period. They now exhibit mounds which on being penetrated are found to be the tombs of generations. Mr. Loftus, on digging into those at Warka, found brick vaults, but mainly coffins, generally of earthenware, which had originally been laid on the ground and others upon them, tier after tier, till their remains are found piled to the depth of thirty and it was thought in some cases sixty feet. These are described as "resembling an oval dish cover, the sides sloping outwards toward the base, which rests on a projecting rim. The dimensions vary from four to seven feet long, about two feet wide and from one to three feet deep. On carefully

¹ "On the Origin and Value of Wampum," in 'American Naturalist,' Vol. 2, xviii, 1884.

removing this cover the skeleton is seen reclining generally on the left side, but trussed like a fowl, the legs being drawn up and bent at the knees to fit the size of the cover. Sometimes the skull rests on the bones of the left hand." With the skeleton were found various ornaments of gold or silver, small drinking vessels, and "*hideous bone figures, probably dolls.*" ("Researches in Chaldea," pp. 201, 210, Am. edition. See also Rawlinson's "Five Great Monarchies," 2 edit, 1-87; Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," Am. ed. II, 36.) In the tomb above ground, in the posture of the body, in the deposit with it of ornaments, of drinking vessels, and especially of the doll-like images, it is remarkable to find such a correspondence between people so separated in time and territory as the Assyrians and the Beothiks. But is it only a coincidence? Does it not speak of unity of origin, or at least of close relation at some distant date.

The examination of their old camping-grounds has afforded some information of interest. Mr. Lloyd,¹ during two visits to Newfoundland, spent much time in examining such places and gathering such remains as he could find. He found tokens of their presence specially abundant in the region of the bay and river of Exploits. One feature noticeable was a pit or depression marking the site of each camp. Thus at one point at Bonavista Bay he saw two rows of circular pits, numbering thirteen in one and three in the other. They averaged twelve feet in diameter, and were placed at distances ranging from three to twenty-four feet. In depth some were two feet and others only six or seven inches, but all flat at the bottom. Again, at the Red Indian Lake he found a group of twenty-one, and other groups at short distances from it. They were generally ten feet six inches to fifteen feet in diameter. But one that he measured was thirty-three feet. And a Miemac informed him that when his father had hunted over the ground, some years before, there was a house built over it. This, there can be little doubt, was the site of one of their storehouses referred to. It was eight-sided, having a post driven into the ground at each corner to carry a bow frame to support the sides. Another feature of these places was a bank of earth on the one side rising four feet above the bottom of the trench inside. This had once been an embankment round the outside of the cabin formed of earth, sods and moss, probably for greater warmth in winter. Mr. Bradshaw observed the same, and says that the depressions he would compare in form to a soup-plate. At one part of the lake he thought that there would be forty of them.

Mr. Lloyd and others have observed that in some instances the site of these seem sometimes to have been selected with a view to giving them an unobstructed view of the lake, he thinks, the better to observe the approach of the deer. But in other cases, and perhaps here too, their selection was more influenced by the idea of seeking safety from their enemies. He adds that Reuben Souleau, a Miemac, gave him an account of a circular wall of stones about six feet in diameter and four feet high, situated on the side of Birchy Lake in a position which commanded an uninterrupted view both up and down the stream, supposed to have been built as a lookout place.

Mr. Neilson mentioned to me another fact of some interest. To pass the principal rapids in the river required a portage of a mile and a quarter or perhaps a mile and a

¹ The results of his inquiries are given in two papers published in the 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute,' vol. iv, 1874, and vol. v, 1875. Besides his explorations of the sites of their encampments, he had access to Cartwright's work, and had intercourse with members of the Peyton family and others who had been in a position to obtain information regarding the Red Indians.

half. The course of it ran through a marsh, as it is called, or bog, and over some soft ground. But on examination it is found that over all such places they had laid a pavement of stones. Though these must have in some measure sunk in such ground and the moss has partly covered them, yet the sort of causeway which they formed can still be traced. To the least intelligent observer it is manifest that they were placed there by the hands of men. And they have been carried some distance. There is a slaty rock on the river below from which they had taken slabs from two to three feet in length and breadth. It is probable that there was first laid down a layer of poles or brush to support them. This work must have been done after the Beothiks were driven from the coast and obliged to retire to the interior, when their original numbers were reduced.

Another circumstance connected with this place may be mentioned, communicated to me by Mr. Bradshaw. If the lowest of these rapids could be passed in canoes so much of the river immediately above would be navigable that the portage would be reduced to about half a mile. But it is very difficult to do this, as a fall of water comes in from the side and it requires quick and very powerful strokes, especially from the man in the stern, to prevent the canoe from being swung under it. Two of the Micmacs in his employment attempted the passage, but their canoe was caught in the descending water and upset, so that they lost its contents and themselves were in danger in the pool below. In consequence they do not now try it. But they pointed out to Mr. B. the remains of Red Indian encampments just at the foot of the upper rapids, marking that as their point of embarking on the river. From the signs observed they regarded it as certain that that people were in the habit of shooting the lower rapids, and they adduced this as evidence of their superior strength. The point is one on which they could scarcely be mistaken, and it is sufficient to show at least that the Beothiks were most expert canoeemen, and perhaps that their canoes were better fitted for such work than those of the Micmacs.

Mr. Lloyd did not find many of their remains at the lake, doubtless from their being covered with vegetation. But at various points on the coast their kitchen middens have been discovered, affording a variety of specimens of their stone implements and other remains of their art. Perhaps the most important find of this kind was made in 1875 on Long Island, Placentia Bay. At the depth of from six to twelve inches beneath the surface, where there had been a stont growth of timber, there was found a quantity of arrow and spear heads, gouges, axes, rubbing and sharpening stones, and a pot shaped out of serpentine. The arrow and spear heads were in every stage of manufacture from the first block rudely shaped out of the raw material to the completely finished implement.

Mr. Lloyd mentions the following additional places where their remains have been found, starting from St. John's northward round the island: Fox Island, Randra Sound, Trinity Bay, Funk Island, Twillingate Island, Notre Dame Bay at Bay of Exploits and Hares Bay, Granby Island and Sops Island White Bay, Conche Harbour, How Harbour, Hare Bay, Bonne Bay, Mouth of Flat Bay Brook, St. George's Bay and Codroy River. These are all on the sea coast. Any sites of the kind inland must be covered with vegetation, but considering how much of the coast is uninhabited and the soil undisturbed, it is probable that there are many more such places. Altogether the indications are that the Beothiks were numerous for an Indian tribe, and that they occupied this region for a lengthened period.

Of the implements thus found the principal are axe and chisel shaped tools of polished

stone, gonges, sinkers,¹ scrapers and arrow and spear heads. I have not observed anything peculiar regarding them except the last. While some of the arrow and spear heads are of hornstone or quartzite chipped, a large proportion are polished. These are of the Cambrian slates common on the island, and are generally brought to a very regular shape, some having both faces ground to form three or sometimes only two sides, others having one face so shaped and the other flat or nearly so. (Plate X, 1, 4.) But a singular peculiarity is seen in two of this kind in the possession of Dr. Harvey, of St. John's, where we have two holes bored near the stem. In the one they are placed side by side, and in the other one above the other. (Plate X, 1, 2.) These would seem to have been for the purpose of attaching them by a string to the shaft. But this would indicate an idea different from that of other American Indians, who were willing to have the arrow head remain in the animal struck when the shaft was withdrawn. But I believe that these were really harpoon heads which they used in spearing the large sea animals, as we shall see presently, intended to be detached when the animal was struck. These holes were made by scratching with some hard pointed instrument longitudinally, and not by a drill, of which, judging by these, we should suppose them ignorant.

Besides these there have been found a number of vessels of steatite, of which an impure variety is abundant in the northern part of the island. In particular, at Fleur de lys, on White Bay, a large vein of it is found exposed in the cliffs, and here have been found the marks of their workmanship. They cut grooves first vertically in the face of the deposit and then across between them. Then by driving in wedges they broke it off in quadrangular blocks, which they afterward fashioned into vessels at their leisure. These were generally shallow, not more than from two to three inches deep, and not more than from three to four inches in length or width in the inside. Some have a small groove in the upper edge, supposed by some to be intended for a wick, and it is thought that they were used as lamps, though probably they were also used for boiling seal's fat in.

A common find is pieces of iron pyrites, a mineral abundant in some parts of the island, which they used for obtaining fire by striking them together, like flint and steel, and Mr. Peyton stated that for tinder they used the down of the blue jay.

According to him the snowshoes of the Beothiks differed in shape from those of all other Indian tribes, being longer and more taper in the afterpart, and resembling an English racket or tennis bat. This caused the front to bend upward with the weight of the body. A board with a hole in it to receive the toes was fixed across the middle of the racket. (Fig. 5.)

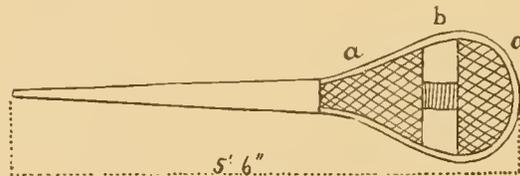


Fig. 5. Red Indian Snowshoe.

Shanandithit made a drawing of some of their implements, the most noticeable of which, perhaps, is their spear or harpoon for killing seals and probably other large marine animals. It had a bone head attached to a shaft twelve feet long, in her time pointed with iron. To this was attached a string, which probably had a float at the other end.

¹ Generally so called, but the purpose for which they were employed is doubtful.

When the animal was struck the shaft would be detached, and the animal going off with the head sticking in him would be checked by the float and gradually exhausted, until it became an easy prey. (See Plate X, 5.) This is the mode of hunting sea animals still followed by the Eskimos and the Indians at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

VI.—ETHNOLOGICAL RELATIONS.

We come now to consider their ethnological relations. Here our means of investigation are very scanty. No accurate measurements of the bodies of any of them are at hand. It is to be regretted also that so little information has been preserved regarding even the appearance of the few members of the tribe who lived among the whites, and so little learned, by intercourse with them, of their habits and ideas. But it appears that they were of ordinary height, or probably above it. Their hair was coarse and black, and the men allowed it to fall over their faces, though in some it is said to have been as soft as that of Europeans. Their complexion was lighter than that of the Micmacs, which again is (now at least) lighter than that of the western Indians. But this I believe to be simply the result of climate. Of the females who lived with the whites, the appearance seems to have been generally agreeable and their manner gentle and affable. Their dress consisted of two dressed deer-skins, or fur, thrown over their shoulders, forming a sort of cassock, sometimes with sleeves. They had a plan of rendering the deer's skin soft and pliable. Mr. James P. Howley says (Lloyd V, p. 226): "The Beothiks were a much finer and handsomer race than the Micmacs, having more regular features and aquiline noses, nor were they so dark in the skin. They were of middle stature, say five feet ten inches, and of a very active build. They did not appear to be so fond of gaudy colours as their continental neighbours." Mr. Peyton's statement was: "The shape of the heads of males and females did not differ in appearance from those of ordinary Europeans. Their eyes, which did not possess any marked peculiarity of form like those of the Eskimo, were black and piercing."

Cormack, in his account of his expedition across the island in 1822, says: "In former times when the several tribes were upon an equality in respect to weapons, the Red Indians were considered invincible, and frequently waged war upon the rest, until the latter got firearms put into their hands by Europeans. The Red Indians are even feared yet, and described as very large, athletic men." The traditions of the oldest Micmacs, as well as of the white settlers, agree in representing them as physically a large and powerful race.

Only a few skulls have been preserved. Two that were taken to Britain by Mr. Cormack have been very minutely described in a paper by Dr. George Bush, published in the 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute' (v, 230-232). Of one he says, "It is chiefly remarkable for the elevation of the frontal region and the comparatively sparing elevation of the parietal region, which, however, cannot in this case be assigned to an early closing of the sagittal suture. As in the female skull, the occiput is projecting. The chief difference between them is the more upright forehead in the female skull. In both there is no depression at the root of the nose, and in both the nasal spine is very prominent. In both also the greatest width is in the squamosal above the auditory foramen."

Two other skulls are in the local museum, besides one still attached to a skeleton.

They have not been scientifically examined. But on a superficial view they are seen to have some of the peculiarities of the American Indian skull, but to be favourable specimens, having the frontal region better developed than is usual in such.

As to their habits and customs as bearing upon this subject, we are imperfectly informed. No white man ever lived with them so as to become familiar with their daily life, and if the Beothiks who dwelt among the whites gave information on the subject, little has been recorded. In tracing historically the intercourse between the two, we have given such details of their customs as were observed by various parties. But a few points remain to be noticed. In the first place, they never seem to have had any cultivation of the soil. The Algonkins brought with them maize, pumpkins, beans, a species of hemp, and tobacco, and extended the cultivation of these plants up to the St. Lawrence, which is as far as they will grow at the present time. But in Newfoundland maize will not usually ripen, the pumpkin does not flourish, and neither soil nor climate will suit the tobacco. In this way, if they brought these plants with them, they may have been led to abandon their cultivation. But it is quite possible that they may have come by Labrador, where they were not cultivated at all. I am more surprised to find that they had no pottery, as this is found among the rudest tribes in every part of the world, and suitable material is plentiful in some parts of Newfoundland. But not only have no remains of such been found, I think that from the number of dishes found in the boy's grave at Pilley's Island and the abundance of other articles of value to them, we may conclude that if they had earthen vessels they would have been found there.

Cartwright, and most writers who have followed, have described them as without the dog. This is to me quite surprising. The animal is found among most, if not all, the tribes of North America. To hunters it was almost indispensable, and probably, at least in part, for this reason it was connected with their religious services. It was among tribes of different races the animal offered in sacrifice on the most solemn occasions: its flesh formed an important part of the feast for the dead, and its bones were laid in the grave of the departed, that its spirit might aid him in hunting on his long journey. How does it come, then, that the Beothiks were without it? The Miemacs and the Eskimos, on either side, had it. So had the Labrador Indians, with whom they were in friendly relations. Even if they had not brought it with them on their first migration, it seems strange that they should not have acquired it from their neighbours.

I am inclined to believe that there may be something in the statement of old Whitbourne of their having wolves tamed. The dog of the Eskimo is so like a wolf, that Sir J. Richardson mistook a pack of the one for a troop of the other. If the Beothiks had this or even animals like the later Newfoundland dog, he might naturally speak of them as wolves tamed, which he says "hath been well approved" (proved). Martin, in his history of the dog, says that the Norwegians have a dog very like the Newfoundland breed, which they use for hunting bears and wolves, and it is supposed that it was introduced into the island either by the Norsemen in the 11th century, or by Cabot. (Ency. Brit., VII, 324, 327.) In either case it must have been among the aborigines, for there were no other residents. So that if it was either indigenous or introduced thus early, it must have been there among them first. On the other hand, it is strange that if once possessed by them it should have passed entirely from them and come into the hands of their enemies.

One positive fact, however, affords a decisive indication regarding their social connection. It will be recollected that when they killed the two marines of Lieut. Buchan they cut off their heads and carried them away. This shows that they had not adopted the Iroquois practice of scalping, which for a long time was also customary among the Algonkin and other tribes around them. This shows the Beothiks to be a very ancient race and connected with the Malayo Polynesian race, who decapitate their victims taken in war.¹

Of their religious ideas scarcely any information has been preserved. Old Broughton tells us that they supposed that they sprang from arrows stuck in the ground by the Good Spirit. This seems to be a modification of an idea prevalent among many Indian tribes, of their having originally sprung from the earth, perhaps a distortion of the Scripture teaching that God created man of the dust of the ground. Subsequent writers have generally supposed them to be without any idea of a supreme being. It is certainly strange, that those who had intercourse with those of the tribe who lived among the whites, should have gained no more information for us on the subject. In the vocabularies taken down they have given no name for God, but they have given two for the devil. The one is *Ashmudyim*, which conveys the idea of an ugly black man, and whom Shanandithit described as short and stout, having long whiskers, dressed in beaver skins and sometimes seen at the east end of the lake. The other is *Mandee*, the equivalent of the Miemac Mundou and the Nashkapi Mantaie. But this was originally their name for the Supreme Being, the same as the Manito of the western tribes, and it was only when the Miemacs came under the instruction of Christian missionaries that they came to regard their old god as evil, so that finally his name became associated with the devil. But the Beothiks never met the missionaries and did not associate with the Miemacs, so that they must have used the name in its original sense as denoting their god. And Mary March said distinctly that they did believe in a great spirit.

Cartwright thought it remarkable that in a journey of seventy miles, through the heart of their winter resort, he had not met with a single object that appeared to be devoted to any religious or superstitious purpose, unless it were the carved bones spoken of, which we have seen to have been really ornaments. But we find among them objects to which they seem to have attached a certain sacredness. Lieut. Buchan saw in one of their lodges a peculiar staff. He described it as "nearly six feet two inches in length, at the head tapering to the end, and terminating in not more than three quarters of an inch. It represented four plain equal sides, except at the upper end, where it resembled three rims one above the other, and the whole stained red." It was pointed out as belonging to a man who was distinguished by a high cap, and whom he supposed to be a chief. He concluded that it was a badge of office, but Shanandithit made drawings of some half a dozen of objects resembling wands or sceptres, but one of them with a representation of a vessel on the head of it. These were said to have been about six feet long. (Plate XI.) Mr. Cormack has marked them as "symbols of their mythology." But from the representation given of them, and what we know of the customs of other aboriginal tribes, we have no doubt that it was the badge of the authority of the head of the family. Thus Dr. Turner says of the Samoans: "A rod or staff, six feet long, such as is seen on the Egyptian monuments, is *one of the common badges of office of the heads of families* in Samoa, who are

¹ I am indebted to Dr. John Campbell, of Montreal, for first calling my attention to this point.

entitled to speak in public parliament. Every one who stands up to speak leans forward on his staff. Frequently in referring to his speech, he calls it "this staff," and when about to end his address will say: "I am now about to lay down this staff." ("Nineteen Years in Polynesia," p. 341.) The similarity of these implements may indicate an affinity between the Beothiks and the Malayo-Polynesian race, of which the Samoans are among the finest specimens. But the custom really carries us back to patriarchal times, when a rod or staff in the hand of the head of a family or tribe was the symbol of his authority and of tribal unity. Thus Jacob speaks of the sceptre or tribal rod of Judah (Gen. xlix, 10), and in Numbers, xvii, 3, we read of the rod of each of the heads of the father's houses. (See also chap. xxi, 18.) So that the rod came to represent the tribe, and the word is commonly used to denote it. (Exod. xxvii, 21, etc.) So also it pointed out the head of one of the divisions of a tribe, the clan, "family" of our English translation (Hebrew, *mishpachah*), as in Numb. iv, 18, "the tribe (lit. rod) of the families of the Kohathites." In kingdoms this became the symbol of rule.¹ That a sacredness should be attached to such emblems was natural, and we can understand how Mr. Cormack, from Shanandithit's statements, should suppose them connected with their religion. We may add that in a vocabulary, to be noticed presently, taken down from her, of Beothic words, there are three objects of this kind named and representations given of them. One somewhat resembling the second in the upper part of Plate XI is called "the whale's tail," the second resembling a half moon, and similar to the third, is called *kewis* or the moon, while of the third, which somewhat resembles the lowest, but more exactly answers the description given by Lient. Buchan of the one seen by him, the meaning of the name is not given.

It is, I think, worthy of consideration whether the practice of colouring themselves and their possessions red might not have had a religious or semi-religious character. From the prominence given to it by the Jewish prophets it seems to have had some such significance. Thus Ezekiel (chap. xxiii, 14, 15), referring to the idolatrous practices which the Jewish people borrowed from neighbouring nations, describes them as "doting upon the Assyrians, her neighbours," adding to her idolatries, "for when she saw *men portrayed on the walls images of Chaldeans portrayed with vermilion.*"² Jeremiah (chap. xxii, 14) notices the king's vanity specially as manifest in having his house "painted with vermilion." And the Book of Wisdom (chap. xiii, 14) represents them as colouring the idol itself in this manner, "laying on ochre (Greek *miltos*) and with paint colouring it red, and covering every spot in it." With this accord the recently exhumed Assyrian monuments. M. Botta noticed several figures on the walls of Khorsabad yet retaining a portion of the vermilion with which it had been painted. There is in the British Museum among the marbles sent from Nimroud by Mr. Layard a large slab with a figure of the king standing holding in his right hand a staff, and resting his left on the pommel of his sword, still having the soles of his sandals coloured red.

The same practice is found elsewhere. In Egypt the Sphinx was coloured red, so in Rome was the image of Jupiter, preserved in the Capitol. The Buddhist monks in Central Asia all wear a red cloak. We find it, too, among distant and barbarous tribes, who may have lost all idea of its original object. Thus Capt. Cook describes the inhabitants of Tasmania as having their hair and beards anointed with red ointment. And it is

¹ See also Psal. xxiii, 4, c x, 2, Jer. xlvi, 17, Ezek. xxxvii, 16, 17.

² Heb. *Shashur*, translated by Gesenius, red color, red ochre, by Keil, red ochre.

curious to note that they seemed to be a people separate from all the tribes in the neighbourhood, and of an older migration—a position, as we shall presently see, similar to that of the Beothiks.¹

That they had the idea of the future state common among primitive people, both in the old and new world, as the counterpart of the present, is shown by their graves, in which survivors had buried with the deceased their implements and whatever else seemed necessary for their long journey to the happy hunting-grounds.

Looking at their habits and customs as bearing upon the question whether they form a race by themselves, independent of any other, or are racially connected with any of the surrounding nations or tribes, we may adopt the conclusion of Mr. Gatschet. “Their appearance, customs and manners, lodges and canoes seem to testify in favour of a race separate from the Algonkins and Eskimos around them, but are too powerless to *prove* anything. Thus we have to rely upon language alone to get a glimpse at their origin and earliest condition.”

For this investigation the materials are not in a satisfactory state. Three vocabularies have been preserved. The first said, but I believe incorrectly, to have been taken down by Rev. Mr. Clinch, from John August, in 1774; the second by Mr. John Leigh, from Mary March, and the third by Mr. Cormack, from Shanandithit, in 1828. Part only of this last has been preserved, that containing the numerals, the month-names and those corresponding to English words under A and B. Together, however, they contain about three hundred words. But from various causes these vocabularies are in a very unsatisfactory state. Those who took them down were entirely ignorant of the language, and those from whom they received them were imperfectly acquainted with English. In Mary March's case it was sometimes necessary to represent by signs the object for which the Beothik word was wanted. Then the English alphabet is peculiar in its relation to sounds, and, in addition, indistinct handwriting has led to uncertainty or positive error.

Such as they are, they have been carefully studied by philologists, and compared with the language of various American tribes, particularly by R. G. Latham and Mr. Gatschet, an eminent American ethnologist, and also by Dr. Campbell of Montreal. As to the results Mr. Gatschet says: “A comparison with the Labrador and Greenland Innuvit language, commonly called Eskimo, has yielded to me no term resting on real affinity. R. G. Latham has adduced some parallels of Beothik with Tinné dialects, especially with Taenli, spoken in the Rocky Mountains. But he does not admit such rare parallels as proofs of affinity, and in historic times at least the Beothiks dwelt too far from the countries held by Tinné Indians to render any connection probable. Not the least affinity is traceable between Beothik and Iroquois vocables, nor does the phonology of the two yield any substantial points of equality. All that is left for us to do is to compare the sundry Algonkin dialects with the remnants of Beothik.”

So far philologists are agreed. But upon the question of their affinity with the Algonkin race, these inquirers have arrived at opposite conclusions. Mr. Latham, in his “Varieties of Man,” says: “All doubts upon the subject have been set at rest by a hitherto unpublished Beothik vocabulary, with which I have been kindly furnished by

¹ On visiting a band of Cree Indians in the Northwest, I noticed a number of them having their faces and their lodges marked with red spots. On enquiry I found that these were heathen, and that as soon as they became Christians they abandoned the practice.

my friend, Dr. King of the Ethnological Society. This marked them a *separate section* of the Algonkin, and such I believe them to have been." Again, in the 'Proceedings of the Philological Society for 1850,' he has given a table of the affinities between the Beothik and other Algonkin dialects, in which he endeavours to show that, though the former differs very widely from the Micmac, it still belongs to that great family. Professor Campbell of Montreal, who has made the affiliation of the Algonkin languages the subject of careful study, comes to the same conclusion. In a letter to the writer he says: "The Beothik has its affinities with the old (mostly now) defunct Algonkin dialects of New England and with the Cree of to-day, branches of which are the so-called Scoffie or Shesh-tapoosh and so called Montagnais. It is probably the most ancient Algonkin dialect, for by its numerals and vocabulary generally, it connects with the Philippine Islands."

On the other hand, Mr. Gatschet, after an elaborate investigation, comes to an opposite conclusion, regarding the Beothiks as racially and linguistically separate from the Algonkin. The grounds for this he sums up as follows:—

"The facts, he says, which most strongly militate against an assumed kinship of Beothik and Algonkin dialects are as follows: (1.) The phonetic system of both differs largely. Beothik lacks *f* and probably *v*, while *l* is scarce. In Micmac and the majority of Algonkin dialects the *r*, *dr* and *cl* are wanting, but occur in Beothik. (2.) The objective case exists in Beothik, but none of the Algonkin dialects has another oblique case except the locative. (3.) The numerals differ entirely in both, which would not be the case if there was the least affinity between the two. (4.) The terms for the parts of the human and animal body, for colours (except white), for animals and plants, for natural phenomena, for the celestial bodies, and other objects of nature, as well as the radicals of adjectives and verbs differ completely.

"When we add to all this the great discrepancy in ethnological particulars, as canoes, dress, implements, manners and customs, we come to the conclusion that the Red Indians of Newfoundland were a race distinct from the races on the mainland shores surrounding them on the north and west. This language I do not hesitate, after a long study of its precarious and unreliable elements to regard as belonging to a *separate linguistic family*, clearly distinct from Innuvit, Tinne, Iroquois and Algonkin. Once a refugee from some part of the mainland of North America, the Beothik tribe may have lived for centuries isolated upon Newfoundland, sustaining itself by fishing and the chase. When we look around upon the surface of the globe for parallels of linguistic families relegated to insular homes, we find the Elu upon the island of Ceylon in the Indian ocean, and the extinct Tasmanian upon Tasmania Island, widely distant from Australia. The Harnfuru or Alfuru languages of New Guinea are spoken upon islands only. Almost wholly confined to islands are the nationalities speaking Malayan, Aino, Celtic, Haida and Aleut dialects. Only a narrow strip of territory now shows from which portion of the mainland they may have crossed over the main to their present abodes."

When men so distinguished differ I have not the presumption to attempt to decide between them, and to discuss the various points I acknowledge myself unfit. But yet, looking at the whole discussion, there are certain points clear from the statements on both sides, and perhaps on the main question they are not so far apart as might at first sight appear. They all admit that the language differed widely from the Micmac and those of neighbouring Algonkin tribes. The dialects spoken by these are so nearly allied that the

members of one tribe can with a little trouble understand those of another. But between them and the Beothik the difference is so great that only a philologist can trace any resemblance, and that in a few words. To the Miemac the Beothiks were so utterly unintelligible that one, asked about the speech of the latter, said: "No talkee, all same dog bow wow wow." Dr. Rand, a thorough Miemac scholar, and no mean philologist, could not trace any affinity between the two languages. Dr. Latham himself, after giving a table of affinities between the Beothik and other Algonkin dialects. ('Proceedings of the Philological Society, 1850,') appends the statement that Beothik was certainly not Miemac. All this goes to show that the Beothiks were not of the same migration with the Eastern Algonkins; that they must have been a much older race. This is admitted by all.

As to the affinity which Dr. Campbell finds between Beothik words and those of the older New England and Cree languages, if they indicate unity in their origin, they indicate long and wide separation. Dr. Latham, as we have seen, sets them down as "a separate section" of the Algonkin race. Even in regard to this he expresses himself somewhat doubtfully. He says merely ("Comp. Philology," p. 453) that the Beothik language "was akin to the languages of the ordinary American Indians, rather than to the Eskimo, farther investigation showing that, of the ordinary American languages, it was Algonkin rather than aught else."

It is to be observed that Mr. Gatschet had better opportunities for investigation than his predecessors, having access to additional vocabularies and having the old one corrected. He has examined the question as thoroughly as the materials at his command will permit. He finds in Beothik words undoubtedly Algonkin, but as they were on friendly relations with the Algonquins of Labrador, he thinks that they adopted the names of tools, implements and articles of exchange from the latter. Other Beothik words which resemble Algonkin ones of similar significations he regards as having no real affinity, and, as we have seen, adduces very strong reasons for his conclusion that they were separate races. The case that he presents is undoubtedly strong, and yet the list of cognate words in the Beothik and various Algonkin tongues sent me by Dr. Campbell seems to show a real though distant affinity between them. But whether they are a separate section of the Algonkin race, or a separate race in whose language traces of affinity are so faint as to indicate only an older relationship, we still have a peculiar people, one that, like Israel of old, dwelt apart among the nations. If any affinity at all can be traced, it is with the Northern Algonkins, who embrace the Crees and, some say, the Blackfeet in the west, and many tribes on to Labrador in the east. Going farther back, Dr. Campbell's view of their affinity with the Malayo-Polynesian race is at least probable, and putting this and all these circumstances together we may read, at least partially, their early history.¹ Passing from island to island, they cross the Pacific in canoes, of which perhaps those last used in Newfoundland were a memory till they struck the continent. For some reason, probably from the power of races more to the south, they were directed to the north. Here they formed the first wave of an emigration across the continent, between

¹ Since this was written I have received another communication from Dr. Campbell, written after he had had an opportunity of examining a fuller vocabulary of the language, in which he reiterates his view of the Beothiks being a branch of the Algonkin race, and supports it by comparative lists of words in Beothik and other languages spoken by that race. He also sends a similar list of words in various Malayo-Polynesian tongues.

the Eskimo on the extreme north and the powerful races to the south, and probably in hostility with both. Impelled eastwardly, they at length reach the shores of the Atlantic. Here they meet tribes of the Algonkin race advancing, as all their traditions tell us, from the south-west. Of these the Micmaes were the most northerly, and there is reason to believe that here the two came into violent collision. When first met, in historic times, that people were found carrying on war to New England on the south-west and to the St. Lawrence on the north. Charlevoix tells us that they even pursued the Eskimo to their haunts across it. The traditions of the Montagnais (see "Hind's Exploration in Labrador") tell abundantly of their contests with the Micmaes. Now, so far as known, the former were on friendly terms, perhaps kindred and allied with the Beothiks. Moreover, according to the tradition of the Micmaes, they had driven out a previous race from Nova Scotia. Of such conflicts we have probably the evidence in mounds, which have been found to contain bones heaped together and bearing marks of violence. John Gyles, in his account of his captivity among the Indians on the St. John River, 1689-1698, I believe Micmaes, certainly a tribe closely associated with them, after describing their fear of the Mohawks, says: "They are called Maquas, a most ambitious, haughty and blood-thirsty people, from whom the other Indians take their measures and manners and their modes and changes of dress." I have already mentioned that the Micmaes called the Red Indians Maquajic, which an Englishman would naturally translate the Maquas. We cannot doubt that the reference is to the Beothiks, and the terms in which they are described simply expresses the hostile feelings entertained toward them and the fear entertained of their powers.

We regard, then, the Micmaes as the old enemies of the Beothiks, who were by them driven from the continent to their final place of rest in Newfoundland. Sir Wm. Dawson ("Fossil Men," p. 163) indeed tells us that they followed them thither. When, therefore, the French established themselves on Newfoundland, and some Micmac families moved over to reside there permanently, the collision with the Beothiks that ensued we regard as not originating with the French. The natural conclusion is that the latter were drawn into it by their close alliance with the Micmaes, and that they here repeated the mistake made by Champlain, when, in association with the Algonkins, he made war upon the vengeful Iroquois.

Thus, to the poor Beothiks even this island beyond the sea, stretching so far toward the old world, was to afford no resting place for the sole of their feet. On the contrary, they were here to meet foes more powerful and not more peaceful, furnished with more deadly weapons, so that with Shanandithit, in 1829, the last of them passed away, leaving neither name nor memorial on the earth. Such a total destruction of a people is almost unparalleled. Other peoples have been cut off, but portions of them mixing with others have perpetuated, if not their name, at least their blood, but to them might be applied the language of Logan regarding himself: "There runs not the blood of a Beothik in the veins of a single living creature." Nations have disappeared, but their material works or their institutions remain as memorials of their genius or their power. But only a few rude stone implements testify to the skill of this people. Other races have had to see themselves dispossessed of their territory, but the names remain, testifying on the face of the country to the language of its former occupants, but not a storm swept headland on

the coast of Newfoundland, not a stream or mountain in the interior, recalls the speech of those who once possessed the whole. The gentle race has passed away for ever,—

Gone like the cloud-rack of the tempest,
Like the withered leaves of autumn;

gone without hearing of the Christian's God or knowing the Christian's hope; while humanity weeps over a history without a solitary incident on which its eye can rest with pleasure, and righteousness wonders if in the ear of infinite justice the blood of these unfortunates does not yet cry from the ground.

NOTE.—The articles of Mr. Gatschet referred to will be found in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, v. 22 for 1885, pp. 408-424, and v. 23 for 1886.